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OR

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CONTENTS OF NO. CLI.

Page

ART. I. Die Deutschen Voelker Persoenlich betrachtet.—(The German Nations considered as Individuals,) . 1

II.—1. Mémoire sur la Variation de la Temperature dans les Alpes de la Suisse. Par M. Venetz, (Denkschriften der Allgemeinen Schweitzerischen Gesellschaft. Band I. 2te Abtheilung.)

2. Naturhistorische Alpenreise. Von F. J. Hugi.

3. Notice sur la Cause probable du Transport des Blocs Erratiques de la Suisse. Par M. J. de Charpentier.

4. Discours prononcé à l'overture des séances de la Societé Helvetique des Sciences Naturelles à Neufchatel, le 24 Juillet 1837. Par L. Agassiz.

5. Etudes sur les Glaciers. With folio Atlas of Plates.

6. Theorie des Glaciers de la Savoie. Par M. le Chanoine Rendu.

7. Essai sur les Glaciers, et sur le Terrain Erratique du Bassin du Rhone. Par Jean de Charpentier.

8. Etudes Géologiques dans les Alpes. Par M. L. A. Necker, ... 49

III.—1. Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, with Appendices and Plans of School-houses.

2. Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, with Appendices, ... 105

IV. Second Report from the Select Committee on South Australia. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 10th June 1841, ... 140

Digitized by Google

Page

ART. V. The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore. Esq. Collected by Himself, ... 162

VI.—1. Speech of the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, in the House of Commons, Feb. 9, 1842.

2. Speech of the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, March 11, 1842, ... 187

VII. Frederic the Great and his Times. Edited, with an Introduction, by Thomas Campbell, Esq., . . . 218

NOTE to the article on the Pictorial History of England, 282

List of New Publications, ... 284

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS OF No. CLII.

Page

ART. I. Exercitia Spiritualia S. P. Ignatii Loyolæ, cum Versione literali ex Autographo Hispanico. Præmittuntur R. P. Joannis Roothmen, Præpositi Generalis Societatis Jesu, Literæ Encycliæ ad Patres et Fratres ejusdem Societatis, de Spiritualium Exercitionum S. P. N. Studio et Usu. 297

II. 1. Procès de Madame Lafarge, (*Vol et Empoisonment,*) complets et detaillés. Deuxième edition. Annales Criminelles, au Bureau Rue d'Enghien.

2. Procès de Madame Lafarge, etc. Deuxième edition. Pagnerre, Editeur.

3. Mémoires de Marie Cappelle, Veuve Lafarge. Ecrits par elle-même. 359

III. Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan. By John T. Stephens, Author of Incidents of Travel in Egypt. 397

IV. The History of Duelling. By J. G. Millingen, M.D., F.R.S. 422

V. Tour in Austrian Lombardy, Northern Tyrol, and Bavaria. By John Barrow. 453

VI. 1. The Twenty-third Report of the Society for the Suppression of Mendicity.

2. An Exposure of the various Impositions daily practised by Vagrants of every Description. . . 467

Digitized by Google

Page

ART. VII. Journal of a Tour in Greece and the Ionian Islands. By William Mure of Caldwell. 492

VIII. Das Nationale System der Politische Oekonomie von Dr Friedrich List. (The National System of Political Economy, by Dr Frederick List.) . . . 515

List of New Publications 557

Index 571

Digitized by Google

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

APRIL, 1842.

No. CLI.

ART. I.—*Die Deutschen Voelker Persoenlich betrachtet.*—(*The German Nations considered as Individuals.* 2 vols. 8vo. Tubingen: 1841.

THE local nature of the work which we have prefixed to this article, has led the writer into details comparatively uninteresting to a British public; but the subject which he has partially treated is one of great and advancing interest. We agree with him, that the great and permanent bodies which now constitute nations, have assumed, in their mutual relations, an individual character; and that while, under the influence of their increasing intercourse, the mere external peculiarities of the inhabitants of different countries are becoming obliterated, peculiarities in the public conduct of those countries are becoming more marked. The manners of an Englishman and a Frenchman differed much more in the seventeenth century than they do at present. But the conduct of the two countries as nations, their behaviour towards each other, and towards other independent communities, was then much more governed by similar causes than it is now. In fact, until within a very short period, the conduct of a nation, as a nation, depended principally on the accident of the character of the king, or of the minister. A succession of warlike kings made Denmark a military power; a suc-

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cession of quiet half-witted sovereigns reduced her to political nullity. Under Richelieu, France was intriguing and ambitious; under Fleury, she was careless and pacific. But now, that in almost every country the people interfere in public affairs, often direct them, and almost always influence them, the conduct of a nation must always be affected, and often is governed, by the general disposition of the millions who constitute it: it becomes a permanent reflection of the national character, and is tinged with all the peculiarities with which climate, race, religion, institutions, and past history, have coloured that character. In former times, the conduct of a nation could be best predicted by considering the feelings and habits of the individuals who presided over its councils. The principal elements of such a calculation are now drawn from the character of the people itself. Our ancestors at one time feared the ambition of Louis, and at another relied on the courage of Frederic. *We* dread the ambition of France, and rely on the prudence of Prussia.

The most remarkable exceptions to this rule are to be found in Russia and Austria. The conduct of each of these empires has often appeared to depend on the peculiarities of an individual. The death of Alexander, and the succession of Nicholas, altered the whole tone of Russian politics—they are still affected by the personal dislike of Nicholas to Louis Philippe; and the prudent and pacific behaviour of Austria, is mainly attributable to the wisdom of Metternich. But this is accounted for when we recollect, that Russia and Austria are the empires least affected by the popular voice. In both of them, as far as foreign relations are concerned, the people are nothing—the government is every thing. On the other hand, in the three great countries which enjoy the most popular institutions—the British Empire, France, and the United States of America—the character of the government for the time being has, under ordinary circumstances, little influence on the public conduct of the nation. A vain, or a rash, or a litigious, or a procrastinating minister, may indeed bring either of them into difficulty; but if the nation do not share his faults, he will be driven from power, and a successor appointed for the express purpose of retracing his steps. Of course, we do not mean to affirm that the public conduct of any of these communities is uninfluenced by the personal qualities of the statesmen for the time being in power; especially if those qualities are, as was lately the case in France, and perhaps in the United States, an exaggeration of the national peculiarities; but we affirm that those qualities, though not positively, are comparatively unimportant. In short, that whereas formerly the character of the minister determined the conduct of the

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nation, now the character of the nation determines the conduct of the minister.

For the purpose both of estimating the future prospects of the civilized world, and of deciding what ought to be the course of our own policy, it is therefore important to consider what are the characteristics by which these three great powers are distinguished in their public conduct towards other civilized states; in order that we may ascertain the chances of peace, and the means by which it may be promoted—and the chances of war, and the means by which it may be averted. We use the words 'public conduct,' because it is only as respects their public conduct that nations can be treated as persons. The enterprises of individuals, unsanctioned by their government, do not commit the nation. It is the duty, of course, of every government to do all that it can to prevent any of its subjects from injuring those of other governments in person or in property; but its public character is not affected by aggressions, though made by its own subjects, if it do not directly or indirectly sanction them, either by conniving while they are planned and executed, or by allowing the perpetrators to remain unpunished. In fact, for the purposes of this discussion, we identify nations with their governments. It is possible that if the opinion of the people of England could have been taken, it would have been found unfavourable to our treatment of Denmark in 1807, and again in 1813. It is possible, nay it is probable, that the majority of the people of France may have disapproved of the invasions of Spain by Napoleon and by Louis; and that they may now disapprove of the intrigues with which their diplomacy is harassing her. But a nation, when considered as an individual, must be judged by her acts; and her act is what is done in her name, and by her authority. We should be grieved, indeed, if the majority of educated Englishmen, or the majority of educated Frenchmen, could act as their respective governments have acted. We use the words 'towards other civilized states,' first, because that part only of the public conduct of a nation affects the practical questions which we are considering; and secondly, because unhappily such is public morality, that the mode in which a nation treats barbarians, or even semi-barbarians, is no evidence of the mode in which it would be likely to treat a civilized community. In estimating the public character of France, therefore, we do not advert to her relations with the African tribes; and in estimating that of America, we do not allude to her treatment of the Indians. In estimating that of England, we shut our eyes to all that she has done in Hindostan or Cabul.

The qualities which principally mark the conduct of a nation, in its intercourse with other civilized nations, are pride, vanity—

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using that word to signify the desire of admiration—ambition, fear, resentment, sympathy, and justice; and the influence of these motives depends partly on the degree in which they are felt, and partly on the causes from which they originate. Different nations may be equally vain, but one may desire to be admired for her power, another for her civilization, and a third for her integrity; and others are to be found who, like Austria, seem utterly careless as to the opinions of foreigners. Again, two nations may be both timid; but one may fear the evils of defeat, the other the evils of victory. One surrounded by more powerful neighbours, may be in constant dread of invasion; the other may feel that her comparative force secures her from attack, but that a war, though it be successful, will ruin her finances. Under such circumstances, timidity would lead the former to contract alliances, in order to secure herself from aggression; the other to avoid them, in order to lessen the chances of being dragged by her treaties into a contest.

We now proceed to consider in detail the public character of the three great nations which we have mentioned, beginning with France.

The circumstances under which France has been placed, have been, in most respects, eminently unfavourable. Until the Revolution, the French people had no influence on the policy of their country. It was dependent sometimes on the will of a king, sometimes on the intrigues of a court, and sometimes on the caprice of a mistress. A dispute between Louis XIV. and Louvois, about a window, occasioned the devastation of the Palatinate. A well-timed visit by Horace Walpole to Fleury, rendered France for twenty years the ally of England. It was the casting voice of Madame de Maintenon that decided whether France should violate or respect the treaty which excluded the Bourbons from the Spanish succession. At length the power which the crown had abused for centuries passed to demagogues, whose influence depended on their popularity, and whose popularity could be maintained only by satisfying the desires, or flattering the prejudices, of the new sovereign—the people. From their hands it was extorted by a soldier more intent on conquest, and more unscrupulous as to the means of obtaining it, than any of the public enemies with whom Europe has had to struggle since the times of Attila. The great object of Napoleon was to seduce the people, by gratifying the passions which are strongest among uneducated politicians—vanity and ambition. His talents, his habits, and his inclination, led him to offer military glory to the one, and extension of territory to the other. Never were these intoxicating bribes so profusely supplied. Of course, for this purpose all treaties, all engagements, all faith, and all law, public and private,

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were to be disregarded. On no other condition could the empire of the French be stretched from the Vistula to the Guadalquivir. It was his business, therefore, while he inflamed and perverted their ambition, to stifle their feelings of morality and justice. In both attempts he was equally successful. His boast, that millions joined in his views, was, unhappily for those millions, well founded. The misfortunes of the latter portion of his career, though not quite so mischievous to the national character as his earlier successes, still helped to deteriorate it. He taught the French to submit to defeat. He taught them to welcome humiliation;—to receive with acclamation sovereigns twice forced on them by foreigners. The degradation of the early period of the Restoration, was followed by still more corrupting successes. The government of the Bourbons has wanted only power to teach lessons as demoralizing as those of the Empire. The invasion of Spain, in 1822, was as fraudulent, as unjust, and as rapacious as that of 1808. The only difference was, that Napoleon endeavoured to render Spain a dependency of France, under his brother; and Louis to throw her bound under the feet of 'a descendent of Henry the Fourth.' In fact, of the two pieces of injustice, monstrous as they both were, the last was the more oppressive; for Napoleon came as a reformer—his success might have regenerated Spain. The Duke of Angoulême was the restorer of tyranny.

We will now consider the national character which has grown up under such influences. If the picture be unfavourable, no one will be surprised when he reflects on the education which the nation has received.

Among the most striking qualities of France is her pride. One of her most acute and most philosophical statesmen has proclaimed from the tribune, that pride, nourished by the victories and triumphs of more than two hundred years of war, is now the only remaining link that keeps her in a social state.* We should differ from M. de Tocqueville with great diffidence, whatever the subject were, and as to the character of his own country we yield implicitly to his authority. But though military pride be the absorbing sentiment, not merely the ruling but the despotic passion of France, her glories in war are not the only objects on which she dwells with complacency. She is proud also of her power, of her influence, and of her civilization. Her power is formidable, but it is probably not superior to that of Russia; it certainly is inferior to that of Germany, when Germany can be combined. She believes it to be a match for all Europe. Her

* Speech of M. de Tocqueville in the Chamber of Deputies, 30th Nov. 1840.

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influence is considerable; but she believes that all the nations between her frontier and the Rhine are anxious to be incorporated in her dominions. It is fortunate for France, as well as for Europe, that she has had no opportunity of ascertaining the truth of this opinion. Her civilization is great: she believes that it is unrivalled. She is certainly eminent in war, in literature, and in the fine arts; but in education, in morality, in wealth, in the ordinary arts of life—in short, in all that contributes to the welfare of the mass of the people, the bulk of the population of France is far inferior to that of Holland, of Belgium, of Switzerland, of Great Britain, and of the greater part of Germany.

In the midst, however, of this overweening self-estimation, she seems always beset by doubts as to the reality of the grounds on which it is founded. Proud as she is of her glory and of her power, she cannot forget that at sea she has been unsuccessful for centuries, and that on land her defeats have been as signal as her victories. She cannot but perceive, that while all Europe is advancing, her own population is almost stationary; her agriculture declining, and her commerce bearing every year a less proportion to that of her neighbours: that while Belgium, Germany, and England, are becoming intersected by a network of canals and railroads, her own internal communications almost resemble those of Spain. She is restlessly anxious, therefore, to support her claims by the suffrage of her neighbours, and in constant fear that the verdict may be against her. She is as vain as sensitive to the sentiments of others, as if, like Russia, she were struggling to emerge from barbarism. All her conduct has reference, not so much to its effects on her own happiness, as to the opinions of the world around her. To induce her to make railroads, she is told that her national honour requires them.* To induce her to continue the fortification of Paris, she is told that London and Vienna will illuminate if she abandon it. With an inconsistency, not uncommon where vanity is the prevailing passion, she, at the same time, believes herself to be the object of general admiration, and is always watching to detect and punish an insult. She quarrels with her old allies the Swiss, obstructs their commerce, and threatens their independence, because the Diet has complained, as she thinks, too bluntly, that she has sent a spy with a fabricated passport into their territory. She conquers Algiers, because the Dey has been rude to her consul. She threatens all Europe, arms half a million of men, and is inclined to arm half a million more, because she has received, according to

* See the able Report of M. de. Beaumont, No. 168.—1840.

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her own account, not an injury, or even an insult, but an act of discourtesy. She has all the arrogance of a giant, and all the susceptibility of a dwarf.

Another prominent part of her character is her ambition. She desires not happiness, but power; and aims at increasing that power, not by the improvement of her own resources, but by appropriating those of others. She still clings to the barbarous doctrine of the middle ages, that a nation becomes great, not by the growth of its own population, the increase of its own capital, and the improvement of its agriculture and manufactures, but either by seizing the territory and incorporating the subjects of its neighbours, or by obtaining a preponderating influence over their councils. As far as she can, she proposes to extend herself by conquest; and where that is impossible, she strives, by treaties, by intermarriages, by promoting dissensions between states, and factions, party spirit, and civil war in each separate community, to create occasions for her interference, and the means of establishing or confirming her influence.

We lament to add that she is checked by no feeling of justice, of faith, or of public morality. She does not even pay to virtue the homage of hypocrisy. She avows that a solemn treaty of peace is a truce to be broken by her as soon as it suits what she supposes to be her interest. She proclaims the right of every nation to manage its own affairs; and invades Spain, because the Spaniards have required a constitution from their despot. She fears that her influence may decline in Italy, and to restore it, seizes, in profound peace, on Ancona. She wishes for another island in the Mediterranean, and proposes to rob Spain of Majorca. She guarantees the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and threatens war if she is not allowed to dismember it.

All these aggressive propensities she supports by fearless daring. 'La France,' said Chateaubriand, 'est un soldat.' She has the virtues as well as the vices of that unsocial profession. No nation is so little deterred by the dread of war; none supports its actual presence with more intrepidity. In every other civilized country the preservation of peace is held the great duty of a statesman: in France, M. Thiers could say that he trusted he should not be considered very culpable for having occasioned the probability of war. In what other country could a statesman have declared that, rather than that the Eastern Question should be settled without French intervention, or that France should be supposed to be unprepared for war, or that, on a matter which she had agreed to arrange in concert with other powers, she should be required to acquiesce in the unanimous decision of all the other parties to the agreement—rather than accept any one of these alternatives, he would plunge into a thousand

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wars? Yet such were the words of De Tocqueville. In fact, France thinks that she has nothing to fear from war. All her best colonies she surrendered long ago; and it is no slight set-off against the expense of a contest, that it would set her free from Algiers. Her continental territory is too compact, and her population is too homogeneous, for partition, and her own laws in a great measure excludes her from commerce. On the other hand, she fancies that she has much to gain. She is anxious to extend her territory to the limits which, because she thinks them convenient, she calls natural. She burns to wipe from her arms the disgrace which she thinks was inflicted on them by the calamitous termination of the imperial wars. And, above all, she is anxious to punish those whose resistance occasioned those wars to terminate in her defeat, and to weaken those whose power overbalances her own.

And yet the boldness with which she meets danger is joined to a remarkable tendency to fear it where none exists. With the largest army, the strongest fortifications, the most compact frontier, and the most warlike population in Europe, she is as apprehensive of being attacked, invaded, and overrun, as if she possessed only the scattered and assailable territory of Prussia or Austria. She is spirited; but her spirit is like that of a high-fed horse, always looking for something to start at, and heedless of the real danger into which it rushes to escape an imaginary one.

This constant state of anxiety and apprehension, so strange in a brave, powerful, and proud nation, may appear to be in part explicable by her vivid recollection of the calamities of 1814 and 1815; yet while this restless fear of attack is peculiar, among the great nations, to France, there is not a country on the continent that has not been forced during the present century to conclude an unsuccessful war by a disgraceful peace. There is scarcely a capital that has not been occupied by an enemy. If the mere recollection of former misfortunes necessarily inspired a dread of their recurrence, every nation on the continent would share the fears of France.

We believe the real causes of the constant anxiety of France to be two. First, the consciousness of her own plans, and a tendency to believe that other nations are as rapacious and as unscrupulous as herself. She knows that nothing but despair of success prevents her from seizing on Belgium, on Rhenish Prussia, on the Bavarian Palatinate, on Switzerland, on Savoy; in short, on every territory which it would suit her convenience to usurp, and she naturally imputes corresponding feelings to her neighbours.

And secondly, she knows that she is an object of fear and of dislike to every people and to every sovereign around her. She

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knows that the despotic monarchs hate the freedom, such as it is, of her institutions—her trial by jury, her constitutional rights, her open debates, her licentious press; and, above all, the example of an elected king. She may suppose them willing to follow the precedent of her own conduct towards Spain, and to occupy her territory in order to enable Henry V. to give to his subjects institutions which they cannot hold except from him.* She knows that both sovereigns and people regard her as a hostile camp, threatening them with the evils of war, and inflicting on them those of an armed peace. They impute to her the stoppage of public works, the absorption of capital, the commercial disturbance, the pressure of taxation and military service, and the financial derangement which are the necessary consequences of that unsettled state. In believing that they would gladly see her weakened, France is right. But in fearing that, while she leaves them unattacked, they will attack her; in believing that there is a possibility of her being the object of an aggressive war, she is grossly deceived. There is not a country in Europe, except France, mad enough to engage voluntarily in war. In many of them, and among them are England and Austria, the public income is annually deficient; and those which have avoided a deficit, find their present expenditure pressing hard on their revenues. Again, there is not a single great country which could rely in time of war on the zealous co-operation of its whole population; or indeed which would not dread to find a portion of them among its enemies. Russia is vulnerable in Poland; Prussia in her Rhenish provinces; Sweden in Norway; England in Ireland, in Canada, and in Hindostan; and Austria consists of four nations, accidentally united under one head, but with scarcely more coherence than that which existed between England and Hanover. Can it be supposed that governments in such a situation, financial and political, would voluntarily incur the certain evils, and the uncertain but not less formidable risks, of war?

Among the qualities on which France prides herself is her sympathy. It was to be expected that a nation so susceptible of impressions would take a lively interest in the fortunes of her neighbours. And such an interest she certainly does take; but, with the exception of the first American war—and even there more is to be attributed to her hatred of England than to her sympathy with America—we do not recollect a case in which her sympathy has led her to make any sacrifice for the benefit of those on whose side her feelings were engaged. She has always

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* See the Speech of Louis XVIII., 28th January 1823,

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expressed a strong interest in the welfare of Poland. In 1806, and again in 1812, she might have restored Poland to nationality and independence. She half promised that she would do so; but, on consideration, she doubted whether she herself should be a gainer, and she refused. Another of her *protéges* has been Spain. For the greater part of the last century the two nations were in the closest alliance. The friendship of Spain has been rewarded during the present century by a succession of injuries and insults, such as one nation scarcely ever endured from another.

We shall conclude our view of the character of France, by some remarks on the mode in which she is influenced by resentment. In all generous natures—we might almost say, among all well-instructed persons,—resentment is felt only where there is a feeling of injustice. None but a child, and an ill-educated child, beats the ground on which it has fallen. Only the lowest criminal reviles the judge, for merely pronouncing the sentence of the law. A generous man admires the courage and skill that are opposed to him. He puts himself, from time to time, into the place of his adversary, and sympathizes with qualities which he hopes that, under similar circumstances, he would himself exhibit. And even a man deficient in generosity and virtue, though he may pursue his schemes of aggrandizement or avarice without regard to the rights of others—though he may be careless of the misery which their prosecution occasions—seldom retains, unless he be thoroughly uneducated, deliberate resentment against those who have offered to him what he feels to be a legitimate resistance. He may be an unfair judge as to the resistance which is legitimate. He may be indifferent to the suffering which he inflicts in order to crush or to intimidate his opponent; but, unless he can persuade himself that he has been unfairly treated, his anger ceases with the contest. Now, as individuals, Frenchmen are generous; in the Peninsular war the French troops treated the English, not only without animosity, but with as much forbearance and even kindness as was consistent with their hostile relation. But these qualities vanish when France feels and acts as a nation. She seems to consider all opposition to her wishes as an insult, and all actual resistance, whether just or unjust, as a crime; and she transmits an inheritance of hatred from one generation to another. Who would have supposed that in 1840, Waterloo and even Aboukir were unforgiven?

We now proceed to America. The characteristic in which she most resembles France is pride. It is, however, less excessive and better directed. The pride of America dwells principally on

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her institutions, on the general wealth and intelligence of her population, on her rapid rise, and, above all, on her vast prospects. These are more legitimate sources of self-esteem than most of those dwelt on by France; and America errs much less than France in her estimate of her own superiority. We certainly see much to disapprove in the institutions of America; we fear that they were better fitted to her earlier than to her present condition; and we fear that these defects are becoming more dangerous every day: but still, with the exception of our own, we know of no great country whose institutions we prefer; and we doubt whether there is one of our readers who would not rather be an Anglo-American, than a Frenchman, a Spaniard, an Austrian, a Russian, or even a Prussian.

Again, we may think that she boasts too much of the happiness and intelligence of her people. We may taunt her with her three millions of slaves, and with the mobs of her towns, and the ruffians of her borders. But no great community must be judged by its least fortunate portions. Ireland is not a sample of the British islands, nor Connaught of Ireland. And, after making all the deductions from the general average prosperity which are required by the vices and miseries of a comparatively small portion, we must admit, that the fourteen millions of Anglo-Americans form a community enjoying more comfort and more intelligence than any other equally numerous population. The rapidity of growth on which America dwells with so much complacency, is a statistical fact supported by unquestionable evidence. The reasonableness of her anticipations of further and proportionate advance, is of course a fair subject of controversy. If her numerous States, differing as they do in many respects as to their institutions, their feelings, and their interests, should preserve their union; if neither war, nor faction, nor resistance to taxation, should destroy their credit, and arrest the improvement of their vast but imperfectly subdued territories—if slavery be gradually extinguished, or confined within limits much narrower than those over which it now extends—if all these contingencies turn out in her favour, the progress of America may be as rapid and as great as she anticipates. Those who are now living may see her possessing a hundred millions of people, irresistible in her own hemisphere, and a match for all that could be opposed to her in ours. But has she a right to assume, as she uniformly does, that all these chances *will* turn out in her favour? Is not a contrary supposition possible as to all, and probable as to some? And to what extent, in the event of any one or more of these chances turning against her, is her progress likely to be stopped or retarded? These are questions which it would require a volume to discuss; we sug-

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gest them as indicating the grounds on which we think that America is open to the reproof, that she over-estimates her future prospects, bright and even dazzling as those prospects certainly are.

The vanity of America is notorious; and yet, subject to one exception, we doubt whether it much influences her conduct as a nation. She is so much accustomed to self-adulation, that she does not value the moderate applause which is to be obtained from other nations; and she has so perfect a reliance on her own wisdom and virtue, that their disapprobation excites her pity for their ignorance. Few of her public acts can be traced to her desire to obtain the admiration of foreigners, or to avoid their censure. But to this general statement there is, as has been remarked, one exception. There is a nation by whom America is anxious to be esteemed—or, to speak more correctly, to be admired and feared—and that is England. She takes the opinion of England from sources utterly undeserving of credit. She reads what is read by none of the well-instructed classes in England—the trash of the Ultra-Tory newspapers; believes that a hired editor speaks the opinions of a party in the state instead of those of a party in the shareholders of a Journal; and then fancies that she is undervalued in England—that we do not appreciate her power, that we are careless of her friendship, and almost indifferent to her hostility. And she thinks that by assuming a bold, or even a threatening tone towards England, she will obtain our respect, and perhaps alarm our prudence. These views are wrong from beginning to end. England thinks highly of America. She disapproves, indeed, of many of her institutions, and so do the most intelligent portion of the Americans. A highly-accomplished candidate for the Presidency comes forward as the proposer of wide organic changes.* England admires her energy, her perseverance, her courage, her skill—in short, she admires a character naturally, we may say necessarily, in many respects resembling her own. There is no country with whom she is so desirous to keep on good terms, and certainly none with whom she would so much dread a war. And with ample reason. No two countries are so useful to one another in peace, or could do one another so much mischief in war; with the additional misfortune, that all the damage the one inflicted on the other would recoil on herself. On the other hand, England is naturally intolerant of all faults which differ from her own. She is so little accustomed to swagger or to bully, that she views such exhibitions from others with a mixture of surprise and disapprobation.

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* See General Scott's Address, 1841.

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What America means for spirit, England sometimes considers rudeness or rusticity. When America thinks that she must be admired for the courage with which she vindicates her rights, England wonders that she should think it worth her while to quarrel about trifles. If America cared less about the opinion of England, or did not look for it in the columns of Newspapers, or knew better how our respect is to be obtained—if she knew that the virtues which we most prize are equity, integrity, and moderation, she would have avoided some of her disputes with us, and diminished the length and the danger of some others.

Compared with most other nations, America is not ambitious. She desires, indeed, to increase her power, but rather by the increase of her wealth and the spread of her population over the vast wilderness of which she is the undisputed owner, than by the extension of her influence or the enlargement of her territory. We have already stated, that we do not consider as parts of the public conduct of a nation the unauthorized enterprises of a portion of the community. The invasion of Texas, the attacks on the Canadian frontier, and, generally speaking, the encroachments from Maine on the disputed territory, were acts of this kind. They were private speculations for the purpose of individual gain. That they were not more effectually repressed by the American government is a proof of its weakness, and shows deep-seated defects in her institutions; but is no proof of ambition.

In fact, if America were as ambitious as France, she would by this time, unless previously dismembered by an unsuccessful war, have reduced the greater part of the western hemisphere to direct dependence on her power, or to subservience to her influence. What resistance could Uraguay, or Colombia, or Buenos Ayres, or Peru, or Chili, or even Mexico or Brazil, have opposed to her arms, or, if she preferred that weapon, to her intrigues? How easy, again, would it have been for her, if she had so thought fit, to mix in European politics—to require, for instance, to be heard on the Eastern Question, and to urge her pretensions by hinting the value of her maritime co-operation? That she has resisted these temptations, is fortunate for her immediate happiness and for her eventual greatness. It has enabled her to employ, as the elements of future wealth and power, resources which other nations have wasted in armaments and demonstrations. Yet if the American people had been deeply infected by the madness of ambition, no good sense on the part of their rulers would have been able to restrain them.

But though America is less ambitious of territorial aggrandizement than most other great nations, she is much more so than

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in her peculiar situation is wise. In reality, all such ambition on her part is folly. Her present territory is too large; the dispersion, not the concentration of her population, is her great obstacle and her great danger. And yet it was with difficulty, and only in obedience to the religious feelings of the northern abolitionists, that she abstained from adding Texas to the Union. By a mixture of violence, intimidation, and bribery, she half purchased and half extorted Florida from Spain. We doubt whether, if Canada were to offer herself, she would be refused. We doubt whether, if Canada were to throw off her connexion with England, America would willingly allow her to exist as an independent republic. The ambition of America, though not great *positively*, is, relatively to her real interests, excessive.

The public conduct of America is little influenced by fear, perhaps not enough to give her prudence. She has twice maintained a war against the most powerful nation in the world. At the time of her first war, her population and her wealth were less than one-fifth of their present amount—at the time of her second war, they were less than one-half; and she came out of the first war with triumph, and out of the second without defeat. It is natural that now, with her resources doubled, she should believe herself invincible. She does not recollect—few nations do recollect such lessons—that in both these wars there were periods of extreme peril. Nor does she sufficiently bear in mind that her increase in population, while it has increased her power, has materially increased her dangers. The vast states constituting the Union, most of them as large, and many of them as populous, as the average of an European kingdom, do not submit readily to the central authority, even in peace. From year to year the north, the south, and the west are becoming more dissimilar in their feelings, in their occupations, and in what they believe to be their interests. It is true that war might consolidate them. But is it not equally true, and is it not much more probable, that war might separate them? Again, her revenue is deficient. The last act of Congress was an expedient which seldom succeeds even in effecting its immediate objects, and which, whether it so succeed or not, always inflicts great and permanent evils on the community which is forced to adopt it—a general increase of import duties. Where would a war budget be found for a country reduced to such an extremity in peace? In fact, America has nothing to gain by war, and every thing to lose. Her last war gave her as much glory by land and by sea as she can wish for; and the extension of her territory would, as we have already remarked, be an evil. All the results of the most successful war would be to throw her twenty-five years

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back. But the effects of a prolonged and calamitous contest are not to be told, perhaps not all to be foreseen. ΕΥΡΗΣΕΙ ΤΑ ΣΑΘΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΗΣ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΣ Ὁ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ. The south would lose her market, the north her commerce, the currency would fall to assignats; neither the federal union, nor even the freedom of many of the states, would be secure. All this, of course, is seen on that side of the water even more clearly than on this. And we have no doubt that, if the destinies of America were ruled by the same classes as those which govern in England, her prudence would be equal to our own. But, unfortunately, the suffrage, and, to a great extent, the real government of the Union, is vested in classes comparatively uneducated; and likely, on every occasion, to miscalculate the danger of a struggle, or the worth of a dispute. Party spirit and misrepresentation, acting on electors ill fitted to estimate the merits of international questions, might return a House of Assembly pledged to measures as ruinous to themselves as to their neighbours.

The public morality of America, considering how low is the general standard of public morality, deserves comparative praise. We have already remarked her comparative exemption from the great cause of national immorality—ambition. She is wise enough to make few treaties, and honest enough to keep them. Perhaps the least defensible part of her conduct is her behaviour towards Spain—a country which, after having in her day of power systematically disregarded justice and even mercy, seems now destined, by what may appear to be a just retribution, to suffer wrongs almost equal to those which she formerly inflicted. The occupation of Pensacola and St Augustine, its avowal by President Monroe, and its sanction by Congress, are precedents which America would gladly obliterate. Her great moral fault is her litigiousness. She is always ready to stand on her extreme rights, and to refuse to allow a legal claim to be equitably arranged. We shall show, in a future portion of this article, that it is to this defect in the American public character, and to a defect of an opposite kind in our own, that the unhappy disputes between the two countries are principally owing. We are inclined to ascribe this quality, as well as her want of prudence, to the defect in her institutions which we have already pointed out—the preponderating influence of the comparatively uneducated portion of the people. The great cause of litigiousness is an inability to compare the certain costs of the contest with the value of the chance of obtaining the disputed object. In proportion only as a man is educated, is he able to enter into this calculation, and willing to act according to its result. Sir Walter Scott has well represented his shrewd and amiable, but uncultu-

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vated Dandie Dinmont, as willing to peril in a suit for a few acres of barren moor, ten times or twenty times their value. Precisely similar was the conduct of America in rejecting the award of the King of the Netherlands on the Boundary Question. She could not pretend that there was any loss of honour in complying with the decision of a tribunal which she had joined in selecting; and every intelligent American must know, that the commercial loss occasioned during one year by the insecurity which the dispute occasioned, is worth twice as much as the difference between the value of the territory which she claims, and that which the award gave to her.

America has little sympathy. To use the words of one of her most distinguished statesmen,—'She contemplates the wars that 'drench Europe in blood, as a calm, if not a cold and indifferent 'spectator.'* She pays, of course, more attention to the affairs of her own hemisphere; but so far, and so far only, as they directly affect her own immediate interest. It is difficult to blame or even to regret the indifference of America, when we recollect what have been the effects of what is called national sympathy. When a nation wishes to weaken a rival, or to dismember and seize the territory, or to subjugate the councils, of a neighbour, the pretext is always a generous sympathy with some enemy of the rival, or with some party, or perhaps some province or dependency of the neighbour. Sympathy with Mehemet Ali and Egypt was the pretext of France when she wished to partition Turkey; sympathy with Ferdinand and with the noble Spanish nation, a prey to a knot of conspirators, was her pretext for destroying Spanish liberty in 1822. It was out of sympathy that Prussia, Russia, and Austria first protected one portion of the Polish nation against another, and then appropriated the whole. Sympathy sometimes for an oppressed people, sometimes for an injured ally, sometimes for an excluded successor, have gradually attracted the English dominion from the Ganges to the Tigris, and from Cape Comorin to Thibet. Perhaps America may be too apathetic. It seems to us probable—though from our imperfect knowledge we speak with great diffidence—that if she had interposed her advice and her mediation, she might have been able to diminish the anarchy and war which have laid waste almost every state between her frontier and Cape Horn; and we cannot but think, that if she had felt more for the sufferings of Africa, she would have given more co-operation to our efforts

* See Mr Clay's Speech on the Emancipation of South America, March 24, 1818.

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to prevent her flag from covering the slave-trade. But we repeat that, with respect to a passion so liable to excess, we ought to deal very leniently with what we may consider a deficiency.

In regard to the angry passions, America is certainly irritable. She is apt to take offence where no insult was intended; and to consider herself injured when the treatment which she applies to third parties is adopted towards herself. It is possible that this sensitiveness may be connected with her national growth, and with the change which every year makes in her relative position. Between thirty and forty years ago, the period at which most of those who are now her principal statesmen received their political education, America was weak, and was supposed to be much weaker than she really was; and she was treated as weak powers always have been treated, and always will be treated, until the tone of public morality has been materially improved. In the fierce struggle between France and England, her rights were disregarded by both parties. Now that she is one of the great empires of the world, with only one civilized nation superior to her in territory, and only four superior to her in population, she ought to feel how improbable it is that any other power will wantonly offend her. She ought to exhibit, and we trust that she will exhibit, the magnanimous candour and forbearance of conscious strength. But though America is irritable, she does not bear malice—a defeat does not rankle in her mind as a subject of revenge at the distance of half a century.

The last nation whose character we have to consider, is England—using the word England as a concise appellation for the nation inhabiting the British islands. We shall endeavour to perform the task fairly, though aware of the great difficulty of preserving real impartiality on the subject, and of the danger, perhaps we might say the certainty, that the portrait, if it be really impartial, will be unpopular.

England has always been accused of pride. That she estimates herself very highly is obvious; and she would be a strange exception in the history of nations, if she did not in some respects overrate both her positive and her relative advantages. She is proud of her power, of her wealth, of her glory in arms, of her institutions, and of her civilization. In the two first points we do not believe that she is guilty of exaggeration. Indeed, both her power and her wealth are generally estimated more highly by foreign statesmen than by her own. Her military and naval triumphs she may probably overrate; but not dangerously to herself or offensively to her neighbours. Nor can she be said to be too proud of her institutions, when we see that, with the

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exception of monarchy, there is not one in which large portions of the community do not demand fundamental changes. Her civilization she does over-estimate. She is not sufficiently aware of the misery and degradation of numerous classes of her inhabitants. She is only beginning to find how far she is behind-hand in architecture, in painting, in sculpture; in short, in almost all the fine arts. She does not know how inferior her education is to that of many parts of America and of Continental Europe. She does not see how much they have advanced while she has remained stationary, or proceeded more slowly. Still less does she perceive the evil, or the unchristian spirit, of the intolerance which separates her numerous religious sects. But with all these errors—and they are very great—we are inclined to think that she approaches more nearly to correct self-estimation than either of the two nations to which we have compared her.

Pride has generally been supposed to be inconsistent with vanity. It is certain that the same person seldom exhibits both on the same subject. To be the object of admiration is pleasing, partly in itself, and partly as an evidence of the possession of certain qualities; and, in both cases, the pleasure depends greatly on our estimate of the admirer. As all estimation is relative, the higher we place ourselves the lower we must place all others, and the lower must be our value for their opinion. It follows that a person who thinks very highly of himself is generally careless of the opinions of others; he does not want their evidence, and he considers them as his inferiors. England, therefore, believing herself to be clearly the first nation in the world, is naturally indifferent to the testimony of others to a truth which she holds to be obvious.

One important consequence is, that the foreign affairs of England seldom attract the attention of the nation. All that the people require from the minister is, that he keep them at peace. He need not fear of being accused at home of wanting spirit or wanting enterprize; they do not require him to feed the national vanity by restless endeavours to extend the influence and exhibit the superiority of the country. They demand no premature expositions of the progress of his negotiations. The policy of England is thus exempted from many misdirecting influences. She is not, like France, always acting a part. There is no danger of her wasting millions, merely to show to Europe that she has millions to waste. What she does, she does because she thinks it right and expedient; not because it will create a certain impression abroad, or even at home. This is a great advantage. It gives to the policy of England a consistency which is one of its most remarkable, and one of its most useful characteristics.

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But, like most advantages, it has its corresponding inconveniences.

With the exception of the Germanic and Swiss Diets, and the American Congress, which possess limited powers, and a mere local jurisdiction, there is no court to which independent states can appeal. Two checks only exist which can prevent one nation from pursuing, to the injury of the rights and of the welfare of another, the course which, after calculating all its risks, she thinks it would be for her own interest to adopt. These are—her respect for public opinion, and her sense of justice. It is obvious, that in proportion to a nation's value for the opinion of others, will be the force of the former check. It is true, that in the defective state of public morality, to which we have often referred, this check is always weak, and often inoperative. It is even true, that where the vanity of a nation is thoroughly ill-placed, that very vanity may misdirect her conduct. She may covet admiration for her spirit or her power, at the expense of her virtue. The feeling of France is an example; but this is an extreme case. Bad as nations are, they generally desire to be thought generous, or at least equitable. Such is the desire of England, so far as she feels any solicitude as to her character abroad. In proportion, therefore, to the slightness of that solicitude, is the slightness of one of the two checks to her misconduct.

The same state of feeling has a tendency to weaken the other check—her sense of justice. A candid man engaged in a dispute, though he may feel certain, as he considers each individual point, that he is right, seldom ventures to act on his own unaided judgment. He is aware that it is fallible, that it must be biassed by his interests and his prejudices, and that it is improbable that he has given due weight to all the reasoning of his opponent. If the matter is serious, therefore, he asks the advice of his friends. If it be likely to lead to a lawsuit, which is almost equivalent to a war among nations, he takes the opinion of counsel. As far as he can, he avoids being judge in his own cause. A man who neglects these precautions is arrogant; for it must be recollected that arrogance does not imply intentional injustice. Indeed, an arrogant man generally believes himself to be a model of impartiality and forbearance; and the more firmly he believes this, the more probable it is that he is mistaken—the more sure he is that he must always be right, the more likely it is that he will frequently be wrong. Now, a nation is much more exposed to this danger than an individual. She has no friends to consult, no tribunal to resort to. There is one mode, and one mode only, by which she can correct the necessary partiality of her own views of her own conduct; and that is, by ascertaining the impression which it pro-

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duces on third parties. If she neglect this corrective, and if her force should be such as generally to enable her to carry her designs into execution, it is scarcely possible that her pride should not sometimes degenerate into arrogance, and her arrogance impel her to injustice.

From these accusations we cannot declare England free. Those who examine her conduct and her correspondence during the last fifty years, will find cases in which she has assumed a tone which she would not have endured if used towards herself; cases in which she has stretched the right of a belligerent to the utmost verge of the letter of that harsh law, and far beyond its spirit; cases in which she has disregarded the letter of international law, where it interferes with what she deems, very justly, a great and laudable object of her own; and cases where she has set at defiance both the letter and the spirit of that law, because it suited her own convenience to do so. The more serious part of this charge will be considered when we treat of her character as a belligerent; but her endeavours to suppress the African slave-trade, afford a useful illustration of the degree to which she has sometimes allowed the end to justify the means.

During the eight years which elapsed between the prohibition of that trade by England and by the United States, and the general peace, and especially in the latter part of that period, its suppression was easy. England was entitled as a belligerent to visit and search the vessels of every country; and in fact scarcely a flag ever appeared in the African seas unless it were English, or flying by the permission of England. But it was believed, and subsequent events have fully justified the belief, that the feelings of England with respect to the slave-trade would meet with weak sympathy in the rest of Europe; that as soon as peace rendered the ocean again the common property of all mankind, it would again be used for the purposes of the slave-trade; and that the vacancy occasioned by the secession of England and America from the trade would be instantly filled up, and much more than filled up. To prevent this, England inserted in her first treaty of peace with France, a treaty, signed only a few weeks after the entry of the Allies into Paris, an engagement on the part of France to endeavour to induce all other Christian powers to discontinue the trade, and a positive promise that France herself would terminate it within five years. She obtained from America an agreement to use her best endeavours to procure its general abolition. She obtained from the powers constituting the Congress of Vienna, a declaration that the trade is repugnant to public morality, and ought to be abolished; 'but not without a just regard to the 'interest, the habits, and the prejudices of their subjects.' And

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her definitive treaty with France, that of Nov. 1815, contained a recital that each of the contracting powers had, in their respective dominions, prohibited, without restriction, their colonies and subjects from taking any part whatever in the traffic. These were vague stipulations, and the proposal of the Duke of Wellington, that they should be enforced by a maritime police, authorized to ascertain acts of slave-trading by visitation and search, was rejected. In fact, with the exception of England and the Netherlands, few of the European nations possessing colonies appear to have been in earnest. They were ready to denounce the trade as inhuman; but they would take no active measures to suppress it, or even give any cordial support to such measures when taken by England. The recital in the French treaty was a positive falsehood. France had not, at the date of the treaty, prohibited her subjects from taking part in the traffic. She did not legislate on the subject until the year 1817, and even then the prohibition was partial. It prohibited the importation of slaves into the French colonies, but left her subjects at liberty to prosecute the carrier slave-trade to any extent which they might think proper. England, in the mean time, acted as if the Duke of Wellington's proposal, instead of having been decidedly rejected, had been conceded. She authorized her cruisers to seize *all vessels* prosecuting the African slave trade.* In obedience to these instructions, a British cruiser, on the 11th of March 1816, attempted to visit a French vessel apparently engaged in the slave-trade, was resisted, attacked her, captured her after an action in which twenty men were killed and wounded on the British side alone, sent her into Sierra Leone, and obtained her condemnation in the provincial Court of Admiralty. The French owners appealed to the High Court of Admiralty, then presided over by Sir William Scott. We extract a portion of the reasoning on which he reversed the decision of the Inferior Court, and decreed restitution of the ship:—'It is said that every nation has a right to enforce its own 'laws, and so it has, so far as it does not interfere with the rights 'of others: it has no right to visit or search the apparent ves-'sels of other countries on the high seas, in order to institute an 'enquiry whether they are not in truth British vessels violating 'British laws. No such right has ever been claimed, nor can it 'be exercised without oppressing and harassing the lawful navi-

* See the instructions given to the British cruiser *Caroline*, dated the 28th January 1816. Published in the Appendix to the case of the *Louis*.—2. Dodson's Admiralty Reports.

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'gation of other countries; for the right of search, when it 'exists, is universal, and will extend to the vessels of other 'countries, whether employed in slave-trading or in any other 'act. It is no objection to say that British ships may thus 'elude the obligations of British law. If even the question 'were reduced to this, that all British ships should fraudulently 'escape, or all foreign ships be injuriously harassed, Great 'Britain could not claim to embrace the latter alternative—You 'have no right to prevent a suspected injustice to another, by 'committing an actual injustice of your own. It is said, if this 'be not permitted, it will be extremely difficult to suppress 'the traffic. It will be so; but the difficulty of the attainment 'will not legalize measures otherwise illegal. To press forward 'to a great principle by breaking through every other great 'principle that stands in the way—to force the liberation 'of Africa by trampling on the independence of Europe; in 'short, to procure an eminent good by means that are unlawful, 'is as little consonant to private morality as to public justice. 'A nation is not justified in assuming rights that do not belong 'to her, merely because she means to apply them to a laudable 'purpose; nor in setting up a moral crusade of converting other 'nations by acts of unlawful force.'*

The arguments of Sir William Scott proved that England was required, by expediency, and even by justice, either to abandon her attempts to suppress the foreign slave-trade, or to obtain the acquiescence of foreign nations in her treatment of their subjects. A few months after, in 1817, she purchased from Spain, at the price of L.400,000, a treaty by which a right of visitation and search was given to the government vessels of each country, to be exercised in the merchant vessels of the other, 'when 'suspected, upon reasonable grounds, of having slaves on board, 'acquired by an illicit traffic.' Earnest endeavours were made to obtain a similar concession, if concession it could be called, from France. But when the Duke of Wellington made the proposal at the Congress of Verona, the answer of France was more than a mere negative. She not merely rejected the proposal, but added, that 'if ever it should be adopted, it would have the 'most disastrous consequences: the national character of the 'two people, French and English, forbids it.' In the mean time the French slave-trade was flourishing. It was weakly repressed by the government; and, we regret to add, that it was

* The *Louis*.—2. Dodson, 210.

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viewed by the people with little disapprobation. It appeared to them a means of acquiring and improving the great objects proposed to their ambition by Napoleon—ships, colonies, and commerce. They believed it to have been one of the foundations of the commercial prosperity of England, and ascribed her efforts for its suppression to her national jealousy. The English cruisers, sometimes from mistake, and sometimes from an indignation with which it is impossible to avoid sympathizing, continued from time to time to interrupt it. One of the most remarkable instances was that of three French vessels, the *Vigilante*, the *Betsey*, and the *Ursule*, which were discovered in the river Bonny laden with more than nine hundred slaves, attacked by the boats of an English squadron, captured after a severe action, the slaves liberated, and the ships carried as prizes into Portsmouth and Plymouth.

The Revolution of 1830, however, produced one of those periods of excitement during which France desires to be admired for something better than power and military glory. She was anxious for the approbation and for the support of England, and the result was the Convention of 1831, giving a mutual right of visitation and search. From that time the flag of France has disappeared from the slave-trade; and the change has been effected without any of the disastrous consequences predicted by the Government of the Restoration. Scarcely a complaint has been made by any merchant belonging to either nation of any improper proceeding under the treaty.

At length Portugal was the only European state with which no satisfactory arrangement had been made. In 1815, she had undertaken immediately to confine the slave-trade to the supply of slaves to her own possessions in the Brazils, and eventually to abolish it entirely; and she agreed to permit a right of visitation and search north of the Line. For this treaty England paid to her L.600,000. The Brazils separated from her, and prohibited the trade. We required Portugal to fulfil the treaty, to prohibit her subjects from engaging in the slave-trade, and to make the prohibition effectual by conceding to us a more extended right to visit and search slave-trading vessels bearing her flag, and to send them to an admiralty court, constituted of Portuguese and English judges, for adjudication. She refused; and the natural consequence was, that the trade was carried on to an enormous extent, both by Portuguese vessels and by vessels assuming her flag.

The determined refusal of Portugal to fulfil her engagement was a lawful cause of war, since, in the present state of the world, war is the only sanction by which nations having no common

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superior can compel adherence to treaties. Instead, however, of proceeding to this extremity, England pursued a course harsher than even war in appearance, principally from its unusualness; but which had the effect of producing all the result that war could have effected, and of effecting it without the previous suffering. The 2d and 3d Victoria, cap. 73, was passed, which, after reciting that her Majesty had been pleased to issue orders to her cruisers to capture Portuguese vessels engaged in the slave-trade, enacts, that it shall be lawful to detain, seize, and capture every such vessel, and to bring the same for adjudication into any British court of admiralty, as if the vessel were British; and that it shall be lawful for any British admiralty court to condemn such vessel: That every such vessel shall be liable to seizure, detention, and condemnation, if there be found in her equipment more water casks, mess-tubs, matting, or provisions than might probably be wanted for the use of her crew; or certain other articles —such as shackles, handcuffs, or planks for a slave deck, which are used only in slave-trading: And lastly, that such vessel shall be taken into her Majesty's service, or broken up.

In the mean time, England had made treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade, giving mutual right of visitation and search with all the states of the western hemisphere except the United States; or, as we have usually termed that government in this article, America.

Our readers are probably aware, that all questions connected with the right of visitation and search, or with slavery, are sore subjects in America. The Northern States, forming the seafaring portion of the Union, suffered so severely from the conduct of both the belligerents during the war, that they associate with the idea of a right of search, that of insolence and oppression; and they have professed doctrines relating to it which are repudiated by England, and are not those of the existing law of nations, but which they do not wish either to retract or to press. On the other hand, the Southern States, though caring less about maritime law, are anxious to stifle every discussion having a reference, however remote, to slavery. They know that the Northern States are opposed to that institution on political, on moral, and on religious grounds, and that they urge their opposition with the uncompromising, we had almost said, the unscrupulous vehemence, which is peculiar to a religious question. Yet the inhabitants of the South believe slavery to be essential to their existence. They believe that its abolition would devote the Whites to massacre, and even the Blacks to destruction, by civil war, intemperance, and famine. Knowing that discussion with their northern brethren only widens the breach and exaspe-

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rates the disputants, they strive to keep the whole subject of slavery, and every thing connected with it, out of sight; and, though they are opposed to the African slave-trade, their sense of its enormity is weakened by their familiarity with their own internal slave-trade between state and state, and by their recollection of the period when they or their fathers were dealers in imported negroes.

When we add to the difficulties occasioned by this state of feeling, the litigious, irritable, and suspicious character of America, we cannot wonder at the ill success of our attempts to obtain her full co-operation in the suppression of the trade. At first, indeed, the business appeared to be easy. It was not necessary, as it has been in France, to educate the public mind, and to convince the people that an immoral trade ought to be abandoned, even if it were a profitable one. We had not to complain of the inefficacy of her laws, or the corruption or unwillingness of her tribunals. America preceded us in the abolition of the trade, and enforced that abolition in her own courts as honestly as we did. In the addresses presented to the Crown by both Houses of Parliament in 1821, earnestly entreating his Majesty to renew his efforts to obtain the co-operation of France, the conduct of America is referred to as a model to ourselves, and as a ground for exulting in our common origin. But as we gradually deprived the slave-traders of the use of other flags, they endeavoured to usurp that of America. America did not think fit to incur the expense of maintaining a maritime police for their detection. We had the police, and requested to be allowed to employ it. And then began the discussions as to visitation and search, which still remain unconcluded. In 1821, a committee of the House of Representatives reported, that a mutual right of search, was indispensable to the abolition of the trade. But the President, Mr Monroe, refused to admit any negotiation on the subject. In 1822, a committee of the Senate concurred in the opinion which had been expressed by the House of Representatives, and earnestly recommended its being acted upon. 'Not 'doubting,' to use their own words, 'that the people of America 'have the intelligence to distinguish between the right of search-'ing a vessel on the high seas in time of war, claimed by some 'belligerents, and the mutual, restricted, and peaceful concession 'by treaty suggested by your committee, and which is demand-'ed in the name of suffering humanity.' The President either doubted the intelligence attributed by the Committee to his countrymen, or wanted that intelligence himself; for he continued his opposition to the opinion and recommendation of both branches of the Legislature. In 1824, however, his

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scruples had been overcome. A treaty giving to the armed vessels of each country a right to board and examine vessels bearing the flag of the other, on suspicion of their being engaged in the slave-trade, and to send them, if the suspicion appeared to be well founded, to their native tribunals for adjudication, was signed by the plenipotentiaries of England and America. But, in the mean time, the Senate had changed its mind, or, in the intricacies of American politics, thought it convenient to differ from the executive. It refused to ratify the treaty. And thus the matter stands. Each branch of the Legislature has separately accepted the measure, but only when it was refused by the other.

In the mean time, the British cruisers appear to have acted pretty much as they would have done, if the right of visitation and search, instead of having been refused, had been conceded. They felt that, if a vessel by merely hoisting American colours protected herelf from enquiry, no slaver would sail without a stock of such flags, and all the declarations and laws of Europe and America against slave-trading would become waste paper. When a vessel under suspicious circumstances displayed the American flag, they visited her for the purpose of ascertaining whether she were entitled to bear it. If she proved to be a slave-trader, and could show no plausible claim to be considered an American, they dealt with her according to her real character. But if there were any grounds for believing her to be American, they sometimes dismissed her, and sometimes carried her across the Atlantic, to be proceeded against in the American courts.

The conduct of the American government was marked by the indecision and inconsistency which belongs to all men who have assumed a principle which they are ashamed to abandon, and yet are ashamed to push to its legitimate consequences. Whenever a lawful American trader was visited and searched by a British cruiser, they complained that their flag had been violated. They announced 'their determination, that the flag of the United 'States should be the safeguard of all those who sail under it.* 'That they would never consent to their vessels being boarded 'or searched, however qualified or restricted the right might be, 'or under whatever pretence done;† especially as the United 'States have not the means of carrying out a maritime police 'and *surveillance;*'‡ and that these continued violations of the

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* See Mr Stevenson's Letter, February 5, 1840, Class 8, Farther Series, p. 40.

† Mr Stevenson's Letter of the 17th February 1840, ibid. p. 44.

‡ Mr Stevenson's Letter of the 13th November 1840, Class D, p. 93

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'flag of the United States, under whatever colour or pretence, 'cannot be longer permitted.'* In this view of the case, the offence against America was the boarding a vessel which thought fit to display her flag; and that offence was complete, that flag was violated, whether the vessel bearing American colours were or were not a slave-trader, or were or were not an American. America, however, never whispered a complaint against our capturing Spanish or French vessels, though sailing under American colours. She made no complaint, indeed, of our having captured and sent into her ports American vessels, or vessels supposed to be American, when found actually engaged in slave-trading. Instead of doing so, she requested the captors to remain at New York in order to give evidence. Her naval officers even entered into agreements with ours as to the mode in which our cruisers should deal with vessels bearing her flag. We subjoin a convention for that purpose, which may now be in force in the African seas:—

'Commander William Tucker, of her Britannic Majesty's sloop "Wolverine," and senior officer west coast of Africa, and Lieutenant John S. Paine, commanding the United States' schooner "Grampus," in order to carry into execution as far as possible the orders and views of their respective governments respecting the suppression of the slave-trade, *hereby request each other, and agree to detain all vessels under American colours, found to be fully equipped for, and engaged in, the slave-trade;* that, if found to be American property, they shall be handed over to the United States' schooner "Grampus," or any other American cruiser; and if found to be Spanish, Portuguese, Brazilian, or English property, to any of her Britannic Majesty's cruisers employed on the west coast of Africa for the suppression of the slave-trade, so far as their respective treaties and laws will permit.

'Signed and exchanged at Sierra Leone, this 11th day of March 1840.

(Signed) 'WILLIAM TUCKER,
'Commander of her Britannic Majesty's ship "Wolverine," and Senior Officer west coast of Africa.

(Signed) 'JOHN S. PAINE, Lieutenant,
'Commanding the United States' schooner "Grampus."'†

In this unsatisfactory, we may say absurd state, the question rests. In practice America allows that we may visit and search vessels bearing her flag; but in theory she forbids it. When, in

* Mr Stevenson's Letter of the 13th November 1840, Class D, p. 95.
† Slave-Trade Correspondence, 1840, Class D. p. 76.

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compliance with the practice, we search and detect a slaver bearing her flag, she makes no remonstrance; but if the vessel searched turn out to be a fair trader—a fact which nothing but the search itself can ascertain—she complains of that search as a national offence. And thus, between the refusal of America to adopt principles of equity, and that of England to abide by those of law, the embers of a national quarrel have been lighted, which it will require all the wisdom and temper of Lord Aberdeen, Lord Ashburton, Mr Webster, and Mr Everett, to extinguish.

If it were not for the human suffering that would ensue, the easiest mode of getting out of the difficulty would be for us to admit the force of her arguments, and to direct our cruisers to abstain from violating the American flag—that is, to abstain from visiting any vessel that should display it. Of course, it would be immediately hoisted by every vessel—French, English, Spanish, or Portuguese—that thought fit to engage in this most lucrative of traffics. America admits that 'she has not the means of carrying out a 'maritime police and *surveillance*.' The African seas would swarm with slavers; every one bearing the American flag, and every one assured by that flag of impunity. The execration of mankind, and, not least, that of the people of the United States, would show to the American government the necessity of abandoning a position, in which her only companion, out of the whole civilized world, is Portugal.

As a really practicable solution, we venture to suggest that England should direct her cruisers to visit no vessel showing the American flag, unless convinced that she assumes it fraudulently; and that America should accept, as a sufficient excuse where an American vessel has been visited, a declaration on the part of the visiting-officer, that he visited her in the belief that she was *not* American. However sensitive American honour may be, it can scarcely be wounded by an involuntary mistake.

One consequence would be, that America would be obliged to increase the force which she maintains in the African seas. It is now so trifling—consisting, we believe, of a single schooner—that it is utterly inadequate to carrying her own laws against her own subjects into execution; and while the American minister in London was declaring, that under no pretext whatsoever should an American vessel be searched or even visited, the American commander at Sierra Leone was requesting the British commander to detain all vessels under the American flag equipped for the slave-trade!

And we trust that a further and far more beneficial consequence would be, that she would join with England in a really

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earnest endeavour to destroy the slave markets of Brazil, Cuba, and Porto-Rico. We agree with Mr Forsyth and Sir Fowell Buxton in believing, that while those markets exist little good is effected by capturing slavers on the African coast. The influence of America in those countries far exceeds that of any other nation. That it has not been exerted for the purpose of suppressing the slave-trade is, as we have already remarked, a stain on the American character.

If the conduct of Portugal, France, America, and England, on the subject of the slave-trade, were submitted to the judgment of an impartial spectator, he must visit that of Portugal with unqualified disapprobation. He would probably treat the earlier conduct of France with nearly equal censure, and admit her behaviour in 1831 to be an imperfect atonement. He would lament that America should have allowed her party squabbles, her jealousy, and her litigiousness, to destroy her sense of humanity, her sympathy for Africa, and her respect for the example and for the public opinion of Europe. He would admire the self-devotion with which England has encountered offence, misrepresentation, expenditure of treasure and of life, and even the chances of war, in the hope of preventing evils with which she is acquainted only by report, and of civilizing, or at least improving, nations of which she scarcely knows the names. He might doubt whether the means adopted were wise. He might know, indeed, that their failure has been most complete and most calamitous; but he could not deny their generosity. We fear, however, that he must admit that the censure passed by Sir William Scott on her conduct, at its first beginning, has been in some measure deserved during its subsequent progress; and that, in her eagerness to liberate Africa, she has not always respected the independence of Europe.

England has often been considered ambitious. We admit that in India she has been so; and we believe that such was the inevitable result of her position. A civilized and powerful government, surrounded by semi-barbarous powers, too ignorant to be restrained by fear, and too faithless to be bound by treaty, is always forced by their aggressions to resist, to subdue, to reduce to vassalage, and finally to dismember and absorb them. But we have already expressed our intention to avoid this portion of the conduct of the nations whom we are endeavouring to characterise; since, in their treatment of barbarians, all nations act pretty nearly alike. Our business with England is not as an Asiatic, but as an European power; and as an European power we believe her to be eminently free from ambition. She feels, of course, the wish for power which is instinctive in every human

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being, and therefore in every human community; but she desires it only as a consequence of her prosperity. She knows that her prosperity depends on the extension of her commerce, not of her territory or dependencies. She knows, by bitter experience, that all her acquisitions in India, in America, and in the West Indies, have tended only to render her poorer and more vulnerable; that they have tended to increase her expenditure and to diminish her income—the first, by the enormous advances necessary for their government and protection; the second, by the mischievous preferences given by her to their productions. She knows that Canada and the West Indies alone cost her three millions a-year in establishments; and more than three times that amount, when the public and the private loss is added, in differential duties. Consistently with this view, she rejected Sicily, and she would now reject Syria. For more than a century she had the power of incorporating Hanover; but she always cherished the hope of throwing it off, and eagerly embraced the opportunity when it came.

The difference between the policy of England and France is marked by their respective treatment of Algiers. They each had a quarrel with Algiers: they each subdued it with the ease with which, in the present state of the arts of war, a civilized power subdues a barbarous one; but England never proposed to retain it. An English minister would have been thought mad if he had seriously suggested such a proceeding. She merely required the Dey to release all Christian prisoners, and to abstain from piracy on any Christian vessels; and then left the country in the degree of independence in which she found it. France deposed the Dey, confiscated his treasures towards payment of the expenses of the war, seized his territory, in violation of an express engagement with England; and now, principally because she thinks she has been dared to do it, is striving to convert it into a province of France.

England is equally free from the other form of ambition—anxiety to increase and extend her influence. She desires no imperial or royal alliances. She does not harass her neighbours by intrigues, and labour to keep them torn by factions in order that they may be weak, and weak in order that they may be subservient. She knows that her own welfare is intimately connected with the welfare of her customers. She knows, that in proportion to the wealth and the population of a country is its power of consuming her commodities, and of furnishing her with equivalents. She knows that the increase of wealth and population is best promoted by liberal institutions, and by internal and external tranquillity; and she is anxious, therefore, for her own

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sake, to see those blessings spread over the whole world. The extension of freedom and the preservation of peace are the sole objects of her foreign policy. Her motive may be selfish; but the result is as beneficial as if she were prompted by the purest cosmopolitan philanthropy.

With respect to fear, England approaches the mean between timidity and rashness. So far as she errs, it is on the side of rashness; and her rashness often arises from the carelessness as to the opinions of others, which we have already mentioned as one of her marked characteristics. She sometimes treats other nations in a mode which, if she had taken the trouble previously to ascertain their feelings, she would have found likely to be highly offensive; and she still more frequently neglects to appease by slight concessions an angry irrational antagonist. She feels sure that she is in the right, and rashly assumes that her opponent cannot be mad enough to urge an absurd complaint, or an absurd pretension to extremities. But she is far less rash than either America or France. For this there are several reasons. Like America, she has nothing to gain by a contest, and every thing to lose; she wants no glory—she would reject any increase of territory. The most successful war would merely leave her with an increased debt, an increased half-pay, and a diminished commerce. An unsuccessful war might lead her to national bankruptcy and revolution. She is aware that her power renders her an object of universal jealousy. From the nature of that power, and from the element on which it is most displayed, it is kept constantly before the eyes, not only of her neighbours, but of all mankind. The power of Russia and of France—the two nations that most nearly rival her, is known principally by report. Their vast armies lie concealed within their own frontiers, and must be visited before their force can be ascertained. The power of England is seen on every sea—her vessels of war show themselves in every port. Again, France and Russia are immediately formidable only to the countries which adjoin them. The frontier of England adjoins that of every nation that possesses a sea-coast and a ship; her blows are felt in the first week of hostilities. A power so widely diffused, and capable of such instantaneous exertion, is necessarily an object of dread; and we doubt whether there is a nation in Europe—even among those which profit most by the mode in which it is employed—that would not rejoice to see it diminished; and, if a war gave them an opportunity, would not join to reduce it. Another circumstance, which would materially increase the danger of England in war, is the doctrine which she has maintained as to the rights of Belligerents against Neutrals. The right which

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she has been accustomed to claim, of seizing an enemy's property in a friend's vessel, has indeed been assumed by every nation when it believed that it could gain by so doing. It is admitted by every modern jurist to be a part of the law of nations, so far as nations can be said to have a law; but it is one which no philosopher can approve, and no neutral can willingly submit to. A war would force England to relinquish or to enforce it. To give it up at such a period, would be a loss and a degradation; to enforce it, might throw all the maritime powers on the side of her enemy.

Under the influence of these considerations, England is prudent; but if it be difficult to get her into a war, it is still more difficult to get her out of one. When once she is engaged, nothing but success or absolute inability to continue the strife will induce her to relinquish it. Neither England nor her enemy can hope that the contest will be short, unless it end, like the Syrian matter, by her immediate triumph. No early defeats, no failures, will break her spirit, unless they should be such as actually to destroy her strength. She will continue the fight with dogged determination, gradually accommodating her habits to it, and throwing always as much as possible of the burden on posterity, until the chances turn in her favour, or pure exhaustion forces her to yield. Such was the history of the last two great wars in which she has been engaged—the first American war, and the Revolutionary war. She continued the former for years after all probability of success was at an end, merely because she could not bear to acknowledge herself beaten. The latter she fought on from 1793 to 1812, (for what was called the peace of Amiens was a mere armed truce,)—while ally after ally was conquered or had deserted her, while every year seemed only to increase her own debt and the power of her enemy,—in the firm expectation, though it is difficult to say on what ground, unless it were the personal character of Napoleon, that at length the tide would turn; and turn at length it did, but in consequence of events which she certainly had no right to anticipate. It is obvious that this pertinacity materially increases the dangers and prolongs the evils of war, both to England and to her enemy. The statesman, whether English or foreign, who engages her in hostility with a first-rate power—and no other would venture to cope with her—opens a historical period, of which neither the duration nor the event can be predicted.

The angry feelings of England are not so easily roused as those of America or France. She has not the touchiness of the one, or the irritable suspiciousness of the other; but her merits in these respects are comparative, not positive. Indeed, such are the defects of every national character, that a critic has little to

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do except to apportion blame in different degrees. The pride of England, and the tendency which we have already remarked to rely on her own view of every case, without enlightening herself by the opinion of others, often persuade her that she is insulted or injured, when an impartial bystander can see little ground for her complaint. The late case of Macleod affords an example. If America had attempted to inflict any punishment on Macleod, or even to detain him after the termination of his trial, whatever the verdict were, England would have been aggrieved, and would have righted herself, whatever the risk or the sacrifice. But she was not aggrieved by the conduct of America in making the matter the subject of a solemn judicial enquiry. The slowness with which the enquiry proceeded was very painful to the accused; the successful opposition of the local authorities to the view taken by the Federal Government, showed great defects in the institutions of America. But Macleod voluntarily subjected himself to the influence of those institutions. When he voluntarily entered the territory of New York, he knew, or must be held to have known, what were its laws, and he tacitly engaged to be governed by them. England has always refused to deviate from her laws on the requisition of a foreign power; she ought not to have complained that America followed her example. And yet the general opinion in England was, and perhaps still is, that the trial of Macleod was an injury to be resented and redressed.

But if the resentment of England, like that of every other powerful nation, is too easily roused, it is placable and generous. She readily admits terms of reconciliation. She does not trample on a beaten enemy. She does not brood vindictively over the events of a contest that has ended. She does justice to the virtues of an opponent. When Marshal Soult visited London, he was known only as a formidable enemy. He had shown no peculiar courtesy or forbearance, and he was even suspected—though we firmly believe the suspicion to have been unfounded—of having forced on a battle after he knew that the war had virtually terminated. It might have been expected that he would be received with cold civility. That he immediately became the idol of the multitude—that on the very day of the coronation he divided with the Queen their admiration and their applause—is one of the strongest proofs that could be given of the sympathy of a people with the courage and talent of an adversary. It may be said, however, that Marshal Soult had been beaten, and that his reception would have been different if he had defeated us. As neither the defeats of England, nor her visiters have been numerous, we are unable to find a case in

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point. But no one, we think, will doubt what would be the result if General Jackson were now to land on our shores;—the man who with undisciplined militia, and in the midst of a slave population, ventured to resist the veterans of our Peninsular campaigns, who defeated them, and perhaps prevented us from partitioning his country, would be received by his old enemies with a popularity as great as that of Soult.

It might be supposed that a nation so intent as England on her domestic affairs, and so indifferent to the sympathy of others, would care little about the welfare of those around her. The inference, however, would be erroneous. No nation feels a livelier concern in the fortunes of her neighbours; and her sympathy has operated at least as frequently to the injury of her own interests, as to their advancement. Sympathy on the part of one portion of her population with the sufferings of the royal family and aristocracy of France, and on the part of another portion with the efforts of the French people to obtain free institutions, absorbed public attention throughout the British Islands—broke up and recomposed parties—severed long-established political friendships—invaded even the tranquillity of private life, and materially promoted the war, which, while it raised the glory and augmented the apparent power of England, inflicted on her injuries which will never be completely repaired. Sympathy for Greece, rebelling against the oppression of Turkey, led to the 'untoward,' we may say the unjustifiable, event of Navarino;—led England to aid a rival against an ally, and to help in breaking down a power whom she has ever since been vainly endeavouring to protect and to invigorate. Sympathy for Africa has led England into a vast expenditure of money and of life, and into a complication of diplomacy, dictation, and interference, which has roused the hostility of the whole maritime world, and has induced nations which cannot appreciate, or even comprehend her motives, to ascribe to some unintelligible plan of aggrandizement, conduct which arises from disinterested benevolence. If England had looked on the happiness or misery of others with the selfish indifference of America, many a bright page would have been wanting in her history, but much would have been added to her prosperity and to her power.

In considering the influence of pride on the conduct of England, we made some incidental remarks on her justice. We proceed now to give a more detailed view of that part of her character. The subject is so extensive that it will be convenient to subdivide it—to treat separately her conduct in war and in peace; and to subdivide the former branch into the consideration

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of her behaviour towards her enemies, towards her allies, and towards neutrals.

In her treatment of enemies, the conduct of England has been, in some respects, better than that of most of her contemporaries; but, we regret to say, that it has seldom risen above that low standard, and sometimes has even fallen below it.

Among the rights of war, the most undefined are the right to confiscate the property of individuals; the right to inflict damage which does not really weaken the enemy; the right to treat certain forms of resistance as crimes; and the right to partition a conquered country, and to dispose of its inhabitants without their consent.

With respect to the first of these rights, the rule differs at sea and on land. It is admitted—though on no principle that would not equally apply on land—that at sea the private property of an enemy may be seized. England has always acted upon this principle to its fullest extent, and so, indeed, has every nation when it had the power. Equity, perhaps, would require—if there were room for equity in such a matter—that some warning should be given; and that merchants who had undertaken voyages in peace, should not unexpectedly find themselves entangled in the risks of war. No such indulgence, however, is afforded; and England is not peculiarly responsible for this injustice. But England is responsible for the extension which she gives to an unjust principle. She is responsible for the pertinacity with which she exercises the right, which some other nations have ceased to enforce—of confiscating in her own ports vessels which, when they arrived, were friends, and which a war has subsequently converted into enemies. She is responsible for the habit, when vessels have visited her ports in the full confidence of peace, of preventing their escape if she have a serious dispute with their government; and of detaining them, pending the dispute, for the purpose of confiscation if the dispute terminate in war. The *droits* of the Admiralty have been dearly purchased.

We are glad to turn to her conduct on land; for there she has generally acted with justice, and even with forbearance. She does not support her armies by plunder or by requisition. She endeavours to restrain them from all wanton devastation. Her treatment of the inhabitants of an invaded country has generally been less oppressive than would have been warranted by the laws of war. Of course, her behaviour has not been unvaried. The Duke of Wellington's threat—'If I have farther reason to complain of Bidarry, or any other villages, I will act towards them as the French did in the villages of Spain and Portugal; I will totally destroy them, and hang up all the people belonging to

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'them that I can find;'* and his subsequent statement of the execution of this threat,—'Pour moi, je fais pendre tous ceux 'qui font le métier de partisans, et je fais brûler leurs maisons,'†—are scarcely justifiable, even by the example which he quotes from France. The burning of Buffalo in 1814, was defended as the best means of preventing a repetition of the excesses committed by the Americans in Upper Canada. But no such excuse can be pleaded for the wholesale plunder of merchandize at Alexandria, or for the destruction of the public buildings of Washington.

Subject, however, to a few exceptions, we repeat, that on land England, as a belligerent, has been forbearing. Her conduct after victory has been of a mixed character. She has almost always been disinterested. She has sometimes, as in the case of France at the conclusion of the last war, been generous, and she has never been vindictive. But she has not always sufficiently respected the feelings, or even the rights of the inhabitants of the countries whose fate has been placed in her hands by her military superiority. As an example, we will state shortly her treatment of Norway. In the beginning of the year 1812, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and France were united in war against England. In the course of that year, Russia quarrelled with France, and it became essential to her to obtain the neutrality, and, if possible, the aid of Sweden. But only four years before, by the assistance of France, she had robbed Sweden of Finland. She did not choose to restore it, and as a substitute offered to give her Norway, then, and for centuries before, a part of the territories of Denmark, with whom Russia, who made the offer, and Sweden to whom it was made, were allied. Sweden accepted the proposal, and England, now turned into the ally of Sweden and Russia, agreed to assist in carrying it into execution. Denmark, of course, refused her assent, and Sweden and Russia declared war against her. As soon as the defeat of France left the Swedish troops at liberty, they overran the continental dominions of Denmark, and forced the King to sign a treaty transferring Norway to Sweden. But Norway objected. She had been at variance with Sweden for centuries; her population was much smaller, her civilization was more advanced, and she refused to become an appendage to a nation which she hated and despised. Relinquished by Denmark, she asserted her independence, took the present king of Denmark for her sovereign, and

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* Letter to Marshal Beresford, 28th January 1814.—Despatches, Vol. XI. p. 488.

† Letter to the Mayor of Hagetman, 21st March 1814.—Ibid. 601.

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proclaimed herself at peace with all the world, but ready to resist to the utmost any attempts to change her destiny without her consent. She might have been able to repel force, but she could not support famine. England blockaded her coast and starved her into compliance.

As a belligerent ally, the conduct of England has been exemplary. When she has made an engagement, no dangers or sacrifices to be incurred by its performance, no advantage to be obtained by its violation, will tempt her to break or to evade it. Where there has been a balance of conflicting duties, she has sacrificed to fidelity motives which may appear to have been still more important. Her blockade of Norway was an instance. England certainly ought not to have been a party to the iniquitous compact by which Russia and Sweden agreed to rob and dismember her enemy, but their ally; or at least she ought to have made it a condition, that the consent of Norway should be obtained. But having signed the treaty, she felt bound by it, and carried it into effect in defiance of the just complaints of Norway, and in opposition, as we believe, to her own interest. The conduct of Austria and Bavaria, in directing against France, the instant her fortunes changed, the very armies which were in the field as her allies, was eminently beneficial to Europe, and perhaps, therefore, justifiable; but it would not have been adopted by England. The behaviour of the other European powers during the late war, was a foil that showed this portion of the English character in high relief. While one continental alliance after another was dissolved by fear, or selfishness, or treachery, until the word 'coalition' seemed almost to mean disunion, the honour of England remained not only without stain, but without suspicion. She imposed no selfish conditions—she evaded no stipulations—she made no separate treaties—she accepted no indemnities at the expense of her friends—she did not join her enemies to plunder and crush her allies. We have already remarked, that in general the conduct of the best nation is far inferior to that of an average individual; but on this point the best man could not do more than copy the example of England.

We earnestly wish that we could bestow a portion of this praise on her conduct towards neutrals. We wish that we could exempt it from severe censure. Two sacred duties are imposed on belligerents. One is, to force no nation to break her neutrality; the other, to inflict on neutrals no further inconveniences than those to which they are subjected by the existing law of nations. The violation of these principles has a tendency to render every war universal; and, consequently, to render war the ordinary state of mankind, and peace only an armed truce. It has a tendency

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to sap the weak foundations of international law—to destroy the independence of all the feebler states, by rendering power necessary to security—and to force the civilized world to arrange itself in the form least favourable to moral and intellectual improvement, as the subjects of a few great military sovereignties. Both these rules have been broken through by England. An instance of her violation of the first rule may be taken from her behaviour to Denmark in 1807.

Until that year Denmark had preserved a strict neutrality. When the subjugation of Prussia, and the alliance of Russia, made the influence of France preponderate in the north of Germany, England, who still retained the alliance of Sweden, felt, that if she could obtain that of Denmark, a powerful barrier might be opposed to the progress of France; and she also felt, that if France could seize that alliance, Sweden could not resist, and the whole north of Europe would become hostile. It was known that mere solicitation on either side would not induce Denmark to take part in the war; but it was believed that France would not confine herself to solicitation. Napoleon, in his answer to the Hamburg deputies, had spoken with disapprobation of the commerce between Denmark and England, and had added, 'That little prince had better take care 'of himself.' Murat had hinted to Sweden, that if she would join France she should be rewarded with Norway, and a French force was collected near the frontier of Holstein. On these grounds, assisted by the usual tenor of French policy, England believed that France would take an opportunity, probably as soon as winter had closed the Sound, of entering the German possessions of Denmark, and of endeavouring to occupy Zealand and get possession of her fleet. Denmark herself seems to have participated in these fears; for she collected an army in Holstein for the apparent purpose of opposing, or at least deterring, that of France. But she was little aware from whence her neutrality was really menaced;—so little, that when her merchants confidentially enquired of the Danish government whether it might be advisable to remove their vessels from the English ports, they were answered that there was not the slightest ground for apprehension. Suddenly an English fleet, carrying an English army, appeared before Copenhagen, and proclaimed, 'That it was im-'possible for Denmark, though it desired to be neutral, to pre-'serve its neutrality: That the king of England had therefore 'judged it expedient to desire the temporary deposit of the 'Danish ships of the line in one of his Majesty's ports.'* An

* British Proclamation, 16th August 1807.

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envoy was sent to make this proposal to the Crown Prince, and 'If Denmark was really prepared to resist the demands of France, 'and to maintain her independence, his Majesty proffered his 'co-operation for her defence—naval, military, and pecuniary aid, 'the guarantee of her European territories, and the security and 'extension of her colonial possessions.'*

Such a proposal, so enforced, was repelled with indignation. But the British power was overwhelming. Copenhagen surrendered after a short bombardment, and her fleet, consisting of sixteen ships of the line, most of them old and unserviceable, and some frigates and sloops, was carried to England. The neutrality of Denmark was effectually destroyed. The instant our troops quitted Zealand she threw herself into the arms of France, and continued during the remainder of the war one of our bitterest enemies. The defence of England rested on the supposed designs of France, and the supposed inability of Denmark to resist them. We do not doubt the truth of either of these suppositions; but it is obvious that, if they formed a valid excuse, there would be an end to the neutrality of the weaker powers. If an expected violation of the rights of neutrality by one state justified an actual violation by another, belligerents would run a race of injustice, of which the most unscrupulous would reap the profit, and the neutral would be the victim. It may be added that this great crime was also a great *fault*. It had not the poor merit of immediate expediency. The three evils which England apprehended, if she allowed France to violate the neutrality of Denmark instead of doing so herself, were, first, the exclusion of England from communication with the Danish shores; secondly, the closing of the Sound against her commerce and navigation, so far as Denmark could close it; and thirdly, that France might direct against her the maritime force of Denmark.† She attacked Denmark for the purpose of preventing these consequences. Her attack succeeded, and immediately produced them every one. She was instantly excluded from all communication with the Danish territory; the Sound swarmed with Danish privateers and gun-boats, almost before her squadron carrying off the Danish fleet had passed through it; and though she carried off the fleet, she left behind the sailors, and men not ships were what France wanted. France could not man her existing navy. To the extent of the whole maritime population of Denmark, England, by converting them into active

* British Declaration, September 25, 1807.
† Ibid.

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and determined enemies, supplied that want. The results of this most atrocious proceeding are an illustration of what we believe to be a truth nearly as general among nations as among individuals—that injustice is folly.

We proceed to show the conduct of England towards the nations which she allowed to remain neutral. The maritime rights of a belligerent against neutrals are four:—

1. The right to prohibit neutral vessels from entering or attempting to enter a blockaded port—that is to say, a port so closely watched by a belligerent squadron as to make entrance without their permission difficult.

2. The right to prevent neutrals from supplying the enemy with certain commodities—such as military and naval stores, and other warlike provisions, which are termed 'contraband of war.'

3. The right to seize and confiscate an enemy's property found on board a neutral vessel.

4. As necessarily incidental to these rights, the right to board neutral vessels, and to examine their cargoes and papers, in order to ascertain the nature and the ownership of the cargo, and the object of the voyage.

The right of a neutral against a belligerent is, that, subject to the rights of war, her vessels on the high seas are to be treated as they are to be treated in peace—that is to say, as invested with all the privileges and all the independence of the country to which they belong.

During the portion of the war which preceded the peace of Amiens, France set all law at defiance. She decreed that all vessels containing any commodities of English origin should be confiscated, and that neutral sailors found on board English vessels should be put to death. Her cruisers carried on a system of almost indiscriminate piracy; her prize courts were as iniquitous as her captors; and, in as far as her power extended, she preyed on the commerce of the whole world. Under the Consular government these decrees were repealed; but in a few years the system was resumed, though in a form somewhat different. By the decree of Berlin of the 21st November 1806, the British islands were declared in a state of blockade, and the whole world was prohibited from holding intercourse with them. England answered by an Order in Council of the 7th January 1807, by which she prohibited all neutral vessels, on pain of confiscation of ship and cargo, from trading from one port to another, each such port being in the possession, or under the control, of France or of her allies; and by another Order of the 11th November 1807, which declared that all the ports of France, and of her allies, or of any other country at war with England, or from

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which the British flag was excluded, should be subject to the same restrictions as if the same were actually blockaded; that all trade in the produce or manufactures of such country should be unlawful; and that every vessel trading with any such country and all her cargo should be confiscated, unless she had previously visited a British port, or were on her way to a British port. And France replied by a decree of the 17th December 1807, which declared that every vessel, of whatever nation, which had visited an English port, or a port occupied by English troops, should be lawful prize. England and France thus assumed each to apply to vessels trading with the dominions of the other, or with the dominions of the allies of the other, the punishment that is lawfully inflicted on those who break through a real blockade. As far as the two greatest powers in the world could effect it, neutral trade was annihilated. France, as far as she was able, confiscated vessels if they visited a British port, and England if they did not do so.

England's excuse was retaliation; but it was a retaliation directed, not against France, but against those whom France was oppressing. The vessels which she confiscated under her Orders in Council were not French vessels, but vessels belonging to nations with whom England was at peace.

Still, however, in this rivalry of oppression she had the miserable plea that she followed the example of her enemy. She was guilty of another violation of the law of nations for which she had not this shadow of an excuse. The crown of England is entitled by the law of the country to the services in war of all her sailors. But of course this right, like all other municipal rights, is incapable of exercise within the dominions of another state, except by the permission of that state. Subject to the rights of war, a vessel on the high seas is invested, as we have already remarked, with all the privileges and all the independence of the country to which it belongs. The rights of war entitled England to search neutral vessels, in order to ascertain the nature and ownership of their cargoes. In the execution of this duty her officers often found Englishmen among their crews. If the vessels had been English it would have been lawful to impress such men, to deprive their vessel of their services, and to force them into the royal navy. England thought fit to act thus, although the vessel were foreign. She thought fit to import her own laws into a floating portion of the territories of an independent nation; and to enforce them as if the high seas were really a part of her dominions. This would have been a most oppressive exercise of superior force, even if she could have been sure that the men whom she so impressed were English. There was no difference

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between her taking Englishmen out of an American or a Danish vessel, and her sending a pressgang into Elsinore or New York to seize all the English sailors whom it could detect on the quays. But there is another maritime nation with the same origin, the same habits, and the same language. It was impossible that when a British officer passed in review an American crew, and selected those whom he believed to be English, he should always escape error; it was impossible that an American should not sometimes be taken for an Englishman—and the mistake, if made, was generally irremediable. The man might be carried off to a distant climate, and years might elapse before he could prove, if he ever could prove, his citizenship. America remonstrated, threatened, obtained no redress, and at length had recourse to arms. The war terminated with the general peace; and, with the exception of the mutual injuries which it inflicted, and the traces which still remain of those injuries, left all things as it found them. We trust that the time is not distant when England will voluntarily relinquish this monstrous pretension. She must feel that she would not submit to it herself; that if France and America were at war, she would not permit a midshipman from an American frigate cruising in the Channel, to muster the crews of her merchantmen, and to seize and carry into military servitude all those whom he thought fit to consider American citizens. Rights which she would not allow to others she cannot in justice, or even in prudence, endeavour to maintain for herself. *Now*, in time of peace, she may disavow them with dignity: if she should be engaged in war, she will be forced either to abandon them on apparent compulsion, or to rouse the hostility, and, what must be formidable even to Engand, the well-grounded hostility, of every neutral, by enforcing them.

In peace England is never intentionally unjust; and this is no slight comparative merit. We have already remarked that her pride, her confidence in her own wisdom and justice, and her neglect of the opinion of other nations, must have a tendency somewhat to warp her notions of what is right; and to lead her to take what a German would call a 'one-sided' view of disputed questions. But her motives are not sordid or ambitious. She never sins against her own conscience. She sometimes believes that she has rights which an impartial judge would not concede to her; and she often adheres more obstinately than is wise—more obstinately than she would do if she listened to the opinions of others—to the claims which she thinks she possesses in equity, if not at law. But we must add, that if she sometimes demands that a compact be interpreted according rather to the spirit than to the letter, to the substance than to the form, she

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readily acquiesces in such a demand from others; and if she can be convinced that there is a fair doubt, she gives to her opponent its full benefit.

Her conduct with respect to what has been called the 'Russo-'Dutch Loan' is an instance. By a treaty, dated the 15th May 1815, England and Holland agreed to pay to Russia in equal moieties, by instalments, the principal and interest of fifty millions of florins;—'It being understood,' added the treaty, 'that the said payments, on the part of the King of the Ne-'therlands and the King of Great Britain, shall cease and de-'termine, should the possession and sovereignty (which God 'forbid) of the Belgic provinces at any time pass, or be sever-'ed from the dominions of the King of the Netherlands, pre-'vious to the complete liquidation of the same.' In 1831, while a large portion of the debt remained unpaid, the event contemplated by the treaty seemed to have happened. Holland, consequently, discontinued her payment, and it rested with England to decide whether she should continue hers. The feeling between the nations was any thing but amicable. Russia was engaged against Poland in a war to which all our sympathies were opposed; and was suspected, with reason, of designs and practices inconsistent with her professions of friendship, and injurious to our interests and to our tranquillity. There never was a period at which we less wished to court or to strengthen her. It seemed doubtful even whether the two countries would continue at peace. According to the words of the treaty, England was clearly released. The possession and sovereignty of the Belgic provinces had passed, and were severed from the dominions of the King of the Netherlands. England, however, felt that there was a doubt. It might be contended that the severance contemplated by the treaty, as the determination of her engagement, was a severance by external force, not, as had occurred, one by internal dissension; and it might be argued that one of the objects of the stipulation in question, was to bind Russia to use her utmost endeavours to preserve the connexion between Belgium and Holland, and that Russia had performed that duty. We own that we do not acquiesce in this reasoning, nor was it held conclusive by England. We have little doubt that, if the question could have been submitted to a legal tribunal, judgment would have been given against Russia. But as the decision rested with England, she thought it became her to decide against herself. She has continued her payments as if no severance between Holland and Belgium had occurred.

We shall close our view of the three great nations whom we

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have compared, by some remarks on the degree in which the character of each seems to deteriorate or improve. During the present century the influence of the people on the public conduct of America, France, and England has been constantly increasing. In each of these countries the forms of government have become more and more liberal, and public affairs have excited among the people more and more attention. During that period, almost every state composing the American Union has approached nearer to a pure democracy. France has acquired a representative system; and the constituency on which it is founded, narrow as it is, has been progressively enlarged. The Government has been more and more under the influence of the Chamber, and the Chamber under that of the electors. Napoleon was more independent of public opinion than Louis, Louis than Charles, and Charles than Louis Philippe. In England the growth of the towns, and of the commercial and manufacturing interests, has enabled them to measure their strength with the aristocracy—to effect a revolution which, though tranquil, has been real—and to conquer an influence which, though its progress is irregular, and from time to time apparently checked, must ultimately predominate. Under such circumstances, the public conduct of a state becomes a better and better index of the character of its population.

We regret to say that the character of America seems to deteriorate. She appears to us to become more captious, more litigious, more rash, and, we fear, even more ambitious, as her power advances. And when we consider the probable magnitude of that power at no distant period, the possibility that she will abuse it is a source of alarm, both for her own sake and for that of Europe. As far, however, as European interests are concerned, it must be recollected, that every abuse of her power by America has a tendency to check its growth; and that, if ambition were to seduce her into prolonged war, or to an extension of territory much exceeding what are now her acknowledged limits, the probable result would be, that she would be dissolved into independent, and rival, and frequently hostile states, less beneficial to mankind than if she had remained one pacific empire, but certainly much less formidable.

In the public character of France we see little change. Her ambition, her thirst for admiration, her indifference to the means by which it is to be obtained—perhaps we might say her desire to be admired rather for her courage than for her forbearance, rather for her power than for her justice—her want of faith and of candour—the unreasonableness of her resentment, and the fierceness of her hate—have been as conspicuous during the last few years as during any portion of her history.

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England is still very different from what we could wish her to be; but she is improving. Her feelings have been more decidedly pacific—her sympathy in the welfare of other nations has been stronger—her resentment less readily roused, and more easily appeased—and her whole conduct has been more disinterested and more prudent, during the last twenty-five years, than during any other period of equal length for a hundred years past. We trust that an extension and improvement of education, commensurate with the increased influence which the body of the people are acquiring over her Councils, will improve her good dispositions; that the reform in her Tariff, which the public voice demands, and must obtain, will direct her commerce towards the more civilized portion of her European neighbours; that increased intercourse will produce more community of feeling and opinion; above all, we trust that she will escape the great corruptor—war; that she will have no victories to inflame her passion for military glory—no defeats to make her timid—and no disgraces to wipe out.

With respect to her conduct towards the two nations with which we have compared her, we hope that when any differences arise between her and America—and differences must constantly start up where there are so many thousand miles of contiguous frontier—she will instantly endeavour to have them referred to arbitration. It is scarcely possible that states, so litigious as America and so self-confident as England, should ever convince one another, or agree as to a basis of compromise;—even supposing, what never will be the case with respect to England, that each government had leisure and patience to understand the matter in dispute. A controversy attempted to be carried on direct between Downing Street and Washington, lingers on from year to year—sometimes apparently forgotten, and sometimes apparently on the brink of adjustment—but with a constant tendency in each party, at every renewal of the discussion, to become more acrimonius and more obstinate. With respect to France, we hope much from the Commercial Treaty, of which even the details have long been arranged—which each Government has long been anxious to sign—which is demanded by the departments—and delayed only in fear of the Journalists of Paris. Commerce, manufactures, and the desire for individual advancement, may, in time, direct to peaceful pursuits the restless ambition and vanity which now seek to be gratified by participating in the general glory of the nation. But while we desire to have with France as much of commercial intercourse as is possible, we desire to have as little as is possible of diplomatic intercourse.

It is with deep regret that we express our conviction, that

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until this change in the habits of thinking and feeling in France shall have taken place, (an event of which we see no present indication,) any durable alliance between the two countries is impossible. They may not, we trust that they will not, be at war; but their peace will not be the peace of friends. If the present hostility of France to England had arisen merely from the recollection of past defeats, it would wear out as those defeats receded more and more into the obscurity of history. If it had arisen from our disapprobation of her interference against the liberties of Spain, or of her colonization of Algiers, or from the Syrian dispute, the only matters in which for the last quarter of a century we have opposed her, it would have subsided when those questions had been disposed of. Her hostility springs from far deeper sources. Sixty years ago, towards the close of the American war, France was the most powerful kingdom in the world. Her population amounted to twenty-six millions, while that of the British islands did not exceed thirteen or fourteen; that of Austria and of European Russia about twenty-five each; and that of Prussia seven or eight. She had flourishing colonies, a fleet which could cope with that of England, and a population superior in wealth and industry to that of almost every other portion of the continent except the Netherlands. On her southern and south-eastern frontiers were Spain, Savoy, and Switzerland, all under her influence; then the territories of petty German states; and then to the north the Austrian Netherlands, the weak dependencies of a distant empire. Now Spain, Savoy, and Switzerland, have thrown off her control. Belgium, in close alliance with England, is on her north, and the grand duchy of Luxemburg, Rhenish Prussia, Rhenish Bavaria, and Baden—all connected by the powerful Germanic confederation—close her in on her remaining frontier. Her military marine, no longer supported by an extensive commerce, has ceased to be formidable. Algiers is the substitute for almost all her colonies; the wealth and industry of her people are scarcely equal to those of the inhabitants of many of the nations round her; and while her population has reached only thirty-four millions, that of the British islands amounts to twenty-seven millions, that of Austria to thirty-seven, that of Prussia to fourteen, and that of Russia in Europe to fifty. France looks at the change with a mixture of grief and terror.

Æstuat ingens
Imo in corde pudor, mixtoque insania luctu,
* * * * et conscia virtus.

She fears, that if her neighbours outstrip her in the next half

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century as much as they have done in the last, she will sink to a secondary power. To a bystander, the remedy appears to be obvious. If she would cease to waste the resources of her subjects by a grinding taxation, for the purpose of maintaining armies and fleets of no use but to keep up the enmity of Europe; if she would cease to throw, annually, thousands of men and millions of money into the vortex of Algiers; if she would modify the barbarous Tariff which excludes her from foreign commerce; if she would abolish the restrictions and monopolies which fetter and diminish her internal production, consumption, and exchange; in short, if she would liberally and honestly cultivate the arts of peace—there is no nation whose rivalry she need fear. With her territory, her soil, and her climate, she might in half a century possess a prosperous population of fifty millions. But the selfish short-sighted interests of large classes, and the vanity, impatience, and ignorance of all, seem to render such measures as these, for the present, impracticable. Self-condemned, therefore, to slow progress herself, she wishes to impede the progress of others. Since she cannot overtake them, she wishes to drag them back. Of all her rivals, England is the most powerful, and therefore the most detested. She believes, and we admit the justice of the opinion, that England would be seriously injured by a war. And hence her earnest desire to involve her in one—a desire which must last as long as its causes continue; that is to say, as long as England remains powerful, and France envious and ambitious. It is true, that France cannot be engaged in a serious war without overthrowing her present dynasty and her present constitution. They have no roots to withstand a storm. And this is the principal security for peace. But we doubt much whether the attachment of France to such a dynasty, and to such a constitution, would restrain her if a plausible pretext for war should arise. And the more numerous are the matters in which France and England have to act in common, the more numerous their points of political contact, the more numerous will be the occasions for a rupture.

We will venture to go further, and to suggest a doubt whether the variety and activity of our general diplomacy, since the termination of the war, may not have been somewhat excessive. Without adopting the opinion of one of our shrewdest statesmen, that the best thing for our foreign affairs would be, to lock up the Foreign Office for three or four years, and hide the key; we may wish that that Office were less easily accessible. It is possible that a plausible pretext might be brought forward for every case of our interference; but in how many of those cases were there not plausible grounds for remaining quiet? Up to the

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present time, interference has been the rule, and abstinence from it the exception. We are inclined to wish the rule and the exception to change places. It is not necessary, indeed it would not be prudent, for England to announce beforehand what are the precise points which she would consider cases for remonstrance, or cases for war. What we wish is, that it should be felt that she seeks to avoid *all* interference; that when she does interfere, it is for a great object, and one in which others are interested as well as herself; and that, in such a cause, she will put forth her whole force.

How much expense, how much anxiety, how much danger, and how much enmity, has America escaped by her system of non-interference? What is the circumstance which has allowed her to adopt that wise and fortunate system? Chiefly her belief that she is protected by the Atlantic from serious attack. But the sea which separates America from Europe, separates England from the Continent. We are nearly as difficult of access as she is. Experience, indeed, might lead to the belief that Washington is more exposed than London. It is supposed that our constant exertions are necessary in order to keep the Balance of Power. It is difficult, however, to believe that this Balance may not be preserved by the mutual fears and mutual exertions of the great continental monarchies, with less action on the part of England. Germany now knows her own power; France is beginning to appreciate the power of Germany; Russia is an object of jealousy to both. Is it certain that our intermeddling may not have tended as often to disturb the equipoise as to adjust it? We must add, that the indifference of the British public to foreign affairs, and the secrecy in which our negotiations are enveloped, greatly useful as these circumstances are in many respects, sometimes add to the dangers to which all diplomacy is exposed. The publicity of all the acts, and of all the correspondence of the American Government, and the co-operation of the Senate in treaties, have their peculiar evils and dangers; but they have at least one advantage. The country knows where it is. It cannot be surprised into an engagement or a war. It cannot be suddenly informed that, during a period of apparent inactivity, the national faith and the national honour have been pledged to promises, demands, and threats, which the national opinion would have refused to sanction. But in England, alliances, guarantees, and all the other expedients of diplomacy, may be concocting in Downing Street, while the Bank Parlour and the Royal Exchange enjoy a fancied security; and the nation may be awakened from its dream of safety only by the presentation of Papers and the demand for a Vote of Credit.

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ART. II.—1. *Mémoire sur la Variation de la Temperature dans les Alpes de la Suisse.* Par M. VENETZ, (Denkschriften der Allgemeinen Schweitzerischen Gesellschaft. Band I. 2te Abtheilung.) Read 1821. Published 1833.

2. *Naturhistorische Alpenreise.* Von F. J. HUGI. 8vo. Solothurn: 1830.

3. *Notice sur la Cause probable du Transport des Blocs Erratiques de la Suisse.* Par M. J. DE CHARPENTIER. 8vo, pp. 20. Paris: 1835. (Extrait du Tome VIII. des Annales des Mines.)

4. *Discours prononcé à l'ouverture des séances de la Société Helvetique des Sciences Naturelles à Neufchatel, le 24 Juillet* 1837. Par L. AGASSIZ. 8vo, pp. 32. 1837.

5. *Etudes sur les Glaciers.* Par L. AGASSIZ. 8vo. With folio Atlas of Plates. Neufchatel: 1840.

6. *Theorie des Glaciers de la Savoie.* Par M. LE CHANOINE RENDU. 8vo. Chambérry: 1840.

7. *Essai sur les Glaciers, et sur le Terrain Erratique du Bassin du Rhone.* Par JEAN DE CHARPENTIER. 8vo. Lausanne: 1841.

8. *Etudes Géologiques dans les Alpes.* Par M. L. A. NECKER. Tome I. 8vo. Paris: 1841.

GEOLOGY as a science is subject to revolutions similar to those of which it treats. Alternations of opinion are as frequent as those of strata; and a change comes, from time to time, over the spirit of the cosmogonal dream, as one or another agent or mode of action seems best to fit the explanation of a certain large class of phenomena. At one time all in geology is turmoil, earthquake, and conflagration; at another, the speculator sees in the evidences of past change nothing but proofs of the long continuance of the existing comparatively peaceable state of things. For a series of years, whilst 'Plutonism' was on the ascendant, all was to be accounted for by the latent or developed action of heat—at another time, water or an 'universal 'menstruum' bathed the surfaces of our valleys and mountains, producing by its changing condition not only all the chemical, but nearly all the mechanical changes which the earth's surface has undergone.

A soberer spirit of philosophizing has united the two apparently

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inconsistent doctrines of geological change, and ascribes to fire and to water their respective shares in the manipulations—if we may use the phrase—which reduced the external crust of a once chaotic sphere to a condition fit for the existence and maintenance of varied organic bodies. But amidst the prevalence of that modified 'Huttonianism' which expresses the geological creed of a great majority of the cosmogonists of the present day, one condition has been held as incontrovertible, namely—that the ancient world was *hotter* than the modern one; that tropical animals inhabited the temperate and even the polar regions of the globe; and that the palm and tree fern clothed the shores where now flourish only the dwarf birch and the Norwegian pine. The fossil plants of the carboniferous period, and the shells of all but the most recent of the tertiary formations, point alike to a great but indeterminate excess of warmth in those times above the present.* But the generalization so long accepted, is now assailed by a weight and combination of evidence which demands the fullest investigation. An agent, which may be termed *new* in the application which has been made of it, is now to be pressed into the service of geology; and the 'Plutonism' of the older theorists, and the 'Neptunism' of their successors, are about to be succeeded, in the history of hypotheses, by the universal ICE-FLOOD with which the modern school of Swiss Naturalists would invest our globe, from the tropics to the poles.

It is to explain the more recent and superficial changes of the earth's surface that the mechanical agency of permanent ice, or Glaciers, is proposed to be introduced. Even the fundamental questions of the aqueous or igneous origin of Granite and Trap rocks, and the doctrine of Universal Formations, have not been more keenly contested by geologists than the nature and duration of those processes by which the *most recent* geological changes have been effected, the final *contour* given to the soil, and large masses of rock detached from their natural position, and transported, whether to form gravel beds of enormous thickness or solid angular fragments, to surprising distances from their origin. Such phenomena are the accumulations called the *drift* in the south-east of England, the gravel beds of the Great Glen of Scotland and the beaches of Glen Roy; the occurrence of fragments of granite, native only in the Scandinavian peninsula, dispersed along the southern shores of the Baltic, and the plains of Russia, Estonia, and Denmark; or lastly, the deposition, on the calcareous chain of the Jura, of angular masses of rock,

* Lyell's *Elements of Geology*, 1841, i. 285, ii. 125.

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which are only found *in situ* at distances of eighty and one hundred miles amongst the highest Alps. These and similar phenomena have been explained by some geologists by the energy of the moving power of a great flood, which swept over the earth's surface previous to the commencement of the present age of the world; whilst others have been found bold enough to maintain, that we see in action around us, even at this day, causes sufficiently energetic, if continued for an indefinite time, to have produced these apparently violent effects. The objections to both of these opinions will be stated in the course of this article. Suffice it to say, that assent to one or the other was rather extorted by the method of proof called a *reductio ad absurdum*—that is, by proving the difficulty or impossibility of the contrary hypothesis—than by convincing the reason that one or the other was in itself probable. The new Swiss School of Geologists have proposed to themselves to maintain that both these theories are incorrect, and that the mechanical changes which the earth's surface has undergone, in that important and interesting period which seems to connect the actual era with the earlier epochs of geological history, were due to a great extension which the glaciers of the mountainous regions of the globe then experienced, constituting agents of transport and abrasion similar in kind to those which still exist, but exaggerated in their dimensions and energy.

Guided by the experience of past times in the reception or modification of geological hypotheses, we feel ourselves called upon, in the first place, to admit with caution the extensive operation of an agent which, though known, has not hitherto been admitted to play any great part in the modifications of the earth's surface. But more especially do we feel the necessity of not losing sight of any thing approaching to demonstrated truth in the science of geology as it stands, in our haste to adopt and appreciate what really is valuable in the novel theory. The rage for immature generalization, which is dangerous in all sciences, is especially so in that of geology, beset as it is in almost all its parts with conflicting evidence; evidence often the more conflicting in proportion as it is more detailed. The rejection of superfluous causes from science is, indeed, one of the first rules of philosophizing; but the danger in geology, we are persuaded, lies in the opposite direction—in the tendency to mutilate the evidence in order to fit the Procrustean bed of one great fundamental assumption. At all events, let Newton's rule be practically applied, by admitting with caution *new* general causes, not by attempting to subject to these every effect which admits of a different explanation.

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The Memoirs and Works specified at the head of this article, all bear upon this recent geological innovation; for we consider as properly belonging to Geology whatever has reference to conditions of the earth's surface different from the present, although such modifications have occurred within historic times. It will be seen by the dates that the enquiry or suggestion is not altogether a new one. Twenty years ago the question of the ancient extension of glaciers was already agitated; and indeed we might have carried our citation of authors much further back, only that with the Memoir of Venetz dates the origin of the phase of geological speculation to which we have alluded. The authors (all living) have brought the subject, in a strictly geological point of view, from its fundamental facts (many of which had of course been admitted and reasoned upon by others) to its present bearing, and therefore to their writings we shall chiefly confine our attention; although, to be historically exact, we must, from time to time, recall the meritorious labours of their no less eminent predecessors.

It is plain, that an attempt to prove the vastly greater energy with which glaciers formerly acted in effecting geological changes, must be grounded on a study of those glaciers which now exist. Naturally, therefore, the rise of the theory in question occurred in Switzerland, and amongst persons whose attention had been forcibly called by local and other circumstances to the conditions of glacial action as exhibited in the Alps. Unless we have rigorously determined what are the effects produced by existing glaciers, it is vain to argue about the proofs of their traces in positions where they are no longer found; and unless we have advanced so far as to analyze the origin of glaciers, the causes of their subsistence, and the conditions of their internal economy, we shall want positive arguments in support of their having existed in other places or under other circumstances. The study of glaciers, as forming a portion of physical geography, is very old indeed; and when we consider the eminence of the authors who have described them, and the infinite number of men of science who have visited them, we wonder perhaps that more should still be found to be said. The mechanism of a glacier is a problem of natural philosophy, and one much more difficult and embarrassing than it has commonly been supposed; and as the second question—namely, the efficiency of compact moving ice in modifying the earth's surface—is a strictly geological problem, and of comparatively recent date, geologists have begun, and very properly, by assuming, or establishing the laws of glacier-motion rather as the substratum of their speculations than as a distinct application of physical laws to a special case.

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The ECONOMY OF GLACIERS, and the HYPOTHESIS OF THEIR FORMER MUCH GREATER EXTENSION, are therefore two very distinct questions; both of which are treated of at some length in several of the works before us. We propose to consider these points separately; but first it may be well that we endeavour to present to the reader a picture of what a glacier is, and of the curious and beautiful appearances and transformations which it exhibits.

When we approach to examine a chain of mountains whose tops are constantly covered with snow, their acclivities green, and their bases clothed with wood—we should naturally expect to find a tolerably well marked line fixed by the level at which the snow never melts. Now this is very rarely, if ever, the case. The zones marked out by the limits of growth of particular plants—the superior limit, for instance, of the chestnut, the beech, or the pine—are generally more clearly defined than the level of perpetual snow. This is soon found to be due, in a great measure, to the forms of the mountain sides in whose hollows the snow of winter, by accumulating, resists the summer's heat, which, had it lain only to its *mean* depth, must infallibly have caused it to disappear. Such cases occur even in climates where glaciers, properly speaking, are never found. The highest mountains in Britain, for instance those on the boundaries of Aberdeenshire and Inverness-shire, occasionally retain a portion of the winter's snow on their shady sides during the entire summer, without exhibiting any approach to the structure of a glacier.

A glacier, in the customary meaning of the term, is a mass of ice, which, descending below the usual snow line, prolongs its course down the cavity of one of those vast gorges which furrow the sides of most mountain ranges. It is better represented by a frozen torrent than by a frozen ocean. Any one placed so as to see a glacier in connexion with the range from which it has its origin, at once infers that it is, in some sense or other, the outlet of the vast snow fields which occupy the higher regions. It is impossible to doubt that it results from, and is renewed by the eternal ice-springs of those riverless wilds. None who has ever seen or even clearly conceived a lava-stream, can fail to find in it the nearest analogue of a glacier. Stiff and rigid as it appears, no one can doubt that it either flows, or once has flowed. Were the glacier like the flood of molten stone, the result of one great eruptive action, then its existence beneath the limits of the general snow line would be inexplicable. It melts—it must melt; it lies on warm ground yielding crops perhaps within a hundred

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yards of its lower extremity; the sun beats perpetually upon its icy pinnacles, which, though they reflect much, must retain some of the incident heat; and we see, accordingly, in a summer's day the glazier oozing out its substance from every pore—above, beneath, within. And yet, with all this the glacier wastes not; always consuming, it is never destroyed. Evident therefore it must be, upon this ground alone, that a glacier glides imperceptibly down its valley, and this independent of all direct measurements of its motion. These, as we shall presently show, fully corroborate the inference.

The glacier therefore moves progressively, or, if the reader pleases—it *flows*. The flood of water of the arrowy Rhone passes so swiftly, that the passenger almost giddily follows with his eye the bubbles which mark its flight;—the lava stream must be watched for some seconds or minutes, perhaps hours, to mark its progress:—the stately march of the glacier is yet a stage more slow; months and even years are but the units of division of its dial.

But what is its dial? To answer that question we must describe the configuration of the ice, which differs considerably from that of ice under most other circumstances. The lower extremity of a glacier, where it terminates in the valley, is almost always abrupt: sometimes so steep as to be nearly inaccessible, presenting a continuous rampart, from the base of which, through a vault deep in the mass of ice which hangs in half fallen fragments from the green roof, issues a turbid river, partly the produce of the melting ice, and partly, no doubt, of the springs which rise under the glacier as elsewhere, and which give a certain volume to this stream even in the depth of winter. At other times the glacier rises from its very base in isolated jagged pinnacles, fissured in every direction, and absolutely inaccessible. This is commonly the case where the glacier terminates at the *embouchure* of a ravine where it is very steeply inclined; the former character prevails more where the limit of the glacier is determined by its gradual descent into the warmer regions of a very gently sloping valley. There is yet another distinction between the terminal appearances of glaciers; and it is one of the most striking to the eye of the intelligent traveller. If the ground beneath the precipice of ice be covered with the *debris* of rocks discharged from the upper and lower surfaces of the glacier; if the vegetation be scanty and feeble, and great surfaces of rock lie exposed without a trace of soil or even lichen, as if some crushing mass had lately ground down its naturally uneven surface—then is the glacier in a diminishing or retreating state: the waste of ice below is not compensated by the

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supply above, and the retreat will continue until the diminished waste corresponds to the actual supply, by the progressive movement of the ice. If, on the other hand, the termination of the glacier touches the grass or cultivated land without much intervention of scattered blocks—if we see lying by its edge the trees which have been torn up or cut over in its former progress—if the greensward is not only torn by the insinuation of the icy ploughshare, which is kept by its enormous weight in contact with the subjacent rock, but is likewise wrinkled into ponderous folds far in advance of the glacier front—there we have plainly proof of the excess of the supply above the waste—the glacier is in progress.*

Now, suppose the first difficulty of ascent overcome, and that whether by choosing the less steep parts of the abrupt face, or by following the line of rocky masses which the glacier rolls down, and of which it forms a girdle, extending from side to side —or lastly, by climbing the walls of the valley itself in which the glacier lies, we have reached the upper surface of the ice. We then see, what so many have seen from the Montanvert at Chamouni—a gently sloping icy torrent, from half a mile to three miles wide, more or less undulating on its surface, and this undulating surface more or less broken up by *crevasses*,† which, generally nearly vertical in their direction, have a width of from a few inches to many feet; and a length which sometimes extends almost from side to side of the glacier. In all this, there is little or no resemblance to water tranquilly frozen. The surface is not only uneven, but rough; and the texture of the ice wants the homogeneity of that formed on the surface of lakes. The hollows, which appear but trifling when viewed from a height and compared with the expanse of ice, are individually so great as to render the passage amongst them toilsome in the extreme, even independent of the *crevasses;* and the traveller who has to walk for several hours along a glacier, will often prefer scrambling over stones or rocks on the side, to the harassing inequalities which appeared at first so trivial. In a day of hot sunshine or of mild rain the origin of the hummocky ridges is apparent: the intervening hollows have every one of them their rill, which, by a complicated system of surface draining, discharge the water

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* In the year 1818, the front of the glacier of the Rhone advanced 150 feet —Charpentier, *Essai*, p. 302.

† The translation of the French word *crevasse* into the English *crevice*, is so evidently inapplicable to these vast fissured chasms, that we shall constantly adopt the French spelling.

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copiously melted by the solar influence, the contact of warm air, and the washing of the rain. These rills combine and unite into larger streams, which assume sometimes the velocity and volume of a common mill-race. They run in icy channels excavated by themselves, and unlike the water escaping from *beneath* the glacier, being of exquisite purity, they are both beautiful and refreshing. They seldom, however, pursue their uninterrupted course very far, but reaching some *crevasse* or cavity in the glacier mechanically formed during its motion, they are precipitated in bold cascades into its icy bowels; there, in all probability, to augment the flood which issues from its lower termination. Nothing is more striking than the contrast which day and night produce in the superficial drainage of the glacier. No sooner is the sun set, than the rapid chill of evening reducing the temperature of the air to the freezing point or lower—the nocturnal radiation at the same time violently cooling the surface—the glacier life seems to lie torpid; the sparkling rills shrink and come to nothing; their gushing murmurs and the roar of their waterfalls gradually subside; and by the time that the ruddy tints have quitted the higher hill-tops, a death-like silence reigns amidst these untenanted wilds.

Winter is a long night amongst the glaciers. The sun's rays have scarcely power to melt a little of the snowy coating which defends the proper surface of the ice;—the superficial waste is next to nothing; and the glacier torrent is reduced to its narrowest dimensions.

Pursuing our survey, we next notice the bands of fragmentary rocks which traverse the glacier in nearly parallel lines—sometimes confined to its edges, sometimes dividing its breadth into two compartments so distinct, that we can hardly help fancying that we see two glaciers separated by a vast mound of blocks, which rise from the bottom of the valley. This last appearance is admirably illustrated by the view of the lower glacier of the Aar, in the 14th plate of M. Agassiz' work. The slightest examination shows that these accumulations of *debris* (to which the name of MORAINES has been given) are perfectly superficial, and conform themselves so entirely to the configuration of the ice-surface, that on many glaciers scarcely one stone lies upon another, every one covers the ice immediately. Thus, on the Aar glacier just mentioned, where the ridge of stones seems to form a heap, or rather two parallel heaps upon the level ice, it is found that the ice itself is heaped up under the stones, and gives the entire form to this sort of backbone, which divides the surface into two nearly equal parts, rising in some places to a height of

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eighty feet above its general level. So irreconcilable are the facts with the theory formerly adopted of these moraines—that they were stones which, having fallen on the sides of the glacier, gradually settled down upon the centre as being its lowest part.*

As a general fact it may be stated, that every glacier has two moraines at least, composed of the masses which, detached by gravity aiding the effect of moisture and the freezing of water in the cracks of the neighbouring rocky heights, fall on the edges of the glacier, and form two borders or *selvages*, which accompany it, generally speaking, throughout its entire length. These are called *Lateral Moraines*. Besides these, there are the parallel bands of *debris* which divide the glacier in the direction of its length, and of which we have just spoken. There can be no question that the origin of these has been, for the first time, correctly stated in the works of Charpentier and Agassiz, mentioned at the head of this article. But this brings us back again to the movements of the glacier; for these moraines are the divisions on the dial of which we have above spoken, and upon which we read the chronology of glacier history. A simple statement of facts will at once illustrate and prove this.

The higher parts of glaciers are always contained in valleys extending above the limits of vegetation, and indeed, from causes which we shall afterwards explain, the walls or sides of these ravines are extremely precipitous in most cases, so that even the snow covers them imperfectly. The exposed rocks are subject to great changes of temperature, owing to the intense effect of solar radiation at these heights. The snow in contact with their surfaces is melted almost every summer's day, and the moisture is absorbed into the minute fissures of the stone. The nocturnal frosts congeal this water, and the powerful expansion thus occasioned, has the effect of loosening and disintegrating the hardest rocks, in a manner which has no parallel under other circumstances. Atmospheric causes therefore produce their maximum of destructive effects in the neighbourhood of glaciers; and, as a matter of course, the detached fragments, descending by their weight, often rebound from cliff to cliff, until they fall shivered into smaller morsels upon the surface of the ice. Such an *eboulement* leaves a distinct proof of its occurrence by the heap of rubbish resting on the glacier. If *this* had no progressive motion the fragments would remain piled under the rock whence they fell; until, perhaps in the succeeding spring, being joined by another group, they would accumulate at those points where the

* Saussure, *Voyages dans les Alpes*, § 537.

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his cabin, and found it several hundred feet below its first position; that six years afterwards (in 1836) he found it 2200 feet from the foot of the rock.† * * * We hastened to measure with a long cord, which we had provided, the distance from the cabin to the rock, and found it 4400 feet. * * * This year (1840) I have found it much injured, and 200 feet lower than last year.'—*Etudes sur les Glaciers*, p. 149-51.

It is plain from this extract that the rate of movement has been far from uniform; since, during the nine years from 1827 to 1836, it could not have exceeded 250 feet *per annum*; but from 1836 to 1839, it advanced in three years as far, at least, as it had done in the previous nine years, or with a mean annual velocity of above 730 feet. The velocity of a glacier at different epochs, in different seasons of the year, and at different parts of its mass, are data of the utmost importance for science, as yet but little attended to.

What a curious internal historical evidence, then, does a glacier bear to the progress of events which have modified its surface! It is an endless scroll, a stream of time, upon whose stainless ground is engraven the succession of events, whose dates far transcend the memory of living man. Assuming, roughly, the length of a glacier to be twenty miles, (no uncommon case,) and the velocity of its progression (assumed uniform) $\frac{1}{10}$ of a mile, or 500 feet, the block which is *now* being discharged from its inferior surface on the terminal moraine, may have started from its rocky origin *two centuries* ago! The glacier history of 200 years is revealed in the interval, and a block ten times the volume of the greatest of the Egyptian Monoliths, which has just commenced its march, will see out the course of six generations of men ere its pilgrimage too be accomplished, and it is laid low and motionless in the common grave of its predecessors.

When we come to study more carefully the arrangement of the rocky fragments and earthy matter upon the surface of the glacier, we find a multitude of curious details. One of the most striking is the occurrence of what are called Glacier Tables. These consist of masses of rock, usually connected with one of the moraines, lying on their flat side, and supported above the general level of the glacier by an icy pedestal—a 'pillar and 'claw' foundation. Now, this is not only a picturesque accident, but recalls our attention to a most important circumstance of the glacier economy—that there is a perpetual waste at its surface; and that the stone, by preventing this waste, remains an

† Judging from the plan of the glacier given in Hugi's work, the cabin was never close to the foot of the rock.

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index of the former level of the whole mass, like the earth pillars left by workmen in the course of excavation. Though some authors have attempted to make the glacier tables on their stalks sprout like mushrooms from the surface of the ice, there cannot be a doubt that this is their real origin. A very simple experiment, which has actually been made, gives the direct proof. If a hole be made vertically in the ice, and a stick sunk into it so as to rest upon the bottom at a depth of ten or twenty feet, it will be found that during summer weather the upper part of the stick becomes gradually bared by the dissolution and evaporation of the surface of the ice. A glacier has thus been found to lose a thickness of more than three feet in as many weeks. The action of the stone is very evident. The whole of its lower part is maintained, by contact with ice, at a freezing temperature; if the thickness be considerable, it forms a pretty complete shelter against the direct action of the sun's rays, as well as against the contact of warm rains and wind.* Thus the ice immediately beneath it is comparatively preserved. It is a clumsy but effectual parasol.

But yet we often find precisely the contrary effect wherever the ice is pretty consistent, so as to admit of pools of water being formed: *there* we have innumerable cup-shaped cavities, each containing a bit of slate, a dead insect, or not unfrequently a *leaf*—a leaf which assuredly could not have fallen from the sides of the glacier, which have not a single tree; but leaves even of the beech and chestnut are wafted by the tremendous violence of the winds from immense distances, and across elevated chains covered with perpetual snow.† Here, then, the presence of a foreign body has wasted, instead of protecting, the ice. The difference lies merely in the thickness. The dark surface of the chip of stone or organized matter absorbs the solar heat, and transmitting it quickly to the ice, by being completely warmed through, excavates for itself a cavity. It is in these cavities, too, that living animals are often found—small black insects which inhabit the snow or ice-cold water, and there propagate their species.

Sometimes the ice is completely honeycombed with these cups, which often break into one another, and unite their contents; at other times, the passage of the rills, already mentioned, accumulates sand and gravel derived from the moraine; and so soon as

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* The phenomenon of glacier tables was perfectly well explained by Saussure.—*Voyages*, § 630.

† Such have been found on the upper glacier of the Aar, which must have been transported from the lower valley of the Rhone.

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this accumulation reaches a certain thickness, a surprizing change takes place. The solar heat enters, but no longer freely penetrates the mass—the action of the extraneous matter becomes conservative, the ice melts more rapidly all round than under it; and, after a while, the face of the glacier *becomes precisely reversed*, the mould of what it was before. The heights take the shapes of the corresponding hollows—a *crevasse* filled with sand becomes in time a ridge of ice, coated with the sand which formed it: we have negative water-courses, negative *crevasses*, negative holes. From what we have already said of the magnitude of the superficial water-courses, it will be conceived that the *détritus* which they bear with them may be abundant, and that it may be deposited in considerable quantity in the deeper excavations. But the result would hardly be anticipated, and indeed must be seen and watched in its various stages to be well understood. As the protected surface rises higher and higher relatively to the general level, the sand which composes it falls, or is washed gradually down, protecting the sides of the icy cone which has been formed beneath it, to which (though continually streaming with moisture) it contrives to adhere with a tenacity not easy to explain. A glacier which, by the evenness of its surface and numerous water-runs, is adapted for the production of this phenomenon, is thus covered with a number of gravel cones, whose regularity and magnitude astonish and perplex the observer. They may be seen from fifteen to twenty feet high, and seventy or eighty in circumference. It is hardly possible to doubt at first sight that these cones (which are like enormous ant-hills) are composed, to the centre, of gravel; but we invariably find, as already stated, that it is a mere covering—the heart of the cone is *pure solid ice*, which, if its apex be removed with a hatchet, appears quite black and glassy, from the obstruction of the light by the sides of the cone. This very singular phenomenon has been perfectly described and explained by M. Agassiz in the tenth chapter of his work.

These phenomena are important, as explaining how it is next to impossible that extraneous matter can become imbedded in the glacier. By retarding the superficial melting as soon as its mass has become at all considerable, such an accumulation of *debris* must sooner or later find its way to the surface—not by pushing through the matter of the ice, which some writers seem to suppose (as many of the peasants do) to be endowed with a sort of organic faculty of rejecting impurities—but because these impurities retain their place in the ice, which is continually thawing and evaporating by the surface; and once arrived there, they can

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never, for the reasons already explained, again penetrate the mass, but will in general attain a level above it.

The appearances we are describing are not to be found upon all glaciers: the gravel cones especially are rare productions, and depend probably, in a great measure, upon two circumstances—a moderate slope of ice, which, not being greatly *crevassed*, permits considerable water-courses to be formed, and abundant *moraines* affording disintegrated materials for the accumulations in question. Such a glacier is that of the Lower Aar. The glacier of Aletsch, (Agassiz, plate xii.,) though abundantly flat, is destitute of considerable medial moraines; the glaciers of Chamouni are, for the most part, too precipitous.

When a glacier descends a steep mountain ravine like those of the Allée Blanche, which pour their majestic frozen torrents down the tremendous gorges which the chain of Mont Blanc presents on its southern side—or like the lower part of the glacier of Viesch (Agassiz, plate x.) in the Upper Vallais—or like the glacier of Rosenlaui, and that of Upper Grindelwald in the Canton of Berne—the condition of the ice differs considerably from that which we have described. Urged onwards in its flow upon the immense bed of rocks on which it reposes—forced sometimes to discharge itself over the bank of a precipice—the rigid mass is fissured in all directions. Swayed hither and thither by the unevenness of its base, the fissures maintain no constant direction; but subdivide the ponderous mass into rude prismatic fragments, whose height is the thickness of the ice, and the form of their bases is determined by the meeting of the fissures which form them. These prisms become transformed into pyramids, more or less rude, by the action of atmospheric water, the contact of air, and evaporation, which speedily sharpen their summits, rising in a thousand fantastic forms; whilst their bases, here and there irregularly cut through by the escape of glacier torrents, become excavated into not less fantastic labyrinths in the deep blue depths of the ice, which often preserves here its most characteristic purity. As the excavation proceeds, these pyramids, doubly acuminated above and below, topple over, and increase the apparent confusion by mingling their ruins. The moraines with which the surface has been charged, are, as a matter of necessity, dispersed into every fissure by the discontinuity; and the masses thus fallen, and ground by the pressure of the ice, are from time to time rolled down the rocky steep, and finally are borne to a certain distance by the impetuous torrent which flows from its base. To make much way along such glaciers as these, is evidently next to impossible. The experienced guide will either cross the glacier as directly as possible, if his course requires him to do so—(as in crossing the glacier

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of Bossons on the ascent of Mont Blanc *)—or scale the rocky walls of the ravine, in preference to attempting to follow the course of the glacier. Such excursions, even when not dangerous, are the most fatiguing of all sorts of climbing;—the traveller now leaping from point to point along the jagged edges of the ice which bound the fissures; now making long zig-zags to get round the *crevasses* which cannot possibly be traversed; at other times descending the walls of those less steep and profound, and laboriously climbing the opposite face. Or if he prefers the moraine (where it exists) to the ice, he must step from top to top of the curiously-piled stones which rest upon the ice, propped in the most fantastic positions, and on account of the perpetual changes of their bed not firmly jostled as on solid ground into positions of stable equilibrium; but often resting on such ticklish balance that his weight is sure to precipitate a host of them, and himself above all, down one of those treacherous slopes. Driven sometimes from all these modes of progression, there is no alternative but to scale the rocks which confine the glacier; which are generally so rugged and intersected by water-courses, that a summit or elbow has no sooner with infinite toil been gained, than the traveller finds himself compelled to make a descent to his old level, still more difficult and alarming. Such are the alternatives which not unfrequently present themselves to the glacier tourist—alternatives which Milton, in his enumeration of the difficulties which beset the Satanic voyage to earth, has failed to particularize, doubtless (shall we say) from being unacquainted with them. Often is even the skilful mountaineer

> '—— harder beset
> And more endanger'd, than when Argo pass'd
> Through Bosporus betwixt the justling rocks:
> Or when Ulysses on the larboard shunn'd
> Charybdis, and by the other whirlpool steer'd,
> So he with difficulty and labour hard
> Moved on, with difficulty and labour he—'

* Thus described by Mr Auldjo:—'We were surrounded by ice piled up in mountains, crevices presenting themselves at every step, and masses half sunk in some deep gulf; the remainder, raised above us, seemed to put insurmountable barriers to our proceeding, yet some part was found where steps could be cut with the hatchet; and we passed over these bridges often grasping the ice with one hand, while the other, bearing the pole, balanced the body, hanging over some abyss into which the eye penetrated and searched in vain for the extremity. Sometimes we were obliged to climb up from one crag of ice to another, sometimes to scramble along a ledge on our hands and knees, often descending into a deep chasm on the one side and scaling the slippery precipice on the other.'—*Narrative of an Ascent of Mont Blanc*, 1827, p. 15.

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There are, however, many glaciers whose ascent is attended with no such inconveniences and perils, although generally with some labour, whether along the moraine or on the ice; the cool footing and the exhilarating mountain air give, however, an elasticity and confidence to the tread unknown below—the eye, familiarized with precipices, forgets their terrors, and those who at home would hesitate to walk along the top of a narrow wall, can look with unblenching gaze into the fathomless depth of the glacier *crevasses*. But whether the inferior part of the glacier has been steep and dislocated, or even and gently inclined, the higher portion of the ravine or basin in which it takes its origin is very generally, for some space at least, moderately flat. The glacier here bounds with the region of perpetual snows, from which (on every theory) it depends in some way or other for its sustenance and increase; and consequently this portion of the ice-field peculiarly demands our attention, for it presents important modifications, and in fact has received from mountaineers a peculiar name—in French it is called *névé*, and in German *firn*.

The névé or firn is the unconsolidated glacier. As we approach it the fissures of the glacier become generally rarer, and always narrower. The elevation above the sea being already very considerable, perhaps 8000 or 9000 English feet, the winter's snow lies all summer on the surface of the ice, conceals the *crevasses*, and partly also the structure of the matter of the glacier itself; to discern which the snow must be carefully removed. It is a frequent, perhaps a general characteristic of the transition from the glacier proper to the névé, that whilst the former presents a *convex* surface, the latter is *concave*, and inosculates insensibly into the snowy steeps which clothe the sides of the upper glacier-basins, at these great heights. Magnificent is the prospect which these firns sometimes present. The surface is smooth and almost level, like an artificial floor stretched across a valley, whose sides evidently descend to a great depth beneath. It is a real platform—to compare great things with small, it is a theatre with the pit boarded over; and what a theatre! From that even snowy carpet of dazzling white rise hundreds of nameless peaks on either hand, seeming to pierce a sky whose azure hue is so intense, as to find no match in nature save the gentian, which expands its lovely flowers close to the glacier. The sides, scathed by lightning, and torn by the avalanche, scarcely permit a resting-place for the snow, which accumulates in dazzling wreaths only in its sheltered nooks. Each of these pinnacles transported to an ordinary scene would seem one of nature's grandest objects, whilst here it is lost amidst the crowd of its fellows. But a very few have any specific name, and still fewer

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are found indicated on the best maps.* Sometimes the ice-field abuts abruptly against precipices which rise nearly vertically from out of it, as does the Finster Aar Horn from the névé of the Aar glacier—a splendid surface, almost flat, and of many square miles in extent, in the midst of the very highest group of mountains in Switzerland proper.

The structure and consistence of this unconsolidated glacier is extremely remarkable, and, as we have said, it is important for the theory of glacier motion. It is evidently snow in a transition state into ice, having a granular structure, resulting from the partial thaw to which it has been subjected, in consequence of the water, which the heat of the sun produces, percolating pretty freely through the mass. The *crevasses* in the névé differ from those in the glacier by their greater width and irregularity, by their beautiful green colour, and by the horizontal stratification of the material forming their sides, which is divided by bands of more or less perfectly formed ice, corresponding, perhaps, to annual periods, or to extraordinary falls of snow.† It is hardly necessary to say, that the passage from the glacier proper to the névé is graduated, not abrupt. It appears to have an intimate connexion with the permanence of the winter falls of snow, which entirely vanish during summer, upon the surface of the ordinary glacier, with which they never enter into intimate combination, but are melted by degrees; excepting here and there a mass which, falling into a *crevasse*, is there consolidated by successive thaws and congelations.‡ The region of the névé, or firn, is one of

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* A popular error prevails, that Switzerland is provided with better maps than any other country in Europe. This has some colour of truth with respect to a mere road map, such as the traveller on beaten paths requires. Bring any map, however, to the test of comparison with real landmarks and the natural features of mountainous tracks, and Keller's and every map now existing are found grievously wanting. There is but faint hope that this material deficiency will be effectually supplied within many years, notwithstanding the professed interest taken by the Swiss government in its fulfilment.

† This structure, which may be observed up even to extreme heights, and is too remarkable to be overlooked, has been mentioned by De Saussure, Zumstein, and other Alpine travellers. Charpentier says—'La fonte incomplète des neiges annuelles des hauts névés est la cause de la stratification qu'ils presentent, mais qui s'efface et finit par disparaître entièrement, à mesure qu'ils se changent en glaciers.'—*Essai*, p. 3.

‡ 'Les *firns* ou *hauts névés* se trouvent à une hauteur où les neiges tombées dans le courant d'une année, ne disparaissent pas entièrement l'année suivante. En revanche les neiges qui tombent sur les glaciers se fondent complètement presque tous les étés.'—Charpentier, p. 3.

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intense and unmitigated desolation. Even where a rock appears, no plant more developed than a lichen or moss flourishes upon it; a stray insect is in general the only trace of animal life; even the chamois avoids these wilds, unless pursued: no animal, indeed, can be more sensitively afraid of the *crevasses* and chasms which, thinly covered by treacherous snow, often reveal to the amazed traveller the awfully precarious footing upon which he has just heedlessly passed.

This portion of the glacier, occupying, as we have said, the upland basins or hollows which stretch far into the mass of compound mountain systems, is succeeded by the last member of the glacier series; which occupies the sides and summits of the mountain ranges themselves, and their innumerable offshoots. The névé, whose gently swelling concave form we have attempted to describe, generally terminates tolerably abruptly against some rocky or very steep icy boundary, by which the highest mountain summits or ridges are to be scaled. There is a chasm of separation, so well marked and so general, as to be considered as forming part of the characteristic glacier type; and which is called in the German part of Switzerland the *Berg-schrund*. The passing of this forms a very frequent and notable difficulty in the way of Alpine travellers, who attempt to attain the highest regions. Once passed, the glacier features are resumed. On the flanks of the mountains, and even on their summits, the snow is consolidated into a compact icy structure, alternating, however, in the more sheltered places with crisp snow, which separates the icy layers, characteristic also of the proper névé. That true ice should be found on the highest summits, is not a matter of the least surprise to those who reflect that the sun acts at these elevations with an intensity unknown below; and though the continued accumulation of snow is no doubt mainly prevented by the action of wind, (which may often be seen driving to leeward a delicate cloud of dry snowy particles, having all the appearance of the finest vapour,) and likewise by the *immediate* evaporation of the snow without passing into the liquid form; yet there can be no question that every hot summer's day proper fusion goes forward, and a corresponding congelation during the night—forming a true icy casing of the most insulated summits where snow can rest at all. Saussure, indeed, was not convinced of this fact until he actually ascended Mont Blanc,* whose top, surveyed with the greatest care from the Cramont, he had previously† supposed to

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* *Voyages dans les Alpes*, § 1981. See also Auldjo's *Mont Blanc*.
† Ibid. §§ 530 and 940.

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be merely snow. There are other mountains, however, which bear direct testimony to the fact, even from a distance. Some of the magnificent icy pyramids in the neighbourhood of the Ortler Spitz in the Tyrol, are evidently composed in their upper parts of pure ice, which, in certain positions of the sun, transmits its characteristic greenish light in a manner truly magical.* A great number of mountains too, above 10,000 feet high, and having precipices on their northern or eastern sides, present the following remarkable appearance:—Icy crusts, possessing great consistency, project *many feet* over the precipices, and when the sun shines favourably upon them, exhibit their peculiar colour with extreme delicacy. These projections are formed by the tufted accumulation of gently drifted snow, which, thawing at intervals, becomes invested with a crisp coating. This crust, if pierced inadvertently, may bring a traveller into the most perilous situations, or sacrifice his life. Hugi picturesquely describes one of the most awful positions of this kind in which a human being was ever placed. Whilst attempting the ascent of the Finster Aar Horn, he broke, by his weight, through a cornice of ice such as we have described, only two feet thick, and projecting five or six feet over a sheer precipice of 4000 feet. Fortunately, one of his companions had, for security, a hold of the other extremity of a long staff which he carried, who, applying his whole weight at the opposite end, the two were held suspended in awful equilibrium, as at the arms of a balance, until help was obtained.—(*Naturhistorische Alpenreise*, p. 193.)

Having thus sketched the whole course and transitions of the glacier world from its inferior outlets to its highest summits, and explained, in passing, the origin of many of its most remarkable configurations—we proceed to consider what have been proposed as theories of the mechanical functions of the glacier—its reproductive faculty, by which its waste is continually made good, and consequently the theory of its motion; how

> 'The glacier's cold and restless mass
> Moves onward day by day.'

To enter into detail respecting the arguments used by the advocates of the various hypotheses employed, would greatly exceed

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* It is probably, for this reason, that the Ortler obtains on the Italian side the name of Monte Cristallo. Captain Gerard mentions, that on the Himalaya the snow visibly melts during summer at heights exceeding 20,000 feet.

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the limits of this article. We restrict ourselves, therefore, to a concise description of the two great rival theories; the main facts which appear to support each; and to a few of the difficulties which appear to us to cause hesitation in the adoption of either. That we may not, however, seem to consider the subject hopeless, we shall suggest some experiments which may one day lead to a solution of these interesting questions.

The theory of De Saussure (which, though much older, owes its notoriety to his clear exposition of it) is simply this—that the accumulation of the snow in the higher ice-fields during the year, and especially in winter, forms not only the *pabulum* for the growth of the glacier, but is the glacier itself;—the fusion of the snow, and the infiltration and congelation of the water, forming the gritty ice of which the glacier proper, and also the lower part of the névé, is composed.* The pressure of the accumulated snows (due not only to the mean fall on the area of the surface, but also to the discharge by avalanches from the steep sides) is the *moving cause* of the glacier, as the inferior extremity is melted away. According to this theory, the glacier melts, not only at its upper surface but at its lower one, owing to the contact of the ground beneath, which has a temperature above 32°. Now, this fusion beneath, evidenced by the flow of glacier streams even in winter, greatly facilitates the movement of the glacier along its inclined bed. It also accounts for the more rapid movement of the sides than the centre of the glacier; since there the detachment of the glacier from the trough in which it lies is usually more complete. The *crevasses* are produced by the unequal velocity of the glacier in its different parts, and by the inequalities of the bottom over which it is compelled to heave its rigid and unwieldy mass.

The other theory, also very old—having been expounded by Scheuchzer above a century ago—ascribes to glaciers *the same origin*, viz.—the transformation of the névé into ice; but to the *movement* of the glacier a very different one. The ice of glaciers not being solid, but porous—or rather, according to the authors who maintain this theory, fissured by minute cracks in every direction—the water melted at the surface is drawn by capillarity into these rents; and during the immediately succeeding act of congelation, the mass of the glacier is momentarily increased by the expansion of this water in freezing. The swollen mass expands in the direction of least resistance—that is, vertically upwards or in thickness, and longitudinally forwards or in the

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‡ *De Saussure*, § 526.

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direction of its motion. This theory, broached in later times by Toussaint de Charpentier, is maintained with much ingenuity of argument by Jean de Charpentier, Agassiz, and others.

In the course of the animated controversy still going on upon this subject, we have been struck by the occasional want of clear views as to physical principles, betrayed in the heat of argument upon the one side as upon the other. We will endeavour to state what we consider as real difficulties to each hypothesis; and leave the reader to judge, whether in the present state of the question he is prepared to give in his adhesion to either.

1. And first of the Gravitation Theory. De Saussure's views are most applicable to glaciers descending with a considerable inclination, and through valleys of nearly equal breadth, without notable promontories, and gently widening as they descend. Such are several of the glaciers of Chamouni, to which this eminent man directed his chief attention—the Glacier du Bois (in part) and Bossons, and those of Miage and Brenva on the Italian side of Mont Blanc. But the case becomes different when the inclination is very small, the mass very extended, and the valley, instead of enlarging beneath, contracted towards its inferior extremity;—such as the remarkable glacier of Aletsch, into which fall the firns of the Jungfrau, Mönch, Eiger, and the mountains of the Upper Lötsch-thal, and which has its embouchure in a narrow ravine which joins the upper valley of the Rhone near Brieg. The upper surface of this glacier has a nearly uniform inclination of only 3°.* It is certainly difficult to conceive that the mere effect of gravity upon a slope of this inclination, would be sufficient to overcome the *enormous* friction of ice upon such a bed. It must be remembered, however, that the inclination of the bottom probably much exceeds that of the surface at that part where the accumulation of ice is greatest, and the superficial inclination least. Thus, in the case before us, there is a difference of level of not less than 6000 or 7000 French feet between the commencement of the névé of the Aletsch glacier, on the slope of the Jungfrau, and the inferior extremity of the glacier. The distance between the two points may (by Weiss's map) be reckoned along the glacier at four Swiss leagues, or about 72,000 feet; consequently the mean slope, reckoning from rock to rock, is nearly 1 in 10—a very marked inclination, equal to the greatest degree of steepness admitted on the Simplon route, (5° 42′.) Even this, however, is a feeble inclination compared with the enormous friction and adhesion which such a mass of ice, em-

* Elie de Beaumont, *Mémoires*, &c. Tom. IV. p. 215, 223.

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bayed in rocks, must present; and we hold this objection to be a very serious one to the hypothesis.

The contrary objection, urged by Charpentier, (p. 32,) against the theory of Saussure, is more unfounded. He asks, 'What is 'the resistance which can maintain a glacier from sliding down 'a slope inclined 45°, in the case of the glaciers descending 'from the Dent du Midi?' We answer, *friction*. Where the force of friction is equal to that of gravity, (no uncommon case,) 45° will be the angle of repose. Mr G. Rennie found that the polished granite *voussoirs* of London Bridge only commenced slipping at an angle of 33° or 34°.*

Nor do we attach much importance to the objection of the same ingenious author, that the movement of glaciers is greatest in summer, and nothing in winter, though the pressure of snow is greatest at the latter time. During winter the glacier is so thoroughly frozen by its edges, that it is inconceivable that it should then make any considerable progress, even though the base should remain partly free.

It is a serious difficulty in the gravitation theory, that the movements of glaciers do not appear to take place violently *per saltum*, as we should expect to be the case if they were due to the preponderance of gravity over friction. The relations of glaciers starting forwards several feet at a time, are generally considered apocryphal.—(Hugi, p. 368, and Agassiz.)

An objection which seems to us important against the theory of De Saussure, though we believe it has not been distinctly noticed, is the following:—If a glacier have no supply of material throughout its mass, but is exposed to all the influence of evaporations and thaw, which we know often diminish its thickness at the rate of a foot a-week, how comes the inclination of the surface to be so gentle as we generally find it, and the glacier to be so prolonged into the plains? If the glacier advance downwards, and at the same time diminish by its upper surface, it must continually tend to assume a wedge form, and to terminate by the meeting of its upper and lower surfaces. Perhaps, however, we shall not greatly err if we conceive the maximum effect of waste, or one foot per week, to continue for four months in the year, and that during the remaining eight the waste is insensible. We shall have sixteen feet of thickness lost in a year. Suppose that in the same time the glacier has advanced 320 feet longitudinally, the inclination of the surface *due to waste*, and independent of the trough of the glacier, would

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* *Philosophical Transactions*, 1829.

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be only 1 in 20. But to this must be added the waste at the inferior surface.

We have said that it has generally been regarded as an essential part of the theory of De Saussure, that the inferior surface of the ice being continually melted by the heat of the earth, the sliding of the glacier along its bed is thereby facilitated. Now, one of the most delicate parts of the whole enquiry is, 'What is 'the precise relation of the glacier to the supporting rocks?' No doubt MM. De Charpentier and Agassiz have stated several reasons for supposing that the contact surface of the ice and rock will be always at a freezing temperature, and beyond a certain elevation above the sea, that it will be below that temperature; and they have supported their views by a citation of the respectable authority of Bischoff:—they have also thought themselves warranted to conclude that the ice is firmly frozen to its bed, which M. Agassiz (p. 161) considers necessary to explain the maintenance of a glacier in a deeply-fissured state, where the pyramids of ice are almost separated from one another; and Charpentier (p. 95) derives it from the direct observations repeatedly made by M. Venetz on the glacier of Giètroz; and yet it seems never distinctly to have occurred to these gentlemen, that were the glacier *permanently* frozen to its bed, as they suppose, it is impossible that it should have a true progressive motion from any cause whatever—a fact which yet all admit.

'Such an adhesion,' observes M. Agassiz, (p. 162,) 'excludes at once all idea of sliding; and if, notwithstanding, a glacier falls forward, it can only be when the weight of the masses lying on an inclined plane overcomes their adhesion to the base. But how comes it, I shall be asked, that all the while it adheres to the soil on which it rests, a glacier is yet capable of advancing? This is what I shall endeavour to demonstrate.'

It does not appear to us, however, that any thing like a demonstration follows. The question remains unanswered and unanswerable. There may be a force different from that of gravity which puts the glacier in motion—and that force may be the expansive action described by these authors; but come whence it will, this force succeeds in moving the glacier onwards, whilst the rock beneath it retains its place. Can this occur without the one surface becoming detached from the other? We apprehend not.

But what is most inconsistent is, that the motion of the glaciers on their rocky beds is just as distinctly insisted on and required, for the explanation of phenomena by the disciples of Charpentier, as by those of De Saussure. Charpentier combats (p. 105) the idea, that the *friction* between the ice and the bottom should exceed the expansive force which he ascribes to the

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glacier: in another place he says—'the movement impressed by the 'dilatation of the WHOLE MASS of the glacier occasions a friction 'so considerable against the rocks, (which form its bed and sup- 'port it,) that the surface wears, is hollowed, becomes smooth, 'and takes even a slight polish, if the rock be, by its hardness, 'capable of receiving it,' (p. 42.) And Agassiz speaks still more definitely of 'the bed of mud and gravel which is intermediate 'between the glacier and its bed,' (p. 194;) and of 'the rounded 'pebbles upon which the glaciers move in their lower part,' (p. 197.) We apprehend, therefore, that these advocates prove *too* much.

2. Let us now advert to the arguments which have been, or may be, urged against the dilatation theory of glacier motion, in which it is assumed that the structure of the ice being porous, and the superficial water being absorbed into the mass during the day, the water becomes frozen in the night, dilates, and pushes the glacier forward.

The first objection we shall mention is urged by M. Necker, in his zealous defence of the doctrine of his distinguished relative, De Saussure, in the work mentioned at the head of this article. He maintains that the supposed elongation would not be due to the *entire* expansion of the frozen infiltrated water, since the solid mass of ice would, doubtless, extend laterally and vertically, as well as longitudinally.* Admitting, then, that water expands one-seventh of its volume in freezing, we are not to infer that the glacier would expand one-seventh of its length by the thaw and recongelation of its entire mass; for he says—'It would be 'to understand very imperfectly the nature and power of the mo- 'lecular forces to suppose that the action of gravity can be an 'obstacle to them,' (so that the glacier should only extend itself down the declivity.) 'Limited in its action to very small spaces, 'expansion, like crystallization, acts without regard to gravity, 'and we know that expansion particularly, exercises within small 'spaces a power almost irresistible.'—Necker, p. 153.

This is perfectly true; but it does not at all follow that because dilatation is irresistible, the form of the mass shall be unchanged, or that it shall pay no regard to the direction in which gravity aids its motion. No doubt, if we regard a glacier as a perfectly

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* M. Agassiz had put the matter thus, "Comme le glacier est contenu des deux cotés par les flancs de la vallée, et en haut par le poids des masses supérieures, toute l'action de la dilatation se porte naturellement dans le sens de la pente, qui est le seul coté qui lui offre une libre issue, et vers lequel elle doit dejà tendre, en vertu de la loi de gravitation.'—P. 165–6.

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rigid body, (which is a peculiar molecular condition wholly independent of the quality of expansibility,) it must preserve symmetry of form during dilatation—each dimension of length, breadth, and thickness, acquiring a *proper linear* increase. This, however, admitting for a moment the theory in other respects, is evidently *not* the characteristic of a glacier; which is of a consistence somewhat yielding, without which its progression would be in fact impossible, owing to the irregularities and contractions of the channel in which it moves. The plasticity of the whole would, therefore, we apprehend, throw the enlargement chiefly in a downward direction. Could we, however, suppose the dilatation to take place equally in all directions, we cannot even then coincide with the conclusion of M. Necker, that the increase of the whole Glacier du Bois would be 'less than 6.83 'feet in all directions.' In the first place, the augmentation in length would of course, by its proportionality to the linear dimension, exceed that in breadth and thickness; and the amount would be nearly *one-third* of the cubical expansion, or more accurately one twenty-second of each dimension. Now, assuming with M. Necker the length of the Glacier du Bois to be 4000 toises, the expansion in length would be 182 toises, or 1092 French feet, by the recongelation of the whole ice in the glacier. We are unable to conjecture how the other palpably erroneous result has been obtained.

We could show, did space permit, that we do not consider the calculation by the same author, founded on the annual fall of rain and snow, conclusive against the dilatation theory; in which the water is not atmospheric water merely, but the matter of the glacier which goes again and again through the process of thawing and freezing.

The existence of vast *crevasses* dividing the ice into vertical segments, is an obvious difficulty in the theory of dilatation, being inconsistent with the general tension described (Charpentier, p. 12,) as being the immediate cause of motion. To this it may be replied with some show of reason, (Charp. p. 108,) that these *crevasses* never extend quite across and to the bottom of a glacier, but they occur partially and discontinuously, so as not to affect the rigidity of the whole glacier more than the slits do in a parchment sieve. On the other hand, on the theory of Saussure, (and from what was even said above, we suspect upon any theory,) if the glacier move over its bed, we have only to suppose the lowest stratum of ice to be continuous, which in all probability it is, in order to be shoved downwards.

But there seem to us to be more formidable objections to the dilatation theory than any of these. This theory supposes the

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ice to be composed of fragments nicely wedged into one another; which fragments enlarge as they proceed from the névé to the lower part of the glacier. The water produced by rain or heat is absorbed into these fissures; on the return of night or drought it freezes, and, expanding, urges the glacier bodily forward, occasioning likewise a growth in the directions of breadth and thickness. Now we find, in the *first* place, some difficulty in admitting the *universal* existence of the capillary fissures assumed. M. Agassiz, indeed, states their existence as general, (p. 163;) we confess, however, some scepticism on this point. The capillary fissures are only well shown where the ice surface is in contact with a mass of rock, whose varying temperature has no doubt fissured the neighbouring ice. In some glaciers, such as that of Rosenlaui, this structure is very beautifully developed; —the great irregular grains of the glacier lying wedged into one another, with water between, so curiously packed, that though they may be shaken in their places, it is often difficult to dissect them. We are, therefore, far from denying the existence of this granulated structure *in certain parts* of glaciers. We only hesitate to admit its presence throughout their mass. There is, however, a structure which may perhaps aid the theory more than the other somewhat problematical hypothesis—a structure so remarkable, that we are surprised to find no mention of it amongst the authorities we have cited.* It is a ribboned texture of the ice, which seems in most glaciers disposed in bands nearly vertical, and throughout the greater part of the glacier very generally parallel with its length. This veined appearance, which is beautiful and striking, and which extends to a great depth, is occasioned by the alternation of compact and porous ice in vertical laminæ side by side—generally less than one inch in thickness; and so well marked, that when the surface of the glacier is cut and polished by a water-course, it exhibits the appearance of the most delicately-veined chalcedony. In the sides of the great transverse *crevasses*, this structure is peculiarly evident from the greater or less persistence of the different veins. We hasten to add that it appears to have very little, if any thing, in common with *stratification* properly so called. But however caused, since these porous and compact layers are generally vertical or highly inclined, it is not unlikely that they form a system of filters, which allows some of the water to percolate from the upper to the lower part of the ice.

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* But more recently described in the *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal* for January 1842.

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Our *second* objection arises from the difficulty of conceiving capillary fissures having their walls continually maintained at, or below 0° cent,* into which water is to be drawn by capillary action, not only at the surface, but throughout the whole thickness of the ice, without being frozen in the very act.

Our *third* objection is—supposing these capillary fissures so filled during the day—how comes it that the water they contain is frozen during the night, not merely at the surface, but to great depths, where the effect of the diurnal changes of temperature cannot possibly arrive by conduction?† M. de Charpentier has stated this objection, (p. 104.) We own that his reply to it seems to us wholly unintelligible.‡

Our *fourth* objection would be, that if congelation *could* occur, the upper strata must be by far the most affected, the lower ones not at all. The motion would therefore be confined to the superficial part of the glacier. This reasoning is so fully admitted by Agassiz, that he has endeavoured to make it a ground of proof in favour of his hypothesis, by maintaining § that the glaciers are stratified horizontally; and that these strata move with greater velocity in proportion as they are nearer the surface—each stratum having the motion proper to its own dilatation, superadded to the sum of the motions of the strata beneath. We are bound to state that the ingenious author seems to have erred in point of accuracy of observation. Such stratification does not exist, and it is accordingly denied by Charpentier, (p. 108, *note.*) If it existed, or if the upper portions moved faster than the lower, we should have phenomena wholly different from those observed. Were this true, no *crevasse* could remain vertical; the top of its advanced wall must move more rapidly than the base, and slope forward, while the posterior wall would overhang. No trace of a *general* law of this kind is to be found amongst the glaciers: if some *crevasses* appear to lean forwards, others lean backwards, and a majority are vertical.‖ We hold this fact to be a strong argument against the dilatation theory.

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* Agassiz, p. 203. Charpentier, p. 10.

† In common soils the diurnal changes of temperature vanish at a depth of three or four feet.

‡ Feeling apparently its insufficiency, he has returned to it at page 307 of his work; but by insisting more strongly on the capillary nature of the infiltration, and the low temperature of the interior of the glacier, he only brings out the difficulties more prominently. But we must refer to the work itself.

§ Page 165-6.

‖ M. Agassiz seems to have been partly misled by a figure of a gla-

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A *fifth* difficulty is this: why do the névés not accumulate indefinitely? for if the glaciers move only by the swelling of their mass, the névé cannot literally be said to be the feeder of the glacier, the movement of which must be great just in proportion to its distance from its origin, (the névé.) If, then, in its upper part the glacier move little or nothing, the névé, which commences precisely where the winter snows never melt, what becomes of the accumulation of the winter snows? They do not fall downwards to fill up the place of the progressive glacier, for the glacier at that point makes little or no progress. The glacier advances only in consequence of swelling or dilating, and consequently its movement depends at any point upon the length of the part whose dilatation produces the motion, which length is to be reckoned *from* the névé, for the dilatation vanishes where the *névé* begins. Instead, therefore, of the névé annually filling up the space left by the progressive glacier, there is no space to be filled up at all; and the glacier must advance solely in consequence of the absorption of the dissolved snow, which falls upon its proper surface.

This important consideration suggests the *only* critical experiment we know of, for the discrimination of the true hypothesis. If Saussure's theory be true, the glacier moves onward without sensibly incorporating new matter into its substance—continually fed by the supplies from behind, which form a new and endless glacier. The mechanism may not inaptly be compared to that of the modern paper machine, which, from the gradually consolidated material of pulp, (representing the névé) at length discharges, in a perpetual flow, the snowy web. The theory of Charpentier, on the other hand, represents the fabrication of the glacier going on within the glacier itself, so that each part swells, and the dilatation of each is added to that which acted upon itself, in order to shove on the section of the ice immediately in advance. *In the former case, then, the distance between two determinate points of the glacier remains the same; in the latter, it will continually increase.* Again, *on the former hypothesis, the annual progress of any point of the glacier is independent of its position; on the latter, it increases with the distance from the origin,* (*the transverse section of the ice being the same.*) The solution of this important problem would be obtained by the correct measurement, at successive periods, of the spaces between points

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cier waterfall in Hugi's *Travels*, plate III. It is strange that he should have preferred the evidence of this single figure to all the direct observations which he has had such ample opportunities of making.

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marked on insulated boulders on the glacier; or between the heads of pegs of considerable length, stuck into the matter of the ice, and by the determination of their annual progress.

In endeavouring to present a statement of the two prevalent theories of glacier motion, and the formidable difficulties which may be suggested to either, we are far from asserting that both are necessarily wrong, or that the difficulties we have stated are incapable of a reply. We incline to think the objections to Saussure's hypothesis are of a more *positive* kind, because the theory is more intelligible; and that the other, which calls into play a *kind* of force (dilatation) very likely, from its great energy, to produce the effect in question, addresses itself in some degree to our ignorance, and therefore the objections to it retain a somewhat ambiguous character. This arises particularly from our ignorance of the habitudes of a fluid *about to freeze*—of the very minute circumstances which retard or accelerate congelation, and of the distances through which these causes may energetically act. Still less do we know the influence of the capillarity of the fissures under such circumstances. We are not disposed to accept as demonstrative the experiments yet made on the percolation of water in the mass of ice, or even the existence of the network of fissures, presumed to traverse the most compact glacier ice. The absorption of coloured fluids would appear to be one method of determining the amount and direction of such percolation. The experiment has not yet been made to our entire satisfaction.

We had intended to have explained the dependence of the direction of fissures upon the form and motion of the glacier, and the not less remarkable relation which appears to subsist between these and the varied structure of the ice; but our space does not admit of it. We will, therefore, conclude this part of the subject with the following very just remarks of Charpentier—

'Since the time of M. de Saussure, the knowledge of glaciers has made but little progress. The subject seemed to have been exhausted, and that there remained nothing to add—nothing to modify—nothing to correct. A great number, perhaps most, geologists, and many philosophers and men of science, have visited and still visit the glaciers; but very few amongst them have made them an object of study. The reason is simple, arising on the one hand from the remoteness of the glacier localities, and on the other from the number and variety of interesting objects there to be met with. * * * The intelligent and observing foreigner, arriving for the first time amongst the higher Alps, finds, at every step, something which strikes and interests him, and which distracts his attention; whilst the inhabitant of the Alps, more familiarized with their sublime scenery and remarkable productions, is in a better state for directing and concentrating his attention upon a special object.'—(*Essai*, p. 352.)

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We now turn to the last division of our subject—the application which has lately been made of the phenomena of glaciers to account for certain changes on the earth's surface, which have occurred even in places where glaciers now no longer exist. The great phenomenon for the explanation of which this theory of the ancient extension of glaciers has been contrived, is the distribution of erratic blocks over ranges of country where the material, or rock, of which the blocks are composed, is nowhere to be found *in situ*.

The geological divisions of the latest deposits found on the earth's surface, are not very uniform or consistent in different works. The first volume of the work of Professor Necker,* the amiable and accomplished geologist of Geneva, contains a clear and tolerably detailed statement of the aspect which they assume in the country of which we shall chiefly have to speak; namely, the flat or undulating tract intervening between the foot of the Alps, and that of the Jura range. The ordinary divisions of these superficial formations into two; the *alluvium*, which contains evidence, both zoological and mechanical, of having been produced in the present age of the world, whilst the same species lived, and the same abrading and depositing causes acted as now; and the *diluvium* or 'boulder formation,' 'terrain erratique' of continental geologists, 'drift' of England, and 'till' of Scotland, differing from the former in the species of contained fossils, many of which are extinct, or belong only to distant regions of the globe. The diluvium is rarely, if at all, stratified; the superposition of blocks, gravel, and mud, is without order; and the blocks are often enormous and angular. The reverse features characterize the alluvium. M. Necker divides the older or diluvial formation into two—the unstratified or cataclysmal diluvium; and one inferior to it, which is stratified and devoid of huge angular fragments; and which, by its structure, resembles the modern alluvium, from which, however, it is separated by the entire 'boulder formation:'—this he terms the 'old alluvium.'

'The ancient alluvial formation,' he says, 'is formed by rounded pebbles of gravel and sand, more or less fine. The pebbles have in general a magnitude which varies from the size of an egg to that of the fist, and which never attains the size of the head. They are perfectly smoothed, and often a little flattened, like those which are found on the shores of a lake. They form horizontal beds, sometimes of a thickness of several toises, now and then irregularly alternating with beds of gravel and sand, shorter and thicker, and having a lenticular form. The disposition of these beds is entirely similar, although on a greater scale, to those of

* *Etudes Géologiques dans les Alpes.*

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the existing alluvia of the Arve and the Rhone.'—(*Etudes dans les Alpes*, p. 233.)

Hence, to explain these facts, it is supposed that no cause materially differing from those now in action requires to be invoked. But with the proper diluvium it is different; no geologist has been able entirely to disguise the necessity of having recourse to an energy greater than is now to be found on the earth's surface—

'The masses are without any apparent order, in which materials of all sizes, from the most enormous blocks to the finest mud, are mixed and confounded together, so as to lead us to presume that only a terrible cataclysm could have produced a deposit so deep, and of such a structure.'—(*Ibid.* p. 232.)

And again—

'Although the great blocks form part of a mass composed chiefly of small debris, yet, as it is the mass of these blocks which determines the *minimum* intensity required for the force which has transported the whole, we may, without disadvantage, in order to have the principal data of the problem, neglect all the debris of smaller dimensions, and consider the blocks alone. In fact, the existence of these blocks commands the whole question; for had these masses been, like the ancient *alluvium*, composed of gravel and pebbles, we should naturally have sought (as for the latter) no causes differing in kind from our existing torrents and rivers, though perhaps more powerful.'—(*Ibid.* p. 351-2.)

This is a perfectly fair statement of the question, and it is scarcely possible to convey to one who has not seen the 'boulder 'formation' or 'cataclysmal diluvium' in its full development, (as, for instance, on the flanks of the Jura range, above Neufchatel and facing the Alps,) an adequate notion of the wonderful phenomenon to be explained.

A great part of the plain of Switzerland, as of many other large and nearly level tracts, is covered at intervals by fragments of travelled rocks, the greater part of which owe their origin to the higher Alpine tracts, as their mineralogical character unequivocally indicates. Amongst the rolled and rounded pebbles of smaller size, we find, indeed, many specimens whose origin may be stated to be completely unknown; further than that they have evidently been detached from one of the conglomerate formations which occur so plentifully on the northern side of the Alps. It is one of the real 'wonders of geology,' the occurrence of those pebbles derived from the trituration of rocks which can no longer be identified, which in a former age of the world yielded the boulders of the 'alluvium' of that period—became consolidated into rock—and now, by a fresh revolution, are tossed and ground by modern rivers, and mix again with our superficial deposits. The most important masses, however, are

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those which attain a considerable size—*metrical* blocks, as they have been termed—that is, having about a cubic yard of contents, which strew the plain, dot the sides of the Alpine ravines, and rise even to an elevation of several thousand feet above the sea upon the opposite flank of the Jura range, where not one fragment of a primitive rock is to be found *in situ*. The most concentrated distribution of erratics is to be found about Neufchatel, at a height of 800 or 900 feet above the lake of that name, and the valley of Switzerland. Similar masses are found on the summit of the Mount Saleve, at a great height above the lake of Geneva, and insulated from the general group of Alps. It is perhaps difficult to convey upon paper too lively an impression of the singularity of the phenomenon—a belt of fragmentary masses lying on a steep, almost precipitous, slope of nearly bare or thinly-covered rock, of a nature wholly dissimilar; not few nor small, but countless and gigantic. The Pierre à Bot, (*toad-stone*,) 850 feet above Neufchatel, has a length of between fifty and sixty feet, a breadth of twenty, and a height of above forty. It is of granite, and distant in a *right line* from its supposed origin in the Val Ferret, to the east of Mont Blanc, seventy English miles. Now, observing that this is no individual case, and that many other blocks, if not so large, yet comparable to it in size, are to be found on the Jura, and that those of one or two cubic yards and under are really innumerable; further, that between the Jura and the higher Alps, blocks *still larger* are in many places to be found, as at Steinhof in the canton of Berne, (one out of a great number together measuring 61,000 cubic feet,) we perceive the *vast extent and measure* of the phenomenon to be explained;—enough, alone and at once, to overturn any hypothesis as to the omnipotence of causes now in action, unmodified in intensity, however long continued.

It is quite needless to enter into a detail of all the explanations which have been proposed of these wonderful facts, stumbling-blocks on the very threshold of the structure which geology designs to explore. A detail of them, and a clear statement of some of the many objections which may be urged against each, is to be found in Charpentier's lucid essay on glaciers. Of the former theories of transport, that of the action of prodigious 'diluvial' currents is the one supported by the greatest amount of authority; and when we cite the names of De Saussure, Von Buch, and Sir James Hall, our readers will perceive that the authority is enforced by its weight as well as its generality. Playfair, indeed, in the very face of far abler arguments adduced by himself, asserted that the boulders on the Mont Saleve, near Geneva, might have been transported by the river Arve when it

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flowed at a higher level,*—a piece of ultra-Huttonianism which he could scarcely have maintained had he visited the locality. But in the same memorable work in which he hazarded this assertion, we find an indication of a cause, far more adequate as well as more original, in the extension of glaciers as agents of transport. This indication, which forms part of the very able note on the *transportation of stones*, in the 'Illustrations of the 'Huttonian Theory,' is neither vague nor indirect. It is put forward as the most probable explanation of all cases of transport where immense power was obviously required :—

'For the moving of large masses of rock,' says Professor Playfair, 'THE MOST POWERFUL AGENTS WITHOUT DOUBT WHICH NATURE EMPLOYS ARE THE GLACIERS, those lakes or rivers of ice which are formed in the highest valleys of the Alps, and other mountains of the first order. These great masses are in perpetual motion, undermined by the influx of heat from the earth, and impelled down the declivities on which they rest by their own enormous weight, together with that of the innumerable fragments of rock with which they are loaded. These fragments they gradually transport to their utmost boundaries, where a formidable wall ascertains the magnitude, and attests the force, of the great engine by which it was erected. The immense quantity and size of the rocks thus transported, have been remarked with astonishment by every observer, and explain sufficiently how fragments of rock may be put in motion even where there is but little declivity, and where the actual surface of the ground is considerably uneven. In this manner, before the valleys were cut out in the form they now are, and where the mountains were still more elevated, huge fragments of rock may have been carried to a great distance; and it is not wonderful if these same masses, greatly diminished in size, and reduced to gravel or sand, have reached the shores, or even the bottom of the sea. NEXT IN FORCE TO THE GLACIERS, the torrents are the most powerful instruments employed in the transportation of stones,' &c.—(*Huttonian Theory*, Art. 349.)

Now, as the passage immediately preceding that we have quoted contains a statement of the problematical facts mentioned above, respecting the distribution of the travelled blocks in the plains of Switzerland and on the Jura, we cannot but give to Professor Playfair the credit of having clearly pointed out the probability of the former greater extension of glaciers as THE MOST POWERFUL known agents of transport. This was in the year 1802, before the author had had the opportunity of personally estimating the applicability of the theory to phenomena. The passage from the notes of his journey in 1816, quoted in this Journal, (Vol. LXIX. page 420,) and more lately by

* *Huttonian Theory*, in his Works, I. 388.

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Charpentier, shows that his views in this respect had undergone no change in the interval, and were only confirmed by an inspection of the erratic blocks on the Jura, which he unhesitatingly ascribes to the former existence of glaciers which once *crossed* the lake of Geneva and the plain of Switzerland. Rivers like the Arve he no longer considers adequate agents, nor even currents of water, however great, as in the *debacle* of De Saussure. 'A current of water,' he says, 'however powerful, could never 'have carried it' (the Pierre à Bot, near Neufchatel) 'up an 'acclivity, but would have deposited it in the first valley it came 'to, and would in a much less distance have rounded its angles, 'and given to it the shape so characteristic of stones subjected 'to the action of water. A glacier which fills up valleys in its 'course, and which conveys rocks on its surface free from attri-'tion, is the ONLY AGENT we now see capable of transporting 'them to such a distance, without destroying that sharpness of 'the angles so distinctive of these masses.'*

Like many other anticipations of new theories, these pointed and just observations of Professor Playfair lay dormant until the opinion he advanced had been separately originated and discussed. M. Venetz, an intelligent engineer of the canton of Valais, speculating upon the irregular periods of increase and decrease of glaciers, collected partly from history and partly from tradition a variety of curious and distinct facts bearing upon these oscillations of the great glaciers of the Alps. He united them with judgment and impartiality in a Memoir which we have cited at the head of this article—which was read in 1821 to the Swiss Natural History Society, and published in the second part of the first volume of their transactions. In this paper M. Venetz classifies separately the facts which prove an increase, and those showing a decrease of glaciers in modern times. The former are certainly the most remarkable—showing that passes the most inaccessible, traversed now, perhaps, but a few times in a century, were frequently passed on foot, sometimes on horseback, between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries. Thus the Protestants of the Haut Valais took their children across what is now the Great Glacier of Aletsch to Grindelwald for baptism; and at the same period horses passed the Monte Moro from Saas into Italy; and the peasantry of Zermatt, at the foot of the Monte Rosa, went annually in procession through the Eringer Thal to Sion, by a pass which few inhabitants of either valley would now

* Playfair's Works, I. p. xxix.

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venture to attempt. We regard these facts, not as forming any proof of the former great extension which carried the glaciers even over to the Jura, but as evidencing one only of many oscillations which the glacier boundaries have undergone; and as important in showing that a *very notable* enlargement of these boundaries was consistent with the limits of atmospheric temperature, which we know the European climate has not materially overpassed within historic times. It may not, therefore, require so violent a depression of temperature as we might at first sight suppose, to account for any extension of the glaciers which the facts may require us to admit. The causes of these oscillations are as yet very obscure. We have purposely refrained (for the sake of conciseness) from analyzing the theories which have been given, because we find them all unsatisfactory.

M. Venetz has further, in his Memoir, pointed out certain ancient moraines, belonging to modern glaciers, which indicate their previously greater extension; an evidence which had formerly been accepted by Saussure, especially in the case of the Glacier du Bois at Chamouni,* and that of the Rhone.† The remark is important, because it requires us to investigate the character of a moraine, so as to recognize it wherever it may be found.

It does not appear that M. Venetz has published any other Memoir on the subject of glaciers; but it is quite certain that he was the first person publicly to maintain in Switzerland the doctrine of the former extension of the glaciers to the Jura, as the transporting agents of the erratics. The writer of this article was introduced to M. Venetz in 1832, as the man who had originated a speculation, which, though it had not, perhaps, then another advocate, was acknowledged to be novel, ingenious, and bold; and the reputation which the author of it had acquired, as the intrepid and skilful engineer of the works on the glacier of Giétroz, (the cause of inundations which threatened the town of Martigny with destruction,) gave it a consequence which might not otherwise have been conceded to it.

The first important convert to the new theory was M. de Charpentier, a mineralogist and geologist of reputation, author (amongst other works) of a geognostical essay on the Pyrenees, not even yet superseded. He undertook the examination of the question with the determination to disabuse his friend Venetz of the geological heresy he began to maintain, of the existence of

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* *Voyages*, § 623. † Do. § 1722.

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ancient glaciers sixty leagues in length, at a period which was generally admitted to have afforded in Europe a climate adapted for the palm-tree and elephant.* The learned mineralogist, however, when he came to examine the evidence, found that he had '*caught a Tartar*;' he bowed under the yoke of glaciers, and announced his conversion in an interesting article, read to the Swiss Natural History Society in 1834, published in the 8th volume of the *Annales des Mines*, and distributed to his scientific friends. In this short memoir of nineteen pages, we find the germ of almost all the arguments since employed in support of the glacier theory. The conveyance of great masses of rock to a distance from their origin, (page 4,) without any *sorting* or arrangement according to volume: the separation of deposits derived from different sources, not confusedly mingled, but deposited at certain levels, and leaving spaces wholly untouched, (pp. 6, 7, 14:) the occurrence of a group of rocks together, of the same nature, derived from a single *eboulement* on the surface of the glacier, (p. 14:) the elevation of the blocks on the Jura, (p. 17:) the partially rounded *(emoussé)* character of the angular blocks, showing friction, though evidently not waterworn, (p. 12:) the non-occurrence of erratics in the equatorial regions of the globe, (note, p. 16:) the polished surfaces of the fixed rocks, not only of the bottom of valleys, but the elevated flanks and even *cols* of mountain-chains, over which a *debacle* carrying stones and gravel could not possibly have passed, (p. 8, 9:) the grooves which are met with in such surfaces, called *karren* (in German Switzerland:)—all these varied facts are cited in support of the Glacier Theory. In particular, he attributes the abrasion and polish of the fixed rocks to the pressure of the enormous weight of glaciers upon their beds, in the following passage:—

'We know that the glaciers rub, wear, and polish, the rocks with which they are in contact. Struggling to dilate, they follow all the sinuosities, and press and mould themselves into all the hollows and excavations they can reach, polishing *even overhanging* surfaces, which a current of water, hurrying stones along with it, could not effect.'—(Charpentier, *Mémoire*, p. 15.)

This is important, being, as M. Agassiz has remarked,† perhaps the first clear notice of this function of existing glaciers. M. de Charpentier attributes the cold of the glacier period to the greater height which the Alps then attained, on their first elevation—an opinion which he has since abandoned. Charpentier's

* Charpentier, *Essai*, page 243.

† *Etudes*, p. 190.

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publication, though not unknown to geologists, was received with cold neglect. He employed none of the received methods of *agitating* a theory into vogue. The speech of the President of the Geological Society of London for 1836, contains a distinct citation of his views without a word of comment.*

In 1836 Professor Agassiz repeated with respect to M. de Charpentier what had passed between the latter and M. Venetz. He went to Bex to meet him on his own ground, and to convict him of his errors;† but he, too, gradually yielded to the evidences before him, which he found to be so plain in the lower valley of the Rhone, that he adopted at once the theory of the ancient extension of glaciers. Returning home to Neufchatel, he examined the polished surfaces of calcareous rock, locally termed *Laves*, which had been previously described; in which he found a new confirmation of the theory of Venetz, and he published this result, together with his adhesion to the *general* facts of the glacier theory, in a discourse read to the Swiss Society of Naturalists in 1837. In this pamphlet he discusses the objections to previous theories, and expresses an opinion that the icy slopes down which the Jura blocks come, formed part of a coating or crust of ice which covered Switzerland previous to the elevation of the Alps; and on which the rocky masses, detached during the convulsion producing the elevation, slid down by gravity. This hypothesis appears to be rather a retrograde step in the progress of a just theory, for it admits of refutation alike on geological and mechanical principles.

The lively discussion to which these opinions gave rise in Switzerland, naturally induced the promoters of them to lay the evidence for them in a more connected and demonstrative form before the scientific world, who, in uncertain sciences like geology, are slowly led to accept any opinion, unless sanctioned by the *highest* authority; so that the names of Charpentier and Agassiz could scarcely save from ridicule a theory opposed in some respects to the prejudices of mankind and the existing opinion of geologists, and which had not then, nor, we believe, even now, received the passport to public acceptance of the support of Von Buch, Von Humboldt, and De Beaumont.

Within not many months of each other, appeared the volumes of Charpentier and of Agassiz on the glacier theory, each being the extension of the previous notice or programme already referred to. The work of the latter appeared the earliest in point of

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* See *Philosophical Magazine*, 3d series, viii. 338.

† *Etudes sur les Glaciers*, p. 15.

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time, but there can be no doubt that the two were simultaneously composed; and as Agassiz has honourably acknowledged his debt to Charpentier and Venetz, for principles which he has only followed out and endeavoured to extend more widely, a few ambiguities which occur as to originality are of the less consequence.

The *Etudes sur les Glaciers* of Agassiz, is a work written in many parts with ease and spirit—in many, it is obscurely expressed and deficient in method—and in some, betrays evident marks of haste, as well in reasoning as in composition. As a literary production, we own that, considering the celebrity of the author, and his happy talent for oral exposition, we were disappointed with it. Educated and esteemed as a pure naturalist, the very skill and force of imagination which recommended him when a very young man to the illustrious Cuvier, as fittest for the task of completing his investigation of fossil species, seem to interfere with the calmness of judgment, the severity of reasoning, and the formation of general views, which should characterize the reasoner on physical geology. A second edition must materially improve the work, and give it more the character of a consolidated, consistently argued, analysis of facts; in which it is so far deficient, that we can hardly persuade ourselves that it is entirely the production of one hand. One of its distinctive recommendations is the Atlas of Plates, which, by their admirable execution, and ample explanatory sketches, serve to convey in a short time, to an entire stranger, a fair idea of the facts to be explained, and the chief evidences of the theory. A good commentary on the plates would perhaps have made a more persuasive volume than that which has been written apparently with little or no reference to the atlas which accompanies it, and to which allusions are infrequent. In endeavouring to seize the arguments so ably conveyed to the eye, the reader's natural question would be, whether the plates may be depended upon—whether the features on which the author dwells are not exaggerated? We can assure him, that in all *essential* details they are exact, and this being admitted, the body of evidence they afford is very powerful indeed. The points of view are generally well chosen, and the execution is admirable, being conducted under the author's eye in a lithographic institution, which owes its origin, we believe, to his zeal and enterprise. The letter-press is swelled by some bulky citations, as those upon red snow and the Siberian mammoths; whilst details of great importance are slightly passed over or omitted—as those which refer to the evidence of moraines and glacier polish in the lateral valleys of the Alps. These imperfections we mention, in the hope of seeing them amended in the new edi-

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tion, which must soon be called for, of this popular work, which appeared simultaneously in French and German, and which has had an extensive circulation.*

The first and larger portion of the volume refers to the mechanism of existing glaciers, of which we have already given a full account: a chapter is then added on the oscillations of their dimensions in historic times, chiefly on the authority of Venetz; another on the ancient extension of glaciers on the Alps; and one more on the former existence of extensive sheets of ice over different parts of the earth's surface, marked by phenomena similar to those described by Charpentier. It is upon this last chapter the author chiefly rests his claim to originality in these investigations; and when we recollect that the phenomenon of erratics is not a local but a widely distributed one, we admit the importance of the extension of the reasoning, at the same time that we feel the necessity of proportional caution in the acceptance of the evidence. And it is certainly unfortunate that this part of the work, which Mr Maclaren, in his neat summary of the glacier theory, has justly characterized as obscure, should be founded on an explanation of the distribution of erratics certainly erroneous, (that which supposes them due to the elevation of the Alps;) and that the author should have predicted the phenomena which he had yet to discover in northern Europe, and especially in Scotland. On the other hand, it is to be observed, that in applying Charpentier's theory of the dilatation of glaciers to extended sheets of ice, he rendered *conceivable*, at least, the existence and extension of glaciers in circumstances where they could not otherwise have occurred. We shall return presently to the phenomena of the Scandinavian boulder-flood.

The work of Charpentier entitled, *Essai sur les Glaciers, et sur le Terrain Erratique du Bassin du Rhone*, though the preface is dated in October 1840, made its appearance only last summer, (1841.) It treats substantially of the same facts, and in the same order with the work of Agassiz, but it wants the fine illustrative plates. On the other hand, it is distinguished by simplicity, method, and clearness—in a word, by careful composition. The sections are short—the arguments distinctly stated, and the answer placed directly against the objection. The criticisms are usually, we think, sound, although the original speculations are not always tenable. Charpentier's book, and Agassiz' atlas, will readily initiate the reader into the past and present mysteries

* An excellent analysis of this work has been printed (privately, we believe) by Mr Maclaren of Edinburgh.

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of glaciers. The second and larger part of this work is occupied with the theory of erratics, in which the older hypotheses are successively discussed, the glacier theory explained, and the most probable objections answered. As might be expected, the most theoretical part we find to be the least plausible; and the author's theory of the cold of the glacial period, we think rather more objectionable than his older one, of the greater primitive elevation of the Alps. We approve of the caution which has generally confined the speculations of M. de Charpentier to the origin of those boulders with which he was best acquainted—namely, those of the valley of the Rhone and the opposed flank of the Jura; but he cannot be censured for omitting all reference to the cause of boulder formations generally. In his first publication, already analyzed, he had remarked the deficiency of erratic blocks in tropical regions; and in the volume before us he specifies the cases to which glacier action might be extended.

The interesting work of Professor Necker of Geneva, the learned and ingenious descendant of De Saussure, is the first of a series of volumes on the geology of the Alps, to the continuation of which we look with no common interest. We have cited it only because, treating as it does of superficial deposits, it refers frequently to the diluvial formations, and urges forcibly several objections to the modern theory—the author attaching himself to the hypothesis of a *debacle*. No detailed analysis can therefore here be given of the work itself. It is written in that graphic style which imparts even to the most minute details, and petty catastrophes, a real and scientific interest. The author is one of those meditative men, who, having gone through life with their eyes open, find every where a lesson of nature's teaching, and acquire knowledge, not so much from books as from events.

It now remains that we attempt to state some of the arguments upon which has been founded the admission of extensive glaciers, as amongst the latest agents which have modified the surface of Switzerland; we shall then state the more plausible objections which may be urged against it—some of which may be met with satisfactory answers, and others await further explanation.

I. And FIRST of the occurrence of angular boulders. The great blocks on the Jura and inferior Alps have been literally amongst the greatest *stumbling stones* of modern geologists. We fairly own that the arguments of the glacier theorists in favour of their being nothing else than ancient moraines, have scarcely struck us so strongly as the total weakness of the arguments of their opponents and predecessors, who have striven to prove them

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something else. The absurdity of some of these hypotheses is scarcely credible;—the elder Deluc's, for instance, who supposed them the remains of primitive strata still resting in place, above the Jura limestone;* or that of Deluc the nephew, who supposed them the result of volcanic projection from the higher Alps; and of Dolomieu, that inclined planes of *debris* extended once from the summit of the Alps, up to a certain height on the Jura, of which not a trace now remains, but down which the blocks had rolled by gravity, (though this inclination could not have exceeded 2°.) Then came the theory of diluvial currents, which is perhaps tacitly accepted by most geologists at the present day, notwithstanding the inconceivable postulates which it requires. Saussure's idea appears to have been, that the currents which moved the rocks were occasioned by the rupture of barriers which confined the water in lakes; and which then, rushing towards its escape, carried down in the flood the masses which a simultaneous convulsion had torn from the Alpine summits. If this seems plausible on paper, we cannot conceive any one gravely maintaining it when he stands beside the *Pierre à Bot*, which is as large as an ordinary house, overhangs the valley by a declivity of 800 feet, and is seventy miles distant from its origin between Mont Blanc and the great St Bernard. Von Buch has very well shown † that the arrival of such a block in its present position pre-supposes its being carried forward, notwithstanding its prodigious mass, by a current of water, which AT ONCE gave it a projectile velocity sufficient to cause it to make a *flying leap* across the valley of Switzerland, so that it reached Neufchatel *before it had time to fall by gravity into the lake of Geneva!*—a velocity which, he took the trouble to compute, must have carried it over this enormous space in eighteen seconds, or at the rate of more than 20,000 feet per second! He afterwards indeed managed to reduce this velocity to a comparatively small one, on taking into account the buoyancy caused by the water; but it is not worth while to stop to explain the grievous errors in mechanical reasoning, into which the great geologist has fallen in this amended calculation;—errors which in fact leave the result worse than before.‡ With respect to this argument (if common sense afford not a sufficient reply) we ask merely—1. where have we evidence that water ever moved a

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* Cited in the *Annales de Chimie*, tom. x. (1819,) p. 242.

† Ueber die Ursache der Verbreitung grosser Alpengeschiebe.—*Berlin Memoirs*, 1811, page 183.

‡ *Annales de Chimie*, x. 250. It is in the estimation of the terminal velocity that the error lies.

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stone, large or small, with a tenth part of the required velocity? and 2. if this block, the size of a dwelling-house, rattled on the bare Jura limestone with a rapidity ten times that of a musket ball at first firing, why was it not dashed into a million of fragments? We may disguise, but nothing can elude these unanswerable objections, to which we might add many others—especially those arising from the distribution of the blocks.

The hypothesis of currents appears to have been adopted by Von Buch and M. Elie de Beaumont. The former attributes their origin, not to the rupture of lakes, but (so far as we understand his expressions) to the sudden elevation of the Alps. De Beaumont, on the other hand, finds the melting of ancient glaciers a sufficient cause. Having admitted the glaciers, we think he might have dispensed with melting them. Nor can we by any means allow the new arguments by which M. Necker maintains the theory of the *debacle*, although his treatment of the subject is well calculated to throw light upon it. *He admits a period of cold* and of enlarged glaciers, which he attributes to the great elevation of the Alps at that period, (*Etudes Geologiques*, p. 385.) These glaciers, forming barriers, produced lakes, which, bursting, carried down fragments of the neighbouring rocks; and, according to the author, the rocks which received the first impulse from the water, retaining it longest, moved further than those which were caught up by the stream at an inferior part of its course, (p. 356.) Hence he explains the greater abundance of the primitive rocks at the more distant points. We own it would rather seem to us that whatever tended to diminish the velocity of the stream, must, *a fortiori*, diminish that of the blocks carried along with it, and that the largest must come soonest to rest. We have already observed that one of the most extraordinary facts about the erratic deposit is, that the blocks are in no way *sorted;* the largest lie with the smallest, at the greatest as well as at the least distances from their origin—a pretty clear proof that the cause of motion was *not one diminishing in intensity as it advanced.*

The most plausible of all the older explanations was undoubtedly that of rafts of ice, adopted by Sir James Hall,* which, detached from adhering glaciers, bore across an inland lake the fragments with which they were charged, as at present occurs in the icebergs of the Arctic Seas. The main objections lie, 1. In the want of evidence of such vast inland lakes; for if any

* *Edinburgh Transactions*, vii. 158. It was, we believe, suggested by Bergmann.

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thing be proved about the erratic formation, it is, that it was deposited when the surface of the soil had taken very nearly its present configuration.* 2. The climate, if capable of maintaining ice-rafts on a lake which filled the plain of Switzerland, might equally have maintained glaciers, which account directly for the phenomena. 3. The blocks are deposited in a certain orderly manner:—the shower of blocks (if we may use the phrase) being deposited on the Jura, nearly or exactly opposite to their points of origin in the Alps; whereas the icebergs must have floated hither and thither, and been wrecked indiscriminately in all directions. Also, the blocks would have been deposited in a horizontal line on the shore of the lake, which is not the fact. 4. The theory is still more incompatible with the position of enormous blocks which lie at great heights within the Alpine valleys, and generally on their slopes, and not in the river-courses. The nearer we approach the origin of the erratics, the higher, generally, is the level at which they are found. The blocks from the higher Alps usually occupy the highest positions on the Jura, whilst the limestone of the inferior Alps forms a lower band. The theory of floating ice has been adopted by many authors, amongst others by Venturi,† Darwin,‡ and Lyell.§

Now, if we contrast with these theories that which supposes the existence of glaciers so extensive as to reach from the Alps to the Jura, we shall find that, startling as the proposition may at first sight appear, it is beset by fewer and less formidable difficulties than any we have mentioned; and we shall endeavour, by expressing the facts to be explained in the words of the opponents of the theory, and of those who never heard of the theory at all, to show that it possesses some remarkable features of truth.

i. It accounts for the transport of blocks of *any* size. No mass is too weighty for the strength of a glacier. A leaf or a pebble (as we have shown above) is more liable to sink into it than a block of 100,000 cubic feet. This is too notorious to require further proof. Saussure cites the glacier of Miage as presenting one mass of *debris* on its surface, and we have seen the glacier of Zmutt, beneath the Mont Cervin, in the same

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* *Necker*, p. 347.

† In a *Memoir* cited by Charpentier, p. 189.

‡ *Voyages of the Adventure and Beagle*, iii. 288.

§ *Principles*, 1st edition, vol. iii. p. 150, (1833.) *Elements*, vol. i. p. 250, (1841.)

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condition. We have likewise seen, on a modern glacier, a moving block at least eighty feet long, twenty broad, and forty high. So unfounded was the assertion of Agassiz, in 1837, that the blocks on the Jura are *larger* and more rounded than those found on the glaciers; a conclusion which led him, at that period, to deny the extension of glaciers (but admitting an inclined plane of ice) to the Jura, which he declared to contain no moraines.—(*Discours*, 1837, p. xvii.)

ii. The appearance of the blocks, as to angularity, is exactly that of the blocks which form moraines. We cannot quote a more unexceptionable authority than that of Professor Necker, an opponent of the glacier theory:—

'The form of the diluvial blocks *is the same as that of the blocks brought down by the glaciers*, and which they deposit on their moraines. Like these, without being generally quite round, they have their corners and edges so ground away, (*emoussés*,) that we cannot doubt but they have suffered a prolonged friction.'—(Necker, p. 348.)

The larger blocks, we must add, whether on the glaciers or on the Jura, have their angles best preserved.

iii. The erratic blocks found most abundantly on the Jura, are derived from that part of the Alpine chain where glaciers still act with intense force; and where the rock is so destructible, that blocks are yearly furnished by the present diminutive glaciers, undistinguishable in mass or material from those which a prolongation of the icy railroad stranded *first* on the steep sides of the winding valley of the Drance and the Rhone, and *finally* on the directly opposed surface of the Jura hills. It is from the glacier of Ornex, in the Val Ferret, to the east of Mont Blanc, that the masses appear to have been derived. This at least is the opinion of Von Buch, who has given an animated description of the scene:—

'Opposite the immense glacier of Ornex, one of the largest in the whole chain of Mont Blanc, the fallen fragments become like rocks, and the moraine lies like a little mountain across the valley. Glaciers tumble on glaciers down the valley; they have torn deep fissures in its walls, through which numberless blocks are continually thrown from the heights above, and beyond which, ever new rocky peaks seem to rise from the great ice-field.'—(Von Buch, *Berlin Mem.*, p. 173.)

iv. The blocks carried down the Alpine valleys lie, as we have observed, not on the bottoms where gravity would have placed them, but often at heights of 1000, 1500, or even 2000 feet above the level of the river—on ledges, and even projecting points of rock, surmounting precipices where it is hardly conceivable that water should have carried them. We admit that currents are very fantastic in this respect; but ice, either floating

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or in a glacier, could alone have perched them at these elevations. Such deposits were noticed in the valley of the Drance by De Saussure, (derived from the glacier of Ornex;) in many parts of the Rhone valley, by Von Buch; near Bex, by Charpentier; and in the valley of Hasli, near Meyringen, at a great height above the Aar, by Agassiz. Sometimes the non-appearance of blocks is as strong an evidence of the glacier theory as their occurrence. Thus, the best-characterized rock in the whole Alps is the euphotide of Saas, near Monte Rosa, which is found in many parts of the plain of Switzerland: nevertheless its fragments do *not* appear* in the great Rhone valley, which it joins at a right angle, and which must have infallibly been the case had they been brought down by currents. As they probably formed a medial moraine, they might have travelled indefinitely far on the surface of a glacier, without leaving a trace after its disappearance.

v. The actual distribution of blocks on the Jura and on the plain of Switzerland, is as yet but imperfectly known. Little, in fact, has been added to the masterly sketch of Von Buch, written thirty years ago, on this subject;—one on which his profound knowledge of the mineral characters of rocks entitles his opinion to great weight. On many points, no doubt, his statements may require modification; but, speaking broadly, the following three great characteristics of the distribution of the Jura blocks obtain:—(*a*) The valleys in the Jura, screened from a view of the Alps, do not generally contain many erratics, which are found expended on the face of the hills fronting the Alps. (*b*) The rocks from the higher Alps (as the granites of Ornex) lie on the higher part of the Jura; those from the inferior chain occupy the base of the hill and the plain, (as the pudding-stones of Valorsine.) This is reasonably attributed, on the glacier theory, to the retreating position of the terminal moraine, which at first, when the icy crust was thickest, was derived entirely from the highest Alps; but as the effect of climate gradually restricted its limits, its surface followed the windings of the Rhone valley, and brought down the bounding rocks. (*c*) Each of the great valleys of the Rhone, the Aar, the Reuss, &c., seems to have discharged from its mouth a torrent of blocks, which spread themselves fan-like from the embouchure of the valley, being most thickly strewed, and likewise attaining the greatest height, exactly opposite to its mouth. Now this is precisely the effect which a glacier would produce; and one passage of Von Buch's

* Charpentier.

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paper is so strong, that we might fancy he had a moraine in his eye when he wrote it :—

'They (the erratics) proceed from snow-covered mountains directly in straight lines through the valleys, and thence over the plains, and spread themselves radially, in a heap, (or tuft—*büschelförmig*,) at the outgoing of the valleys.'—Page 184.

vi. The larger masses are usually accompanied by small ones—they form, in fact, a group: this is quite conformable to what we have mentioned as occurring on glaciers. An *eboulement* marks its occurrence by the group of fragments which it leaves on the ice.

vii. The fact that the accumulation of blocks at the extremity of modern glaciers is comparatively small, indicating that the actual limit of the ice has not long remained fixed. When we notice the ceaseless energy of glaciers and their enormous transporting power, and compare these with the length of geological periods which we cannot, on other grounds, avoid admitting to have elapsed since the earth assumed its present configuration, we are struck with the trifling accumulation of moraines which most glaciers present. This fact did not escape De Saussure, who found in it a proof that the existing system had not been of long duration :—

'The blocks of stone (he says) with which the lower part of this glacier (Du Bois, at Chamouni) is charged, give rise to an important reflection. When we consider their number, and when we recollect that they are deposited and accumulated at this extremity of the glacier in proportion as the ice melts, we are astonished not to find the mass more considerable. This observation leads us to think, with M. Deluc, that the actual condition of our globe is not so ancient as some philosophers have imagined.'—(*Voyages*, ii. p. 18, § 625.)

The real answer seems to be, that during the present age of the world the glaciers have been continually receding, leaving their moraines behind them in the form of erratics.

II. Let us now turn to another and most important evidence of glacier action, of which we have yet scarcely spoken. We mean the figure, and polish, and states of surface, which glaciers are capable of giving to mechanically fixed rocks over which they move. The forms are, (1.) Rounded spheroidal or cylindrical surfaces, exhibited on a great scale, evidently due to the wear of the projecting angular parts. (2.) Undulating groves, more or less longitudinal and parallel, not unfrequently like the figures produced by a carpenter's cornice-plane, and often highly polished; and, (3.) Fine *striæ*, not always parallel, which cut up these polished surfaces even when formed of pure quartz, and which are evidently mechanically produced. We know that

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supposed to have descended. A similar fact is described as characterizing the grooves (which every one admits to be also due to mechanical action) on the surface of the Scandinavian rocks described by Sefström and Bötlingk; but whether they possess *all* the peculiar characters of the Swiss rocks we are unable to say. The fact can only be pronounced upon by one who has studied both *in situ*.

The third class of superficial mechanical effects, also beautifully and accurately figured in Agassiz' Atlas, (plate 18,) consists of an infinite number of fine lines or *striæ* accompanying a general and often exquisite polish of the surface, observed on many rocks which, besides, exhibit the rounded outlines and the characteristic furrows which we have already described. The polish of the surface depends materially on the nature of the rock—where that is quartzose, as in the granites of the Grimsel, the polish is perfectly specular, or similar to that which a lapidary gives to rock crystal;—a condition which it is difficult to conceive that water could give under any circumstances, and which is indeed rare in nature. In the limestone rocks of Jura, this polish equals that of the finest slates used for drawing. In either case the surface is more or less cut up by *scratches*, sometimes as fine as if drawn with a diamond point, and requiring microscopic examination; at other times rough and jagged in their edges. These *striæ* have a general tendency to parallelism, but not unfrequently there are two sets inclined to one another, at a considerable angle. The slightest examination seems to show that these *striæ* were produced by hard fixed particles, which acted as gravers in indenting the surface. These phenomena are perfectly seen on the granites of the Grimsel, and the limestones of Le Chaumont in the Jura.

Such being the phenomena visible in many valleys of the Alps —extending from 8000 feet above the sea (as on the Siedelhorn, near the Grimsel) to the plains of Switzerland, (as on the banks of the Rhone near St Maurice,) and even to the Jura range—the important question arises, are the glaciers capable of imitating these effects? This is the most difficult part of the evidence of the Glacier Theory satisfactorily to establish. We are bound to say, that after a long scepticism and a patient examination of facts, we consider this important link of evidence to be fairly made out. It is chiefly to M. Agassiz that this result of patient investigation is due, and he has taken great and praiseworthy pains to satisfy all who were willing to be convinced of the fact. The testimony of M. Studer, the most eminent living Swiss geologist, and long a sceptic like ourselves, is the best that we can possibly quote. Speaking of the glacier of Zermatt, near

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Monte Rosa, he says—'having mounted about fifty feet on the 'right or eastern side of the glacier, we were able to approach 'close to its contact with the fixed rock, and to observe the 'condition of the latter under the glacier itself. In spite of the 'mineralogical difference of the rock, which is here a compact 'green slate, I must state that I was struck with the perfect re-'semblance of the state of its surface, and that of the calcareous 'rocks of the lake of Bienne: there are the same smooth forms, 'the same grooves with rounded edges, the same fine *striæ*; the '*whole being occasioned, beyond any doubt, by the friction against* '*the fixed rock of blocks and sand carried along under a strong* '*pressure by some agent, and this agent appears in this case to have* '*been* THE GLACIER ITSELF.' *

The difficulty of proof of the direct abrasion of glaciers, arises from the difficulty of procuring a complete contact of a glacier and the bed of rock on which it reposes. The immediate junction is often covered by a moraine; and it is evident that, supposing a glacier to maintain always precisely the same position, it could only be by an extensive and dangerous excavation that we could examine the state of a surface of rock over which it has recently passed. But all glaciers are subject to oscillations of various kinds, and their vast *crevasses* unfold occasionally the surface of the trough in which they move. This is the case in the glaciers of Rosenlaui, Viesch, and Zermatt; and those glaciers which are retreating, of which we have many examples in the Alps, display the whole surface which they lately covered. There can be no doubt from observation, that a glacier carries along with its inferior surface a mass of pulverized gravel and lime, which, pressed by an enormous superincumbent weight of ice, *must* grind and smooth the surface of its rocky bed. This fact, which seems natural enough when stated, does not appear to have been distinctly recognized by any writer before Charpentier. We do not remember to have seen it cited that the peculiar character of glacier water is itself a testimony to this fact. Its turbid appearance, constantly the same from year to year, and from age to age, is due to the impalpably fine *flour* of rocks ground in this ponderous mill betwixt rock and ice. It is so fine as to be scarcely depositable. No one who drives from Avignon to Vaucluse can fail to be struck with the contrast of the stream, artificially conveyed on one and on the other side of the road, in order to irrigate the parched plain of Provence. The one is the incompara-

* *Bulletin de la Société Géologique de France.*—Tom. xi. page 50. —*Séance*, 2d December 1839. The italics and capitals are our own.

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bly limpid water of Petrarch's fountain; the other an offset from the river Durance, which has carried into the heart of this sunburnt region the unequivocal mark of its birth amidst the perpetual snows of Monte Viso. This is the pulverizing action of ice.

Most erroneously have those argued who object to this theory that ice cannot scratch quartz—ice is only the *setting* of the harder fragments, which first round, then furrow, afterwards polish, and finally scratch the surface over which it moves. It is not the wheel of a lapidary which slits a pebble, but the emery with which it is primed. The gravel, sand, and impalpable mud are the emery of the glacier.

We venture to differ from the eminent mineralogist (Necker) who has declared that a mineral can never scratch another of the same degree of hardness.* We have no doubt whatever that quartz can scratch quartz, as much as it is true to a proverb that diamond cuts diamond. The minuter the fragments of a body which fractures angularly, the more advantage have its particles to penetrate the surface of another similar to itself; nor can we think it doubtful that, *with time and pressure* sufficient, a harder body may be worn, therefore scratched, (since wear is but an integration of infinitely small scratches,) by a softer. In all this, then, we find no objection, but the contrary, to the theory of Charpentier and Agassiz; and, as we have said, facts demonstrate its truth. Agassiz' seventh plate shows the favourable circumstances under which it may be studied in the serpentine rocks beneath the glacier of Zermatt, (alluded to in the preceding extract from Studer;) and although the neighbouring rocks, at some distance from the glacier, and much above it, indicate the same structure, yet it is so plain that the freshness and perfection of the surface increases with its proximity to the glacier, that we can hardly suppose that the presence of the glacier is accidental where the polish appears; but rather we are bound to conclude that the appearance of the polish indicates the former presence of the glacier.

It is to the evidence of the long continuous nearly horizontal furrows, such as those of Landeron, that we ascribe the most certain and conclusive evidence of glacier action. We do not doubt that hard pebbles included in the ice coursing along successively in a channel once formed in a comparatively soft rock, like limestone or serpentine, is a cause capable (considering the intense incumbent pressure) of producing the effect in question.

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* *Etudes Géologiques.* P. 191.

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We know of no others such. They may exist, but they have not yet been pointed out. The importance of this admission is very great. There is little reason to doubt that we shall soon have irresistible evidence presented to us of similar effects existing on many parts of the earth's surface. A very eminent geologist, who still refuses assent to the glacier theory, has assured us that the specimens of *striæ* in his possession, from the valley of the Aar, the Jura, Fahlun in Sweden, and Boston in America, are so identical in character as to leave no doubt in his mind that they were engraven by one and the same agent. When to this we add the identity established above, between the *striæ* of the Alps and Jura, and those *under* existing glaciers and in the process of formation, the importance of the admission will be fully appreciated; and it is not too much to affirm that the authority of the individual who makes it, would go far to settle the question with that preponderating class of the geological world who take their impressions from the authority of others. We would not, however, too rashly proclaim the explanation universal; for geology is one of those imperfect sciences where it is impossible to carry out principles *à priori* into all their seemingly legitimate consequences; and amongst those wider speculations is the supposed extension of glaciers to all extra-tropical regions of the globe—first proposed by Charpentier, and since more especially insisted upon by Agassiz. It is well known that in northern Italy, in the Pyrenees, the Vosges, the Carpathians, the mountains of Sweden, Finland, and Scotland, and the plains of Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and England, similar phenomena of distributed blocks, and in many cases of grooved and polished surfaces, occur. Upon this wide field we cannot at present enter; but on the principle of employing the evidence of the opponents of the glacier theory, we will quote one most remarkable admission of M. Necker, with respect to the distribution of boulders derived from the Alps:—

'Wherever,' he says, 'the central chain of the Alps surpasses much the limit of perpetual snow, and consequently, wherever it presents glaciers, we observe, at the openings of great valleys, masses of blocks and other diluvial debris. Wherever, on the contrary, the central chain does not attain this limit, or but little exceeds it, we find diluvial blocks neither in the openings of the valleys, nor in the neighbouring plains. . . . It is also a remarkable fact that the only chain in Europe, besides the Alps, which penetrates considerably into the zone of perpetual snow, and which has great glaciers, namely, the Scandinavian chain, is also the only one from which have descended vast masses of rock and diluvial debris.'—(*Etudes Géologiques*, p. 359.)

We had intended stating the objections which have been, and may be urged against the glacier theory—which are no doubt

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both numerous and real—but what geological theory ever was or can be free from objections? And in this respect, without professing our unlimited conversion to it, we boldly assert that the glacier theory, in its application to the Alps, has so abundant *prima facie* evidence in its favour, as to be entitled to be placed under the category of *geological probabilities*. As to the *certainties* of geology, on which a work has lately been published, we apprehend that an unbiassed critic would purge the list to a diminutive bulk. We must, however, for the present conclude; and will therefore only trespass for a moment longer on the reader's patience, by alluding to one of the objections which has been very generally felt and urged: it is the difficulty alluded to at the commencement of this article—the inconsistency of the hypothesis of an Arctic climate, with the geological evidence of fossils commonly supposed to indicate that the temperature of the earth's surface was, in all former times, *higher* than at present.

This difficulty is urgently pressed by M. Studer; but if the facts seem to prove the existence of ice over any large portion of the earth's surface, it would be vain to oppose all the little analogical information which we derive from historical data, and from physico-mathematical researches on the subject. Such *inferences* must bend before *facts*. The evidence of fossils, indeed, is of a more conclusive kind; but we must first see that that evidence is quite positive. The theories of a local and temporary nature proposed to account for the cold of Switzerland in particular, or Europe generally, are, we think, too vague and gratuitous to be worthy of much attention.

It is certainly remarkable that the opponents of the so-called glacier theory, are themselves obliged to admit *some* extension of the glaciers; and to explain this they admit a reduction of temperature. M. Elie de Beaumont and M. Necker have directly, and Mr Lyell indirectly, admitted this. The first attributes the diluvial currents, which he supposes to have conveyed the Alpine blocks, to the *fusion of ancient glaciers;* the second applies similar reasoning to the lakes with *glacier barriers* which furnished his *debacle;* and the last (together with Mr Darwin and many others) must have his half-frozen lake with floating icebergs down to the level of the Jura range. Charpentier and Agassiz ask only a little more of what their opponents cannot altogether refuse—*cold*.

But more than this. Mr Smith has shown* that the post-

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* *Proceedings of the Geological Society of London*, 24th April 1839, and 6th November 1839.

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tertiary deposits of the west of Scotland, *coeval with the boulder formation and the till*, indicate, by their included shells, evidences of an approach to an ARCTIC climate at that period, being identical with the *existing* species of Newfoundland and even of Spitzbergen; and Mr Lyell has deduced from Canadian fossils the conclusion that, 'at the period immediately 'antecedent to the present, the climate of Canada was even 'more excessive than it is now,' and that '*this extreme cold may* '*have coincided with the era of the principal transportation of* '*erratic blocks.*'* This is surely a beautiful and interesting coincidence, and one which, if fully established, as we believe it is likely to be by the further researches of M. Agassiz, must go far to remove the chief outstanding difficulty to the glacier theory; for we cannot altogether understand the objection which Mr Lyell seems to make to its application to Switzerland, from the *absence* of the post-pliocene fossils in that country.†

The same ingenious author has objected to the glacier theory,‡ the small inclination which the glacier could have; which he estimates at 2°, and which Charpentier has reckoned still lower.§ The objection is a natural one; but it may be replied that we have as yet no data for assigning the *lowest* inclination of a glacier consistent with motion; and it is even probable that, as the glacier increases in size, this inclination may be less. We have already observed that the slope of some considerable glaciers is in many places less than 3°. Objections which seem to us to be more difficult to reply to, arise from the obscurity of the manner in which the blocks derived from the *terminal* (?) moraines of the Alpine glaciers were deposited on the opposing flank of the Jura. If the plain of Switzerland were a vast glacier, of which those of the Arve, the Rhone, and the Aar were but tributaries—and if this glacier had a north-easterly motion, as the grooves near Neufchatel and Bienne would seem to indicate—it is not easy to see how the Rhone blocks should have been deposited opposite to the embouchure of that valley, instead of forming a lateral moraine at the base of the Alps. The distribution of the remoter erratics in the very heart of the Jura range, and the position of many of the scratches on the fixed rocks, present difficulties which we believe to be still unexplained.

It is, however, impossible to expect that all such difficulties

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* *Proceedings of the Geological Society of London*, 24th April 1839.
† *Elements of Geology*, i. 253, (1841.)
‡ *Ibid.* p. 250.
§ Namely, 1° 8′ 50″. *Essai*, pp. 174 and 237

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should at once, or even at any time, entirely vanish. It is in the explanation of these that Charpentier and Agassiz, the able champions of the glacier theory founded by Venetz, are not agreed. We trust that their discussions will ever be conducted in the spirit of honourable rivalry in carrying out the arguments, of which so many are original to each. We have attempted, in seizing only the main details of this interesting epoch of scientific discussion, to assign to each author his due, without partiality or reserve. Such a course must eventually be most for the interests of all concerned. If we have passed over some subordinate writers, it is neither from ignorance nor negligence; but from want of space, and from a desire to concentrate the attention of our readers on the analysis we wished to present of the leading features of the controversy.* We have not chosen to conceal the personal interest we feel in one of the most curious and many-sided physical questions which has been brought under discussion for many years. We willingly acknowledge our debts to the calm sagacity of Charpentier, and to the noble ardour of Agassiz. We owe, perhaps, still more to the generous friendship, the unvarying good temper, and the true hospitality of the latter. It is through the intermedium of Professor Agassiz and his work that this subject has been introduced to the British public; and we know that to them he looks anxiously for the affirmation of his opinions. The glacier theory has not, as we have already hinted, received as yet the usual passport to general acceptance. Excepting Dr Buckland, no geologist of note in this country has fully adopted even the opinions of Charpentier respecting Alpine glaciers; much less those of Agassiz, which point to a great envelope of ice in the extra-tropical regions of the globe. Mr Lyell has indeed said enough to testify his willingness to admit views, which, if proved, would so well accord with his fundamental theory; but he has not given in his adhesion to the details. Even in Switzerland the conversions to the glacier theory (though it may be considered a national one) are slow and partial. In France it has made very little way: MM. Elie de Beaumont and Arago, with the classes of geologists and natural philosophers whom they represent, still stand aloof. In Germany there is no hypothesis which will not find

* The work of the Rev. Canon Rendu of Chamberry, on the Glaciers of Savoy, deserves to be specified as a rare instance of a really scientific work issuing from the press of Savoy. We regret to have seen it but cursorily, having in vain endeavoured to procure a copy even in Switzerland.

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numerous supporters; but who shall lead, whilst Von Buch and Von Humboldt withhold their assent? To maintain the glacier theory still requires some confidence—some courage. We have not dissembled its difficulties; but by presenting it, as we have endeavoured to view it, with unprejudiced eyes, as fully entitled to rank among *geological probabilities*, we place it on its most defensible ground, and we venture to predict, at least abroad, a speedy reaction in its favour. Its evidences are such as must be *seen*, and carefully studied without prejudice, in order to be appreciated; and such evidences, though often required to be sought for, and difficultly found, are not less conclusive when attained. We have constructed a formidable panoply out of the missiles of its adversaries: will they not yield to their own weapons? If they pronounce the theory imperfect, we acknowledge it; but we may very safely challenge them to produce a better or less improbable one, from amongst those already proposed. If they have a new one, we are ready to consider it.

ART. III.—1. *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, with Appendices and Plans of School-houses.* 8vo. London: 1839-40.

2. *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, with Appendices.* 8vo. London: 1840-41.

THESE volumes comprise, in a form accessible to general readers, the contents of two folio volumes, presented by her Majesty's command to both Houses of Parliament, in 1840 and 1841;—giving detailed information of the proceedings of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, from the time of its appointment in 1839, down to the dissolution of the late Government, when a change necessarily took place in the members composing the Committee.

The form in which information is communicated through the medium of Parliamentary Papers, is a point which, we think, might usefully engage the attention of our representatives. The bulky volumes in blue covers, which, during each session of Parliament, and for some time after its close, accumulate on the table of every member of the House of Commons, rather repel than invite examination; and we are convinced that much interesting information contained in these documents is lost to the public, owing to the shape in which it is conveyed. Whether there are sufficient grounds for retaining the antiquated and generally obsolete form of a ponderous folio, 'for the use of members only,' is a question we will not pretend to decide; but

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the public are greatly indebted to any one who will enable them, as in the case of the volumes before us, to acquire, in a popular and accessible shape, information contained in Parliamentary Reports and Papers, on subjects of deep national interest.

These volumes will well repay an attentive perusal. The interest, indeed, with which we have read them, has on the whole been of a painful nature; arising, on the one hand, from the melancholy picture which they present to us of the state of elementary education in this country; and, on the other, from the conviction which is forced upon us, that no adequate *means* have as yet been taken for remedying this grievous deficiency.

We are not, however, on this ground, disposed to undervalue what has actually been accomplished towards the improvement of our national education. On the contrary, we regard with satisfaction any advances, however small, which have been made in the right direction; and accept with gratitude any measures, however short they may come of what we could have desired, having a tendency to diminish the aggregate of ignorance among our teeming population. We are bound, if we are to view this question practically, to look at it in connexion with the discussions which have taken place with regard to it; and the formidable difficulties with which prejudice and party have unfortunately combined to surround it. In estimating at least the value of what has been done by the government of the country, in weighing the merits of the proceedings of the Committee of Council, we must keep in view not only what the zealous and enlightened advocates of national education justly consider as desirable in the abstract, but also what, under all the circumstances of the time, amidst conflicting opinions and party warfare, has actually been attainable; and if we still feel it our duty to contend for the assertion of larger views, and a more comprehensive policy, than have hitherto been adopted in dealing with this great national question, we must not on that account withhold a just tribute of approbation from those who, through much evil report, and amidst obloquy and misrepresentation, undertook and persevered in, as members of the Government of the day, the task of endeavouring to raise the standard of elementary education in this country.

The formation of the 'Committee of the Privy Council on 'Education' was in itself, in our judgment, a most important step in the right direction. We are confirmed in this opinion by the outcry with which it was 'on its first announcement' assailed, and by the effort which was made to strangle it in its birth. It was a practical assertion, on the part of the Executive Government, of its right, and a practical recognition of its obligation, to pro-

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mote and superintend the education of the people. The Government of this country had for a long time limited its views to the prevention or repression of crime, by severe laws and penal enactments. It had attacked by terror the effects of ignorance as developed in crime; but it had not attempted to remove the ignorance, the fruitful parent of crime. It had looked on, as an unconcerned spectator, at the benevolent but desultory efforts of individuals and societies, operating, with insufficient means and imperfect machinery, on detached portions of the community; but it had done absolutely nothing to extend to the mass of the population the advantages of sound and useful education. The Government of Lord Grey was the first which took the subject in hand. Lord Althorp, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed to Parliament an annual vote of money, to be distributed by the Treasury through the medium of two voluntary societies, in aid of the erection of schoolhouses, in connexion with one or other of those societies; but with the character of the education professed to be given in such schools, the Government did not pretend to interfere. The functions of the Treasury, as indeed naturally followed from the constitution and duties of that Board, were limited to the object of securing the actual application of the money placed under their control to the purposes for which it had been appropriated by Parliament. Whether, indeed, they were able in all cases effectually to secure even this object, may be questioned; but this at least is clear, that while the Government asked for money from Parliament for purposes connected with education, and thus recognized their obligation to promote it, they merely undertook to be the channel through which, on certain specified terms, that money should find its way to its ultimate recipients, in aid of local funds for the erection of permanent schoolhouses.

The appointment of the Committee of Council in 1839, necessarily involved higher objects. The Government desired through its agency, not only by augmenting the number of school-houses to increase the means available for the instruction of the poor, but by other and more important measures to improve the quality of the instruction to be communicated in such school-houses, and to render it, in some degree at least, worthy of the name of education. This desire was sufficiently apparent from the terms of Lord John Russell's letter to the Marquis of Lansdowne, in which, after adverting to the exertions which had been made of late years by the National and the British and Foreign School Societies, he enumerated, as among the chief defects which still subsisted, and for which a remedy was required, 'the insufficient 'number of qualified schoolmasters—the imperfect method of 'teaching which prevails in perhaps the greater number of

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'schools—the absence of any sufficient inspection of the schools, 'and examination of the nature of the instruction given—the 'want of a model school, which might serve for the example of 'those societies and committees which anxiously seek to im- 'prove their own methods of teaching; and finally, the neglect 'of this great subject among the enactments of our volumi- 'nous legislation.' It is unnecessary to remind our readers of the storm which the formation of the Education Committee of Council produced. The influence which it could not fail to exercise on the education of the people, was clearly apprehended by its opponents. The cry of 'Danger to the Church' was raised in the country, by those who had before experienced the value of that artifice for the obstruction of some measure founded on principles of religious liberty; and the opportunity was too favourable to be lost by the leaders of the Opposition of that day, of aiming a blow at the Government, by taking up that cry within the walls of Parliament. The Committee was denounced in the House of Commons by the noble lord who led the attack upon it—now himself a member of the Committee—as a body 'decidedly and exclusively political in its character, and neces- 'sarily fluctuating and uncertain in its composition; and in 'which there was no element of a defined or fixed principle of 'action, and into which, from its constitution and composition, 'it was impossible that it could so happen that a single indi- 'vidual could be admitted of those who were by the laws of the 'country entitled to superintend the moral education, and to 'direct the spiritual instruction of the people;'* and a right honourable gentleman, now also himself a member of the Committee as Secretary of State for the Home department, after declaring his determination not to advance one step beyond the plan sanctioned by Lord Althorp, and objecting, in the strongest manner, to the proposed measures of the Government, avowed that 'the root of all the evil in his mind consisted in the appoint- 'ment of the Committee of Council for the superintendence of 'Education;' and that, 'while any such body existed, the 'House should address the Crown against it, for the purpose of 'obtaining its removal; for it was his decided opinion that it 'would, if allowed to be followed up, lead to results disastrous 'to the state, and adverse to the temporal and eternal interests 'of the British people.'† Sir Robert Peel himself mainly objected to the Committee as being composed exclusively of members of the Executive Government, which rendered it rather a Committee of the Government than of the Privy Council; and,

* Hansard's Debates, vol. xlviii. p. 230.

† Ibid. p. 655.

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departing from his usual reserve, went so far as to hint—for the encouragement, no doubt, of such of his supporters as suspected the depth or the sincerity of his church principles—that the next Government, on whom, if the principle were established, would devolve the management of the general education of the country, would hasten to repair the injury done to the church, by adding the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London to the Committee of Council.* The Committee, however, survived the storm; and although an important part of the original intention of the Government was necessarily abandoned, the Committee itself, with its exclusively political character, composed of members of the Executive Government, and not comprising any of the dignitaries of the Church of England, laboured assiduously for two years in the advancement of the cause of National Education.

We have said that the mere appointment of such a body necessarily involved higher objects than those which had been contemplated by the Board of Treasury; and the influence which it could not fail to exercise over the education of the people was proportionably greater. It was to consist of men of high station in the country, holding ministerial appointments, and thus directly responsible to Parliament, who were to sit as a Board for the single purpose of promoting education; not by the mere distribution of the Parliamentary grant, but by the collection and publication of accurate facts as to the state of elementary education in various parts of the country—by the dissemination of useful practical information, derived from the experience of foreign countries as well as of our own—by a comparison of various methods of teaching—by the encouragement of local efforts; and by the support and countenance of every judicious attempt to increase the efficiency of existing schools, by the preparation of well-qualified instructors, or the introduction of new and useful branches of instruction.

The volumes before us afford ample proof of the utility of such a Board. The promoters of schools will find in them a fund of valuable information, calculated to be of the greatest assistance in the establishment and conduct of their schools. They are here presented with forms of conveyance of school sites, of building contracts, and specifications; together with a series of well-executed plans of school-houses of various dimensions, accompanied by an explanatory minute, containing all that can be required for their guidance as to the structure and machinery of the schools; the information being adapted to whatever

* Ibid. p. 670.

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method of instruction it may be their intention to follow. Besides these, the Committee has published a minute 'on con-'structive methods of teaching reading, writing, and vocal 'music,' full of interesting and valuable matter; and, under their sanction and encouragement, Mr Hullah has established his admirable singing-school for schoolmasters. The Committee, indeed, on the proposal for this school being submitted to them, did not feel themselves authorized by the terms of the Parliamentary grant to appropriate any portion of that grant to the support of this school; but they gave it their marked countenance and approval; and we find, from a Paper recently circulated under the sanction of the Committee, that within a very few weeks from the commencement of the school, on the 1st February 1841, it already consisted of no less than three classes of schoolmasters and one of schoolmistresses, with one hundred members in each class, meeting twice a-week at Exeter Hall; where the gratifying spectacle was exhibited of this large assemblage of persons collected together in these classes—without any regard to distinction of religious creed or denomination—evincing a marked delight in their lessons, and each contributing a small sum towards the expense of the establishment.*

Such are some of the general advantages which have already resulted from the existence of the Committee of Council on Education, and which we think sufficient in themselves fully to vindicate its appointment. To these are to be added the impulse which it has given to the cause of education through the country; and the improvement which is perceptible in the views and objects of those who are engaged in the promotion of elementary education. But there is one branch of the proceedings of the Committee not yet adverted to, and to which we attach the greatest importance. We allude to the system of school inspection which it has established. On the transfer of the appropriation of the parliamentary grant from the Treasury to this Committee, it was laid down as an inflexible rule, that no portion of the grant should be applied for the establishment or support of Normal or any other schools, *except on the condition of the schools so aided being open to inspection.* No part of the Government proposal met with a more deter-

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* Since this was written, we have seen a statement from which it appears that the pupils in the Singing School now amount to 2000, and that other branches of instruction have been added.

A course of Lectures on the Chemistry of Daily Life, by Dr Reid, has also been commenced at Exeter Hall, under the direction of the Committee of Council, to which masters and mistresses of elementary schools are gratuitously admitted.

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mined opposition than this. It was not, indeed, a topic of which much advantage could be taken by the opponents of the Government in the House of Commons; as it would have been difficult to have there obtained any considerable support to the proposition that, when the public money was dispensed by the Government, the Government should be deprived of the power of securing its due application by their own inspection; but the vehemence with which the proposed inspection was opposed out of the House was extreme. Episcopal Charges and clerical pamphlets waged a fierce war of words against this intermeddling on the part of the State with sacred things. The right of inspection of schools in which children belonging to the established church are educated, was boldly asserted to be vested exclusively in the ecclesiastical authorities of the Church; and much learning was displayed in attempting to prove that the inspection must emanate from the Bishop, and be exercised by his 'natural agent,' the Chancellor of the diocese; while the most extravagant assumptions were unblushingly put forth as to the probable character of the inspectors to be appointed by the Crown, on the recommendation of the Committee, as to their deficiency in every requisite qualification for their office, and as to the malignant influence which they would exercise on the schools which should be desecrated by their admission. Nor was coercion altogether wanting to swell the ranks of the opponents of the Committee of Council upon this point. The refusal to receive any aid from Government was made the condition of pecuniary grants from the national, and from some, at least, of the diocesan educational societies; in order to influence clergymen who, not participating in the views of their brethren, would, if left to act on their own unbiassed opinions, have willingly accepted a portion of the parliamentary grant, and opened the doors of their schools to the government inspector. Thanks to the firmness of the Committee, and to the good sense of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, whom we believe to have been always desirous of moderating the violence of the extreme party in the Church upon this question, this opposition ultimately failed of attaining its object. The Committee adhered to their condition. Two Inspectors—the Rev. J. Allen and Mr Seymour Tremenheere—were appointed. Instructions were addressed to them—they entered on the discharge of their duties—the distribution of the parliamentary grant proceeded; and the National Society became deeply involved in advances or engagements far beyond their resources, made to clergymen, to enable or to induce them to dispense with the assistance proffered by the Government. An accommodation thus became indispensable. The extravagant pretensions which had been urged on behalf of

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the church were no longer insisted on; and an arrangement was made by the Committee with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and ratified by an Order in Council, by which the condition of inspection remains untouched, and the appointment of inspectors continues in the Crown; but the concurrence of the two Archbishops in their respective provinces is required in the person to be entrusted with the authoritative inspection of schools connected with the established church.

We must do the members of the Church of Scotland the justice to remark, that, however jealous they may generally be of interference on the part of the State, they gave as a body no countenance to the pretensions which had been urged by their sister Church; and that at an early period the Education Committee of the General Assembly tendered their co-operation to the Committee of Council, on terms which were readily complied with; and these two bodies appear to have uniformly acted in cordial harmony and concert.

One great advantage immediately resulted from the arrangement between the Archbishop and the Committee. The latter, as we think erroneously, and with a vain desire to disarm opposition, had declared that the Inspectors should limit their enquiries to secular branches of instruction; and that the religious instruction imparted in the schools should constitute no part of their investigation. Such a limitation of their duties would, in our opinion, have most materially interfered with their usefulness, and diminished their efficiency. There was indeed a time when the recognized connexion of a School with the Church of England might have been taken as some guarantee that the Doctrines and Principles of that Church, as established at the Reformation, would be instilled into the minds of the children; and that whatever deficiency there might be, on the part of the master, in conveying to their minds a clear apprehension of those doctrines and principles, nothing diametrically opposed to them would in any case be taught. In the present day, unhappily, no such guarantee is afforded; and no security exists, short of a vigilant and close inspection, against schools partly built by aid from Parliamentary grants, and placed under the superintendence of Clergymen professing to be of the 'Anglican Church,' being made seminaries for the inculcation of doctrines and principles directly opposed to the spirit of Protestantism; and wholly at variance with the plain letter and obvious intention of the Articles and Formularies of the Church. We have no desire, on this occasion, to enter further on a subject which is daily becoming one of more deep and painful interest to the faithful members of the Church of England; but we could not altogether pass it by, in estimating the value of a searching and

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impartial inspection into the nature of the religious instruction to be communicated in the numerous schools under the care of the Parochial Clergy—which have recently been erected, or are now in course of erection in England, aided by grants from the public money, placed at the disposal of the Committee of Council. We think, therefore, that an important point was gained, when, in addition to, and incorporated with, the instructions addressed to their Inspectors by the Committee of Council, there were framed by the Archbishops instructions applicable to all schools connected with the Church of England, with a view to elicit full and accurate information on this important branch of education; and in which the Inspectors are directed to enquire with special care how far the 'Doctrines and Principles of the Established 'Church are instilled into the minds of the children.'

The duties of the Inspectors are clearly explained in the instructions addressed to them by the Committee. Although appointed for the specific purpose of visiting from time to time schools aided by grants of public money, other and more comprehensive duties were contemplated in their appointment; and it is in these that they have hitherto been chiefly employed. Comparatively few of the schools which have received assistance, subject to the condition of inspection, can as yet be in actual operation; but the Inspectors have been most usefully occupied in general enquiries, the results of which are presented in the volumes before us. Independently of an examination, conducted at the request of the Board of Admiralty, into the state of the Greenwich Hospital Schools, five reports have been made on the state of Elementary Education in several districts in England; and one on the state of Elementary Education in a district in Scotland. There are also two special Reports, one on the state of thirty-seven schools in connexion with the Church of England, in the Counties of Chester, Derby, and Lancaster; and the other on the state of the Normal Seminary at Glasgow.

These Reports furnish us with tolerable means of judging of the character and qualifications of the gentlemen selected by the Committee for the duty of inspection. We have before alluded to the unworthy suspicions which were expressed as to their probable character; and to the confident predictions which were uttered of their entire unfitness for the office. After perusing their Reports, we have no hesitation in asserting that never were suspicions more destitute of foundation, nor predictions more completely falsified. These gentlemen appear to us to have brought to the discharge of their duties a comprehensive view of the subject with which they had to deal; great diligence and activity of mind; good practical sense and ready observation;

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united with strong Christian principle, and a deep sympathy with the wants and interests of those large classes whose welfare their labours were designed to promote. The cordial local co-operation which they met with, and the facilities which they gratefully acknowledge as having been universally afforded to them in the prosecution of their enquiries, furnish in themselves no slight evidence of their general bearing and conduct having been in strict accordance with what was judiciously pointed out in their instructions as calculated to conciliate the confidence and goodwill of those with whom they were to communicate.

The great insufficiency in the amount or quantity of education provided for the children of the working classes throughout England, is, we believe, now so generally admitted—at all events, it has been so often and clearly demonstrated—that we think it unnecessary to make any observations on the abundant evidence contained in these Reports, as to the very large proportion of children who receive no education or instruction at any day school whatever. It is to the character and quality of instruction given to the children who do attend existing schools, that we are anxious to direct special attention; for although it has been often and ably exposed by the advocates of a better system of national education, we believe that it is not yet fully understood, and that the statements which have, from time to time, been made respecting it, are thought by many to be chargeable with exaggeration. The result of the enquiries of the Government Inspectors has been to collect a mass of facts bearing upon this point—not, indeed, presenting any striking features of novelty to those whose attention has been closely directed to the state of our elementary education—but not the less calculated to produce a deep and salutary impression. We have here the strongest concurrent testimony of men acting separately and without concert with each other, applicable to districts widely distinct, not only in their locality but in many essential particulars, as to the lamentably defective nature of the instruction given in the vast majority of the schools at present accessible to the children of the working classes;—demonstrating that it is to the improvement in the character of these schools, even more than to a rapid augmentation of their number, that the energies of the friends of education, and the superintending care and assistance of the Government, must be directed, if any real effect is to be produced on the principles and habits of the future population of this country. Indeed, unless this glaring defect can be remedied—unless masters and mistresses can be properly trained and thoroughly prepared for their profession, all other means for educating the people will be comparatively valueless; and the schools rapidly rising throughout

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the country will exhibit the same unsatisfactory spectacle of incompetent teachers, and ignorant or ill-taught scholars, of which such numerous instances are to be found in the Reports before us. It is justly observed by Mr Gibson, in his Report on the state of education in the Presbyteries of Haddington and Dunbar, that 'it may be well to notice the influence that a really accomplished 'and active teacher almost invariably has in elevating and extend-'ing the educational course. It may be stated that wherever a 'teacher of ability and acquirement is located, and how poor 'soever may be the people among whom he labours, the expecta-'tion may, with a considerable degree of confidence, be enter-'tained, that the extent of his pupils' acquirements will be 'found to be, in spite of every discouragement and local dis-'advantage, somewhat proportional to the amount of his own.' It is at least equally true, and indeed it is a self-evident proposition, that inefficient and incompetent teachers must keep down the education entrusted to their hands to the level of their own capacity; and that a good school cannot exist without a good schoolmaster. Now, what has been the training, and what are the qualifications of the far greater number of those to whom the education of the poorer classes has been hitherto, and is at present, committed? We do not hesitate to say of them, as a body, that they have received no training fit to qualify them for their profession—that the attainments of many of them are of the lowest possible order—and that the knowledge possessed by others, and their endeavour faithfully to discharge their duty, fail in the greater number of instances of producing a satisfactory result, from their not having had the advantage of a special education for the profession they have undertaken.

Before we proceed to support this statement by evidence drawn from these Reports, we think it right to premise that we are far from intending to cast censure on those of whom we are compelled to speak thus disparagingly. The difficulty of obtaining a livelihood is well known, and it can be no matter of surprise that persons unable to maintain themselves in any other line of life—with the most ordinary notions of what is meant by education, but possessing the elements of the technical knowledge of reading and writing, and perhaps arithmetic—should attempt to earn a subsistence, by undertaking to teach others the little which they themselves know. Still less can it be imputed as matter of blame to the better class of schoolmasters, that they are wanting in the essential qualifications of their profession, when no opportunity has been afforded them of acquiring those qualifications; but we do feel it to be a national disgrace that this defect should have been so long tolerated; and that, after all

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that has been said and written on the subject, and, with the example before us of what has been done in this respect in other countries of Europe, no general and well-directed effort should have been made to raise the character and improve the qualifications of those to whom the training of the youthful mind of the great bulk of our population has been professedly entrusted.

Mr Tremenheere's first enquiry was conducted in a portion of a mining district comprising five parishes, (four in Monmouthshire and one in Glamorganshire,) which had been the focus of the insurrectionary movement that led to the attack on the town of Newport in November 1839. The aggregate population of those parishes, according to the lowest estimate, amounts to 85,000; out of which the total number of children attending day and dame schools was found to be 3308, distributed among 47 common day schools and 33 dame schools. Of the 47 common day schools, 5 are under the care of females. Of the masters of the remaining 42:—

16 had been unsuccessful in some retail trade.
11 had been miners, or labouring men who had lost their health, or met with accidents in the works, and had subsequently 'got a little learning' to enable them to keep a school.
10 had received some instruction with a view to adopt the profession of teaching.
4 were ministers of dissenting places of worship.
1 was the clerk of a parish church.

42.—(*Min.* 1839–40, p. 178.)

The quality of the education does not belie the expectation created by this statement. In most instances indeed the accommodation was wretched, and every requisite of a really good school was wanting.

'In a few only,' says Mr Tremenheere, 'did the size and cleanliness of the room, and the demeanour and apparent qualifications of the master, afford a probability that the instruction sought to be given would be imparted with effect. But even in those of the highest pretensions, the amount of instruction was very scanty. In 18 only were the principles of English grammar taught; in 4 only was a map of any kind used; and in 4 also there was a desire to communicate a few of the leading facts of general history. In all the rest, the aim of the master did not in general appear to extend beyond instruction in the mechanical processes of reading and writing, with a little arithmetic, together, in some instances, with such moral lessons, drawn from the Scriptures and the small school-books in common use, as he was able to impress on his pupils. * * * * * * * *

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Of the dame schools visited, many were neat and in good order; but they seemed in general to be not so much places of instruction as of periodical confinement for children, whose parents were at work during the day. The only two infant schools in the district, although not satisfactory specimens of what that system is capable of effecting, are nevertheless valuable; as showing by the numbers which frequent them, and the comparative distance of the houses of some of the youngest pupils, that they are well suited to the habits and desires of the people. They are built, and are chiefly supported, by the gentlemen on whose property they stand. It is manifest that, under the most favourable circumstances, the instruction offered to the children of the labouring classes in the day schools of this district, could not be expected to have much permanent effect in disciplining the mind, raising the taste and habits, and correcting the disposition. But when it is also remembered that the small amount of instruction actually sought for is spread irregularly over a period seldom exceeding two or three years, the great and general deficiency in the extent and value of such elementary education as is obtained in these schools, will be more evident.—(*Minutes*, 1839–40, p. 178.)

Such is the nature of the provision made for the mental and moral culture of the children of this large population—collected in dense masses about the works which furnish them with employment, and isolated from other portions of society. Can it be a matter of surprise that their general habits should be as they are described by Mr Tremenheere—those of improvidence and intemperance—and that they should be a source of disquiet and anxiety to the Government, owing to their easy exposure to the arts of any rash or designing anarchist?

Mr Tremenheere was subsequently charged with similar enquiries in the Mining District of Cornwall. The chief distinctive feature in the character of the population of this district, is the natural intelligence for which the Cornish miners have long been remarkable. Mr Tremenheere tells us, 'Those who have the 'best opportunities of observing, remark the apprehensiveness 'they display on all occasions requiring the exercise of that qua- 'lity. Clergymen, strangers to the country, find that their ad- 'dresses from the pulpit are readily understood and commented 'upon by the labouring classes. Men of science bear willing 'testimony to the skill and talent exhibited by the working mi- 'ners, in relation to their various occupations. Every stranger 'who comes in contact with them is disposed to the conclusion, 'that the intellectual capacity of the class of miners in this 'county, reaches a standard above the average of a labouring 'population.'—(*Minutes*, 1840–41, p. 190.)

But to what an extent the cultivation of this favourable soil has been neglected, and how little has been done by education to improve the natural advantages they possess, appears from the

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fact, that 'of learning acquired from books, they have very little. 'A large proportion of the adult male population is unable to 'read, a still larger is unable to write; and very few of the fe- 'males, young or old, can do either.' Out of a population of about 52,000 comprised within the district selected for enquiry, and containing most of the chief mines in the county, the whole number of children attending school in December 1840, is stated to have been 1614, distributed among 37 common day schools; leaving the estimated number of 6803 children, between 5 and 15, not attending any day school. And when we examine the character of the education conferred in these 37 day schools, we find the following statement:—

'If the children of the labouring classes now attending these day schools are few in proportion to the whole number of an age for education, and if the time allowed for it by the parents of these few be short and inadequate, still less are the methods pursued by 27 out of 32 masters and mistresses whose schools I visited, or the books and apparatus used, such as to afford any reasonable hope that instruction of any permanent value could be imparted to more than a small number of their pupils, even if they remained much longer at school than is now the custom. By all these 27, the old system of teaching is pursued, and the books in use are those ordinarily accompanying it. The payments are so low and irregular, that good class-books cannot be afforded by the master. Whatever books are used are provided by the parents. Being themselves generally unable to read, the cheapest seem to be considered to have the most merit. * * * *

'Of the masters, the great majority had either been hurt or had lost their health in the mines, or had been unsuccessful in trade or other occupations; but their qualifications appeared in most instances to be respectable, and their demeanour towards their pupils mild and conciliatory. Nevertheless, it must be confessed that they cannot be regarded as possessing, either in their own resources or in the method they pursue, the capability of effecting, to any desirable extent, the mental and moral improvement of those under their charge. * * * *

'In the greatest number of these schools, comparatively few boys had advanced in arithmetic as far as the Rule of Three. Still fewer had learnt any thing of grammar, English history, geography, mensuration, or linear drawing—subjects which almost all the masters professed to teach. In nineteen schools boys and girls were instructed together. In eight they had separate schools. In almost all, the amount of instruction which seemed to be thought requisite for the girls, scarcely passed the boundary of the merest elements.'—(*Minutes*, 1840-41, pp. 192—3.)

A few schools, indeed, were found in this district, forming honourable exceptions to the general description applicable to the great majority; and looking at the character and circumstances of its inhabitants—of which some interesting details are given by Mr Tremenheere—we should say that there is probably

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no district where the advantages of a really good system of education would be more readily appreciated, or where its fruits would be more rapidly developed.

In Norfolk, Mr Tremenheere's enquiries were limited to the town population of Norwich, Yarmouth, and Lynn, and to the agricultural population of fifty-one rural parishes in various parts of the country. Norwich presents the unusual case of an amount of school accommodation for a much larger number of children than are actually under instruction. This peculiarity appears to be attributable, partly to a suspicion, on the part of the working classes, of the motives which influence the promoters of various day schools in desiring the attendance of their children, arising, in Mr Tremenheere's opinion, from feelings of hostility and aversion towards their employers—prevalent among the great mass of the population. This suspicion has been hitherto unfortunately so strong, as to materially affect the success of a most generous effort lately made in behalf of the improvement of the labouring population of Norwich, by a Mr Geary, who erected at his own expense, in 1838, a handsome building with playgrounds annexed, capable of containing upwards of 500 boys, girls, and infants, in three separate school-rooms, to which he added a building for the purpose of an industrial school, capable of accommodating at least 300 children to receive instruction in the elements of common trades. In order to meet the case of parents who could not afford to pay for their children's education, the children who paid nothing were to work half the day at some trade for the benefit of the establishment. Owing apparently to the cause already mentioned, the three schools, at the period of Mr Tremenheere's visit, contained only 275 children, of whom no more that forty were occupied in the industrial school. We fear, however, that another and a more prevailing cause for the neglect, on the part of the parents, of the opportunities afforded them of obtaining instruction for their children, is to be found in the physical condition of that portion of the population of Norwich which is dependent on manufacturing employment, especially the handloom weavers, whose condition is represented as 'one of great and grievous depression.' Mr Tremenheere gives some painful details of their sufferings and privations; and we cannot be surprised if one result of this melancholy state of destitution is the neglect of the education of their children; arising partly from a recklessness engendered by poverty, and partly from poverty itself, and a consequent unwillingness 'to lose even a faint 'chance of making the smallest amount of money by their chil-'dren's labour.' Of the general character of the schools in Norwich Mr Tremenheere was unable to report very favourably; but,

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there appears to be a sincere and intelligent desire on the part of persons of weight and influence to render them more efficient. The central boys' and girls' schools, and the St Andrew's Infant School, visited by Mr Tremenheere at the request of the Dean, and which have been selected as model schools in aid of endeavours to form an establishment for training masters and mistresses for the National Schools of the diocess, afford good promise of usefulness; and the St James's Infant School, which had been aided by a public grant, and is chiefly supported by Dissenters, is highly spoken of. But much still remains to be done in order to render the Norwich schools generally fit instruments of effecting a real improvement in the mental and moral condition of the rising generation. 'If this,' Mr Tremenheere observes, 'is to be usefully effected through the medium of schools, as auxiliaries and interpreters to higher and more sacred ministrations, wider views must be taken of what it is requisite to teach, and of the instrumentality by which it is to be communicated.' * * * 'To inculcate the leading doctrines of our faith, and to present the main incidents of the Holy Scriptures in such manner as shall interest the affections of the young, and not alone burden the memory, and to impart some real knowledge applicable to the state of the society in which they live, and to the world around them, is the work in hand. This the ordinary master or mistress at from 6s. to 10s. a-week cannot do. I observed some teachers in Norwich, receiving much higher salaries than those, who were incapable of explaining the meaning of very ordinary words, who could not spell correctly, and whose capacity for clearing up and making interesting to a child's mind the subject of instruction where books of general reading had been introduced, was manifestly very limited. Remains also of the art of governing by force of lungs or voice were not wanting. In some schools a little geography had been recently attempted, but not extending in most instances beyond catalogues of names; the master often appearing to think that to point out the hardest names in the interior of China and Tartary was the most dexterous feat of geographical learning. In a few cases I found that the maps hung on the walls, not yet used, objects apparently still of respectful and distant wonder alike to master and pupils. I could see no signs of any capability to make geographical instruction really profitable, by connecting with the physical facts some knowledge of the several peculiarities of the condition and mode of life of the various inhabitants of the globe.'—(*Minutes*, 1840-41, p. 437.)

The rural parishes in Norfolk, visited by Mr Tremenheere, contain a population in the most deplorable state of ignorance.

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Some instances of it are given by him, which, if not vouched for by testimony above suspicion, we could scarcely have credited. Nor are the great majority of the schools now in operation calculated to apply to it an effectual remedy. 'Many defects (says 'Mr Tremenheere) in the mode of doing what was proposed to be 'done, were to a greater or less extent apparent in all the schools 'which I had an opportunity of seeing in action in the course of 'this tour.' * * * 'In one, twenty boys who had been two 'years at the school could not read words of four letters correctly; they ran one verse into the other, disregarding stops, 'and without the smallest approach to an attempt to understand 'the meaning. In a second, thirty boys who had been from 'eighteen months to two years at the school, and were nearly 'old enough to be taken away to work, could not read a verse 'in the New Testament without hesitation and mistakes. In a 'third, fifteen boys from ten to twelve years of age, in the first 'class, read with a boldness and fluency which seemed to impose 'on the master, who allowed them to pass over connecting 'words, signs of tenses, and smaller obstacles, in their progress 'to the longer words, which he always repeated after them, 'sometimes before. When examined in Scripture history, only 'one boy could answer any one question, and his knowledge did 'not enable him to say who led the children of Israel into the 'Promised Land. None of them knew the meaning of the words 'Bible, Genesis, Exodus, although the clergyman, who was 'present, and put the questions to them, stated that they had 'often been told. They did not know what county joined their 'own, nor the direction of London, nor in what quarter the sun 'was in the middle of the day, nor the direction of east, west, 'north, and south. These were boys just about to leave school, 'and who will be said to have "received their education" at a 'school supported at some expense by a large resident landowner. In a fourth, the mistress confessed she "could not 'teach much figures," and in speaking she made frequent faults 'in grammar. She was the mistress of a handsome school-house 'built by a neighbouring proprietor. In a fifth, a girl of eleven 'years old could not repeat the Lord's prayer, and the answers 'of all the elder, to the questions put to them at my request by 'the mistress and monitors, were as far from correct as if they had 'been read at hazard from an index. The state of proficiency in 'the adjoining boys' school was also very low, and in both instances the excuse given was, that the monitors did not remain long enough to be of any effectual assistance. These five 'cases embody characteristics which I found very common in 'the rest, with but few exceptions.'—(*Minutes*, 1840-41, p. 458-9.)

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But, while the actual state of most of these schools is thus inefficient, we are somewhat cheered by the fact of "an awakening 'interest' being felt in this county on the neglect of education. The dense ignorance of the people is generally admitted and lamented; collective and individual efforts are making in various parts of the county for the extension and improvement of elementary education—and in some instances with a success which reflects great credit on the parties to whose zeal and energy it is to be attributed; and the want of capacity or attainments on the part of the master or mistress, has in other cases been partially supplied 'by the vigilant superintendence and active teaching of 'the clergyman or other individuals, whose presence, example, 'and instruction, impart a tone and character, and exercise an 'influence which no other source can so well supply.' In the last-mentioned schools, indeed, 'the intellectual attainments were 'yet very indifferent,' the necessary consequence of the inferior acquirements of the master; 'but it was evident that a process 'of religious and moral training was going on, most valuable in 'its effects on the character and manners of the children, and in 'creating a visible bond of attachment and good feeling among 'themselves and towards those around them.' It is also gratifying to observe, that far the greater part of the schools reported on by Mr Tremenheere in Norfolk, were visited by him at the request of their promoters, and that in numerous instances he 'was invited 'to consult with the parochial clergy, the members of the com-'mittees of British schools, the trustees of endowed schools, and 'the leading supporters of those unconnected with any society, 'as to the improvement of existing schools, or as to the plans, 'arrangement, and method most desirable for their several neigh-'bourhoods;'—affording at once satisfactory proof of the absence of any jealousy or suspicion of a Government Inspector, and of the value of such an officer.

Of Mr Allen's two Reports, the first is on the state of elementary education in the mining districts of Durham and Northumberland. His enquiry was chiefly among the coal-fields lying along the Tyne and Weare. In the course of the six weeks which it occupied, he visited 150 schools in this district, of which 4 were Sunday schools, 15 infant, 37 dame, 46 common day schools, set on foot by masters on their own account, subject to no superintendence, and attended by children of both sexes: 15 were girls' schools under the parochial clergy, 14 were boys' schools, and 2 were schools for both sexes, also under the parochial clergy; 5 were Lancasterian schools, (3 for boys and two for girls,) one was the school in Durham jail, and eleven were schools for children of a superior class, with payments varying from 10s. 6d. to L.1, 1s. and upwards per quarter. In addi-

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tion to these, he visited 20 other schools, of which a short account is given in the appendix to his Report.

The general result of this enquiry, as it respects the quality of the education given in these schools, will appear from the following extract from his Report:—

"In seven out of the fifteen infant schools visited, the mistresses had never received any sufficient training, and, as it appeared, made very feeble attempts to draw out the faculties of the children; acting as if their chief business was to teach their scholars to repeat a few rhymes, and to go through certain manual and bodily exercises. Two of these fifteen schools were under a master, most of them were well supplied with prints, and all except one were fitted up with a gallery: none of them had gardens attached, nor were they supplied with any gymnastic apparatus. A cabinet of natural objects might be procured for all with very little exertion on the part of the superintendent, as the children would, if the matter were proposed to them, make no contemptible collection for themselves.

"The dame schools appeared to me to be divisible generally into two classes; those kept by persons fond of children, and of cleanly and orderly habits—and these, however scanty may be their means of imparting instruction, (the mistresses confining themselves almost entirely to teaching a little reading, and knitting or sewing,) cannot altogether fail of attaining some of the highest ends of education, as far as regards the formation of character—and those kept by widows and others, who are compelled by necessity to seek some employment by which they may eke out their scanty means of existence, without any real feelings of interest in their work. Many of this latter class presented a most melancholy aspect—the room commonly used as a living room, and filled with a very unwholesome atmosphere; the mistress apparently one whose kindly feelings had been long since frozen up, and who was regarded with terror by several rows of children, more than half of whom were in many cases without any means whatever of employing their time.

"In nine-tenths of the common day schools visited, I found no profession made of giving any religious instruction; this, as it was said, was left to the Sunday school; but, as ordinarily, no care is taken by the masters that their pupils shall attend Sunday schools, the common day schools of which I am speaking must be considered, I fear, in the worst sense of the words, merely secular schools. The masters appeared in most cases to be very ill educated, and the schools being matters of private speculation, except in a few instances where school-rooms were found by the owners of collieries, they are subject to no inspection, and are consequently in a great measure beyond the reach of those beneficial influences which could not fail to be produced by intercourse with persons of superior intelligence, and from the opportunities of visiting good schools, and of becoming acquainted with the most approved methods of instruction. Of education, in that sense of the word which includes the training and the endeavour to perfect the faculties of the entire man, there is none. No superintendence is exercised over the children during the

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hours of relaxation; and, in but too many instances, it seemed that the constant use of words of harsh reproof, and no unfrequent recurrence to the strap, was needed to preserve tolerable quiet and some slight appearance of order. The strap, the common instrument of punishment, is not indeed a very formidable weapon; but the frequent use of it, while it bears witness to the little real respect paid to the master, must lower the character of the children, teaching them to estimate actions, not by any fixed standard of right and wrong, but by the immediate sensible results produced on the caprice or bad temper of another. * * *

'The deficiency of books was most lamentable; in the majority, some slates and copy-books, a few pages of a spelling-book, or an entire one, treatises on arithmetic and mensuration, with the Bible or Testament, were almost the only visible means of instruction. * * *

'In not more than four out of the forty-six did I find that any of the children were taught to draw; they were not provided with maps or blackened boards; they have no drills nor manual exercises; no playgrounds, nor provision for recreation. * * * But little attention seems to be paid to the cleanliness of the children. In very few instances did I find a window opened for ventilation; and when a large number of children were gathered into a small confined room, the atmosphere, highly offensive to a stranger, must prove most pernicious to the lungs and skin of the inmates, slowly but surely undermining their health and strength.

'The parochial schools were better ventilated, and in most instances filled with cleaner children than those assembled in the common day schools, although the rate of payment is considerably lower. In most, the system of mutual instruction is strictly adhered to, the masters making, as far as I could learn, little attempts to teach the children to exercise their mental faculties, by requiring written answers to written questions, or by resorting to ellipsis or the suggestive method of instruction. The children were usually found to be orderly in their demeanour; and in the better schools, both parochial and those under no superintendence, writing seemed to be fairly, and arithmetic very successfully taught. Children of the age of twelve were not unfrequently to be found solving problems in mensuration, and many in both classes of schools were found learning practical land-surveying. The reading was in almost all cases indifferent; and in nearly every instance in which the experiment was tried, an attempt to get the meaning of the words read, failed. I met with only one instance of a pupil teacher. All the parochial schools were opened and closed with prayer, and the church catechism was repeated by the children with tolerable accuracy; but in schools even of the better class, little or no meaning seemed to be attached to the more difficult words. In some cases, indeed, the explanation furnished in the glossary attached to the broken catechism was readily given; but this, as far as I could judge, was as much a matter of rote as the rest. Of the books used there was seldom any deficiency. * * * The Lord's prayer and the Collect for the week was learnt by almost all the children; but besides these the children were not commonly taught private prayers to repeat at home, nor have I reason to believe that much enquiry is made by their teachers how they have profited. One matter for regret which was

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continually forced on my thoughts while visiting these church schools was, that the masters, though in many instances appearing to be serious-minded men, seemed to have no wish to do more for their scholars than help them to acquire a knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic, with psalmody. If these objects were attained, and the children could say the catechism and the Collect for the week, and, in one or two instances, some texts of scripture, the masters generally seemed to think their work was perfectly done. It is not meant to undervalue their acquirements—doubtless they prove often the means to good; but I never found in my conversation with the masters, that they felt it to be their duty to endeavour to form the characters of the children, or to lead them to think, or even to convey to them instruction apart from the routine noticed above. The sphere of reading and information of the masters will, I fear, be generally found to lie in a very narrow compass, and it is no wonder if, as long as they are not better educated, they show little anxiety about improvement. * * *

As a class, the masters of the Lancasterian schools appeared to aim at more in the instruction of their pupils than the masters of the parochial schools—they seemed more alive, more stirring: in two of these schools good maps were drawn by some of the pupils. I doubt, however, whether the education given in such schools has not rather the tendency to press some children forward to rise out of their own sphere of life, than to elevate the condition of the mass. The scriptures were read in all, and nearly all were opened with prayer and singing. They were well furnished with the sheet lessons of the British and Foreign School Society, and with Bibles. As far as regards moral training and the superintendence of the children out of school hours, they seemed equally defective with the schools I have just now noticed.'—(*Minutes*, 1840-41, p. 126.)

This district, however, on the whole presents encouraging features. Its moral condition, as compared with that of other populous districts of England, is satisfactory. The Wesleyans have been active coadjutors to the Established Church in promoting the religious interests of the people; an improvement in the character of the pitmen is said to have taken place within the last thirty years; the owners of collieries seem not insensible to the moral obligation imposed on them, to promote the education of the children of their workmen; and a strong disposition has in some instances been evinced by the workmen themselves, to make considerable pecuniary sacrifices in order to obtain a good education for their children. Mr Allen, indeed, is of opinion that little is needed but some encouragement and direction from those above them, to make a material change for the better; and that, were proper school-rooms every where built, and good masters attainable, the schools would support themselves.

Mr Allen's second tour of inspection was to fifty-two schools in Derbyshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire, all connected with

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the Church of England—eleven of them being formally liable to inspection, having been aided by the Committee of Council—and the remaining forty-one (of which thirty-nine had been aided by the Treasury) having invited the visits of the Inspector. Several of these schools being as yet only in operation as Sunday schools, and two or three being omitted for reasons assigned in the Report, the actual number inspected amounted only to thirty-seven. Many of the facts stated in this Report are interesting and instructive; but the one feature to which we are particularly desirous of drawing attention is to be found here as elsewhere—namely, the want of properly qualified teachers, and the consequent injury sustained by the children. We find, for instance, a school containing more than seventy girls in a building which had cost L.300, with a mistress who, though a good worker, was unable either to write or to detect the most gross errors of spelling. The consequence was, a large portion of the children were sitting wholly unemployed. As a contrast to this, we gladly refer to Mr Allen's account of the Infant School attached to St James's Church at Heywood, where the master, a *Scotch Episcopalian, trained under Mr Stow at Glasgow*, aided by his sister, was more successful in bringing into action the intellectual faculties of the children, than any other paid teacher whom Mr Allen saw in Lancashire. 'Here also (he 'says) I found a border of flowers round the playground, perfectly neat, and free from weeds. This, which is always an 'agreeable sight as connected with a school, is most precious in 'a town like Heywood, where the pleasurable feelings excited 'by flowers and other of the good gifts of the Author of Nature, 'have but few opportunities of being called into action—a 'flower garden is a place where lessons of self-denial may be 'very early taught. I was told that during the last year only 'one blossom had been picked without leave. The children, 'although coming from the most unpromising localities, were 'neat and clean.'

It would, however, be unfair to attribute the excellent state of this school entirely to the master. The district in which it is comprises a population of 8000, and the clergyman, who is stated to be not so well paid as an ordinary curate, has, within three years, in addition to this infant school, established an efficient day school, attended by a considerable number of factory children, where he habitually himself gives religious instruction, and also lessons in geography and history, besides three night schools for such as are at work during the day. A daily school, supported by a factory master, has been placed under his superintendence, and two more day schools were

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shortly to be opened along the line of his population. Mr Allen adds, 'on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, himself and his 'wife, and their two female servants, leave the house with the key 'in their pockets, to spend the evening in a room given up to 'their use in a manufactory two miles distant. Here some sixty 'young people who have been in the mill during the day are 'assembled—some of the girls are taught sewing and knitting; 'the rest with the boys learn writing and accounts—the even-'ing's work is concluded with a short catechetical lecture out of 'the Bible, and prayer.'

But in most of the schools visited by Mr Allen in this tour, we find their efficiency seriously impaired by the want of proper training on the part of the instructor. In the seven other infant schools which he inspected, he 'noticed a great lack of any syste-'matic plan for calling out the intelligence of the scholars—what 'was done seemed chiefly routine work.' 'The lessons of Scrip-'ture were commonly appeals to the memory, in which a few of 'the more forward boys led the answers of the rest.' 'In none 'of these were the children exercised in writing or drawing at 'the blackened board or wall.' Of the sixteen masters of the national schools he inspected, 'five only could be said to have 'received any proper training;' and the result in each case was apparent in the superior character of the instruction given in the school; while six out of the remaining eleven 'taught on no 'system, without any arrangement of the children into classes; 'and in these,' he adds, 'the results, as far even as mere in-'struction went, seemed to me inferior to that which is obtained 'in a good dame school. With these facts before us we can hardly be surprised to find, that 'the table given in the appen-'dix presents but an unsatisfactory view of the general amount 'of instruction conveyed.' Mr Allen had here no faults to find with the buildings, which were substantial and well sized. 'What 'is wanted,' he says, 'is not so much school-rooms as efficient 'masters, and greater means for their support.'

Mr Baptist Noel, though not one of the government Inspectors, undertook an enquiry, under the direction of the Committee of Education, in the summer of 1840, into the state of elementary education in Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, and several other towns in Lancashire. He visited altogether 159 schools, of which 42 were in Birmingham, 26 in Manchester and Talford, 52 in Liverpool, and the rest in Stockport, Warrington, Hyde, Ashton, Oldham, Rochdale, Bury, Bolton, Wigan, and Preston. Of these, 146 were day schools of various kinds, and 49 were Sunday schools. In all the large cotton districts he found the Sunday schools well attended, and the dame and common schools

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numerous; but all of them, with the exception of Boston, exceedingly deficient in public day schools. Ashton-under-Lyne enjoyed the unenviable distinction of not possessing one public infant, or day school. For the amount of elementary instruction in the five large towns of Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Salford, and Bury, Mr Noel refers to the well-known printed Reports of the Manchester and Birmingham Statistical Societies. We shall confine our observations entirely to the quality of the instruction. After adverting to the description given in those Reports of the wretched character of the dame and common schools in the five towns above mentioned, Mr Noel says:—

'From the answers uniformly made to my enquiries on this subject among persons acquainted with the poor, I judge that the great majority, both of dame and common schools in the Lancashire towns, answer to these descriptions; and the very few which my time enabled me to visit did not contradict that conclusion. In one of these dame schools I found thirty-one children, from two to seven years of age. The room was a cellar, about ten feet square and seven feet high. The only window was less than eighteen inches square, and not made to open. Although it was a warm day towards the close of August, there was a fire burning; and the door, through which any air could be admitted, was shut. Of course, therefore, the room was close and hot, but there was no remedy. The damp subterraneous walls required, as the old woman assured us, a fire throughout the year. If she opened the door, the children would rush out to light and liberty, while the cold blast rushing in would torment her aged bones with rheumatism. Still further to restrain their vagrant propensities, and to save them from the danger of tumbling into the fire, she had crammed the children as closely as possible into a dark corner at the foot of her bed. Here they sat in the pestiferous obscurity, totally destitute of books, and without light enough to enable them to read, had books been placed in their hands. Six children, indeed, out of the thirty, had bought some twopenny books; but these also, having been made to circulate through sixty little hands, were now so well soiled and tattered, as to be rather the memorials of past achievements than the means of leading the children to fresh exertion. The only remaining instruments of instruction possessed by the dame, who lamented her hard lot to be obliged at so advanced an age to tenant a damp cellar, and to raise the means of paying her rent by such scholastic toils, were a glassful of sugar-plums, near the tattered leaves on the table in the centre of the room, and a cane by its side.'

To this is added the description of a common school in the same neighbourhood:—

'It was a room on the ground-floor, up a dark and narrow entry, and about twelve feet square. Here forty-three boys and girls were assembled, of all ages, from five to fourteen. Patches of paper were pasted over the broken panes of the one small window, before which also sat the master, intercepting the few rays of light which would otherwise have

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crept into the gloom. Although it was in August, the window was closed, and a fire added to the animal heat which radiated from every part of the crowded chamber. In front of the fire, and as near to it as a joint on the spit, a row of children sat, with their faces towards the master and their backs to the furnace. By this living screen the master, though still perspiring copiously, was somewhat sheltered from the intolerable heat. As another measure of relief, amidst the oppression of the steaming atmosphere, he had also laid aside his coat. In this undress he was the better able to wield the three canes, two of which, like the weapons of an old soldier, hung conspicuously on the wall, while the third was on the table ready for service. When questioned as to the necessity of this triple instrumentality, he assured us that the children were "abrupt and rash in their tempers," that he generally reasoned with them respecting their indiscretion, but that, when civility failed, he had recourse to a little severity.'—(*Minutes*, 1840-41, p. 162-3.)

We remember to have read in the memoirs of Oberlin, the indefatigable pastor of the Ban de la Roche, an anecdote of his predecessor, M. Stouber, visiting a school in the parish held in a miserable cottage, where he found a set of unemployed and noisy children, with an old man stretched on a bed in a corner of the apartment, who professed to be their master. The old man frankly confessed, in answer to the pastor's enquiries, that he taught the children nothing, for the simple reason that he knew nothing himself; and in reply to the natural question of how he came to be the schoolmaster, he said, 'Why, sir, I had 'been taking care of the Waldbach pigs for a great number of 'years, and when I got too old and infirm for that employment, 'they sent me to take care of the children.' That such a case should be found in the last century, in an obscure village in a remote district of France, is not surprising; but it is astonishing and humiliating that cases so nearly parallel to it should be discovered in the present day, in the centre of civilization and commercial enterprise, in our own country. Is it possible that they can be suffered to continue?

Mr Noel, after stating, with a view to a right estimate of our elementary schools, what he considers as the chief objects of the education of the people, proceeds to report how far these objects are effected for even the small fraction of the population in attendance on elementary day schools in the district which he visited; for which purpose he examines first, the instruction given in the schools, and then the moral and religious training;—in a passage which, although we fear that our extracts have already exceeded the limits ordinarily assigned to them, we cannot refrain from presenting to our readers:—

'The great majority of the patrons and conductors of the National and Lancasterian schools which I visited, only profess to teach the chil-

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dren reading, writing and arithmetic. The knowledge of the English language, natural history, geography, physiology, and the history of their country, are all excluded subjects. Upon none of these could I examine the children generally, because their teachers professed the total ignorance of the children respecting them. If occasionally I heard that Liverpool was an island, that Lancashire was one of the great towns of England, and that Asia and America were chief countries of Europe—I was led to expect this; if I heard such grammatical inaccuracies as those contained in the following answers to questions put by me—"Them as is good goes to heaven,"—"The men as was gazing up into heaven,"—"He drownded the whole world,"—these were mistakes which the teacher did not undertake to correct. But, unhappily, many of the schools were very unsuccessful in teaching what they profess to teach. In several of those which I examined, many children of the highest classes were unable to read fluently, even in the New Testament; words were often mistaken, stops were misplaced, small words were omitted so as to destroy the sense, and many of the children were unable to spell even short and common words occurring in the lesson.

'In some of the girls' schools, very few of the children could write, and the writing was very bad; while even in the boys' schools, where more attention is paid to this important art, there were very few boys, and in very few schools, who had attained to a good running hand without the aid of lines. In several of the girls' schools, the children do not learn arithmetic at all. The masters of the boys' schools always profess to teach it; but I found the boys sometimes exceedingly defective in their knowledge of even the earliest and simplest rules. In one National school in a large town, and a populous neighbourhood, I found only six boys capable of working a short sum in simple multiplication, and five out of the six returned a wrong answer. In another, where 167 persons were present, I found only twelve who professed to understand compound addition; and when I set these a sum in simple multiplication to work separately, one of the twelve brought a right answer, seven brought wrong answers, two worked it so slowly that they could not finish it, and two could not even begin to work it.

'But it was in their understanding of the scriptures, daily read, that I regretted to find the most advanced children of the National schools so extremely defective. Not only were they often ignorant of the principal facts recorded in the Bible, but they could not answer even the simplest questions upon the chapters which they had most recently read. Nor was their religious ignorance lessened by their knowledge of the catechism. I several times examined the first classes upon a portion of the catechism, and I never once found them to comprehend it. Indeed, to those who consider how they generally read the scriptures and repeat the catechism, their ignorance appears to be a very natural result. Usually the first class reads one or two chapters of the Bible daily to the master or monitor. In the first case, they would probably have such short questions on what they read as the general superintendence of the school would allow—in the other, none.

'It is to the monitors also that the catechism is daily repeated, the

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class repeating it again and again till the prescribed half hour is completed. Both in reading the scriptures to the monitors, and in repeating the catechism, the children showed a marked inattention and weariness, occasionally varied, when the master's eye was not upon them, by tokens of a roguish merriment.

'With the very best intentions, those who have adopted the system of the National School Society, have in many cases admitted into their schools nothing for the elder children except the Bible, small volumes of extracts from it, and the catechism—and the effects seem to me most unfortunate. All the books on subjects with which children are most familiar being excluded from the school, that thirst for variety which, for the wisest purposes, has been implanted by the Creator in the minds of children, finding no gratification, their faculties are stunted in their growth, and they sink into an inert listlessness. Nothing can exceed the contrast between the eagerness of the children in a well-taught school, and the apathy manifested in most of these National schools. But this is not the worst effect of making the Bible the only class book. Being thus made the medium through which reading and spelling are taught, it becomes associated in their minds with all the rebukes and punishments to which bad reading or false spelling, or inattention in class, exposes them; and it is well, if, being thus used for purposes never designed, it do not become permanently the symbol of all that is irksome and repulsive.

'On the moral and religious training in these schools, I can say very little. In almost all the schools which I examined on this point, there was scarcely any such thing. The children would be punished for breaking the school rules, or if a breach of morality was formally complained of to the master, he would probably punish the child for it; but any direct endeavours to bring the children to be moral and religious, I could scarcely find. When I asked masters what means they employed for these ends, I could find nothing except the reading of the scriptures and the repetition of the catechism in the manner which I have before described. But in scarcely any of these schools do the masters address the scholars on the subject of religion, or even read the scriptures to them. Very few masters instruct any of the children on religious subjects in the class-room, and scarcely one is in the habit of speaking to the children individually on the necessity of personal religion. Few visit the parents of the children, or know the children's character, or take any interest in them after leaving the school—indeed, that would be nearly impossible—the masters are so frequently changed, either from incapacity, from the lowness of their salary, from their restlessness, or from some other cause, that in most cases it is impossible that any lasting friendship should be formed between them and their scholars.

'On the whole I am obliged to report, that most of the day schools which I examined seemed to me exceedingly inefficient. The system on which they teach, confining the children to one class of subjects, would render the ablest master inefficient, and reduce the most intelligent children to listlessness. The masters, who seem generally respectable men, are without assistance, and overwhelmed by the multitude of

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children whom they have to teach—the monitors, generally boys of ten or eleven years of age, who have only been two or three years in the school, and have little separate instruction, are almost as ignorant as the classes whom they instruct—scarcely know how to read well themselves, and are utterly incapable of exercising the intellect of the children on the lesson which they read. Instead of having a plentiful supply of books on all the subjects most likely to interest them, the elder scholars are generally confined to the Bible for their common school exercise in reading, and are ill supplied even with Bibles. To masters so ill qualified, the school committees afford but small salaries, and the low salaries hinder able men from entering on the profession of schoolmaster, or starve them out of it when they make it their choice.

'The parochial and district ministers of the large towns which I visited, although the most active promoters of the education of the poor, are still so necessarily occupied with the duties of their large parishes and districts, that they can seldom inspect their schools, and few laymen enter them. The children are not visited at their homes, are not known to their ministers, and often before the age of ten, almost always before twelve, are removed from school to labour, when they have only been two years, or a year, or only six months at school. Under these circumstances, it is obvious that the schools must be inefficient. Owing to the energy of the patrons, or the advantage of better systems, some schools have arisen to an honourable superiority to the rest. King Edward's branch schools and St Thomas's schools in Birmingham, Christ Church school at Salford, St John's school in Manchester, the Caledonian schools, the Jordan Street school for boys, and the Christ Church school for girls at Liverpool, and the National schools at Watrington, although considerably differing from each other, have all some features of excellence highly creditable to those gentlemen who have rendered them so efficient. But these are exceptions to the general rule.'—(*Minutes*, 1840–41, p. 173.)

We have scarcely reserved to ourselves space to notice as fully as it merits the Report made by Mr Gibson, inspector of schools in Scotland, on the state of elementary education in the presbyteries of Haddington and Dunbar, which contains a clear and well-arranged statement of the results of his enquiry. The schools which he visited were of three classes—parochial schools, partially endowed or side schools, and adventure schools. Here, as in every other case, the value and efficiency of the school may be measured by the attainments of the teacher; and it is not without a feeling of satisfaction that we think we may fairly claim for Scotland an exemption from the same degree of reproach which unfortunately attaches to England, on the score of the qualification of her schoolmasters.

We are, indeed, far from denying that very much still remains to be done, even among ourselves, in order to place elementary education on the footing which its vast importance to the national interests, and the well-being of the community requires;

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and we fully concur with Mr Gibson in the opinion, that 'in the 'towns universally, and generally in large and populous parishes, 'the educational means for the children of the lower classes of 'the population are very defective, both in amount and quality.' Still, of the masters of the schools visited by Mr Gibson, we find a larger proportion of superior and well-qualified instructors, than we have any reason to believe could be found in any given district in England. Of the twenty-seven parochial schools included in his Report, fifteen possessed teachers of very high qualifications, and whose attainments, experience, energy, and skill, entitled them, in Mr Gibson's opinion, to be ranked in the first class; while six of the remaining teachers, though greatly inferior to the former, were, in point of acquirement, well fitted to conduct the business of instruction; leaving a third class, containing only five, whose schools furnished little evidence of their capability to discharge, with a moderate degree of efficiency, the duties of their profession.

The ten 'partially endowed or side schools' which Mr Gibson visited, he found in a very unsatisfactory state. These schools are situated for the most part in extensive landward parishes, and at a distance from the parochial schools, and attended chiefly by the children of agricultural labourers. The annual emoluments of the teacher do not exceed L.35; and it is to this low scale of remuneration, which fails to secure the services of competent men, that Mr Gibson attributes the great inferiority of the masters to the parochial teachers.

The greater part of the adventure schools are to be found in towns, or in populous country parishes, where the parochial or endowed schools are insufficient for the accommodation of all the children; or in localities where the established teachers are inefficient and unpopular. Fifteen of these schools were visited by Mr Gibson, and six out of the fifteen masters are placed by him on a footing fully equal to that of the first class of parochial teachers. Of the remaining nine he says, 'all of them originally 'followed some other calling, and with only one exception be- 'came teachers, when they had been rendered by accident or 'disease incapable of prosecuting the labours of their former 'occupation.' The necessary consequence is, that they are 'altogether unskilled' in the practice of their profession, 'are 'only capable of imparting in the most inefficient manner the 'ordinary branches of knowledge,' and, 'however respectable in 'character, or otherwise exemplary, are quite unworthy of being 'depositories of interests so important. — (*Minutes*, 1840-41, p. 284.)

We cannot close this imperfect sketch of the substance of

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these reports, so far as they relate to the state of elementary education, without adverting for a moment to the notice which they contain of the great number of Sunday schools to be found throughout the country. Although quite incapable of being considered adequate substitutes for elementary day schools, they doubtless form a most important auxiliary to them; and it is difficult to estimate the full value of the benevolent labours of the numerous individuals, who, actuated by the purest motives of Christian charity, gratuitously devote, in many of our large towns, a considerable portion of their Sunday leisure hours (perhaps the only leisure they possess) to the religious instruction of the young.

These volumes, as we have before stated, comprise the history of the proceedings of the Committee of Council only to the period of the dissolution of the late Government. But the Committee did not expire with the Government to which it owed its existence. Notwithstanding the objections with which it was assailed in 1839, it was reconstituted by Sir Robert Peel in 1841 on precisely the same principle as before. The individual members who had composed it necessarily ceased to belong to it, on ceasing to form part of the executive government of the country; but their seats at the Board were supplied exclusively by members of the new government, without the addition to their number even of a single dignitary of the Church; and on looking at the names of greatest influence in the present composition of the Committee, we confess that we see no reason for dissatisfaction or alarm. Credit is universally given to Lord Wharncliffe, the President of the Council, for liberal views on this question, and for a desire to carry out fairly and honestly the ends for which the Committee was appointed. The opinions of Sir Robert Peel on education, so far as they have hitherto been expressed, have not been marked by intolerance, or fettered by any strong predilection for what are termed high church principles; and we entertain the hope and expectation that he will be desirous of at least equalling the zeal of his predecessors on this important subject. Lord Stanley, it is true, led, with his usual ardour, the attack of his party upon the whole scheme of the government in 1839; but we cannot forget that he was the author (we believe he still professes to be the supporter) of the Irish system of education; and we may hope that, now that the motives for his former opposition have ceased to exist, he, as a member of the Government, will support such an improvement of elementary education as its present state imperatively requires; nor have we any apprehension that Sir James Graham will maintain his consistency, in opposition to his colleagues, by adhering to his

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determination of 1839, not to advance one step further than Lord Althorp had previously gone.

Neither can one significant omission fail to be remarked. The selection of the members of the present Committee has not been confined exclusively to the Cabinet; and yet there is one member of the Government holding an office which places him in the rank of privy councillors, of high character and attainments, who has taken a warm interest in the question of education, and who might therefore reasonably have been expected to be found on the Committee, but whose name does not appear upon its list. We cannot regard the omission of Mr Gladstone in any other light than as the indication of a desire, on the part of Sir Robert Peel, that no ground of suspicion even should exist, that any change was contemplated in the views or objects of the Committee, tending to restrict its influence, or to lessen the confidence with which it ought to be regarded by persons of various religious denominations. We have, moreover, the satisfaction of observing that the able and indefatigable Secretary to the late Board, Dr Kay, (now Mr Kay Shuttleworth,) who was eminently qualified for that office, continues to act in the same capacity to the present.

These circumstances prevent our entertaining any fear that the Committee of Council will for the future adopt a more restricted course of proceeding than heretofore. We do not feel the slightest apprehension, that 'in administering the funds 'granted by Parliament to the crown, and placed by the crown 'in their hands,' they will hold with a Right Rev. Prelate, that 'they have no right—that it is not within their legal compe-'tence—to divert in England any portion of the grant from edu-'cation founded on the religion which alone the law recognizes 'as the religion of England;' or that they will be deterred by the perils of the law with which he has threatened them, 'if they ven-'ture to extravagate' beyond this limitation.* But we have a right to expect something more than this. The Committee ought not to be satisfied with merely treading in the footsteps of their predecessors. The circumstances under which its present members have charged themselves with its duties, are essentially different from those in which their predecessors were called upon to act. With the strong prejudices against which the members of the former Committee had to contend—with the formidable opposition which watched their proceedings, and would not have failed to take advantage of any step which could have been made use of to

* Bishop of Exeter's charge, delivered at his triennial visitation, 1840, p. 34.

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excite suspicion of their motives, and to throw discredit through them on the Government with which they were connected—the course imposed upon them was evidently one of caution and circumspection. The present Committee has a wider field of operation open to it. The Church, we may presume, will not look on them with aversion or distrust; and the majority which Sir Robert Peel can command in Parliament, places it in his power to take a bolder course, and to attempt larger and more comprehensive measures for the improvement of national education. Even should a section of that majority refuse to follow him on this subject, the loss would be more than compensated by the cordial support he would receive from those of his political opponents, who would willingly assist the present Government in effecting what they in vain attempted themselves, when in office, to accomplish. What, then, would we have the Committee do? We would not have them attempt to supersede the efforts which are making by the Church, or by Dissenters, for extending elementary education. Much as might be urged in favour of one general system under the superintendence of the Government, we do not believe it to be suited to the character or feelings of the people. We would not have the Government enter the field as rivals, either of societies or individuals, in carrying on the work of education; but there are essential aids which they might render to the zealous and increasing endeavours of others in this great work. It has been demonstrated that the chief defect in our elementary education is, the incompetency of the teachers to whom it is entrusted. Let the Committee apply itself to this defect, and lend its aid to remedy it. We know that Normal schools, which we trust will be superior to any which have hitherto been seen in England, are in course of being established, in connection both with the National and British and Foreign School Societies, aided by Parliamentary grants. We are also aware that Diocesan training schools are becoming general throughout the country; although we do not feel the same confidence that they will be equally efficient with the former. We think the Cathedral town is not generally the most favourable position which could be chosen for such a school; and that in many cases, at least, the materials are wanting in it for a good model school, or other large and well-conducted school, which ought always either to be attached to, or within easy access of a Normal school. We should have thought it far better, if, instead of these schools being restricted to particular Dioceses, they had been established in some of the most populous towns; such as Birmingham, Manchester, or Newcastle, and made available for the use of several neighbouring Dioceses. We believe, indeed, that the difficulty

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of maintaining Diocesan training schools has already been seriously felt in many instances; and has led to a departure from the primary object of the establishment of such schools. With a view to defray the expenses, they have been converted into middle schools, for the instruction of children assembled from the middle classes of society; and receiving an education altogether unsuited to the training required for the master of an elementary school for the children of the working classes. The consequence is, that but a small number of candidates for the office of schoolmaster is to be found under instruction in the greater part of the Diocesan training schools; and that those who are found there receive instruction in common with the class of pupils to whom we have alluded, and must necessarily be very imperfectly prepared in them for their own specific and immediate duties. Still, we are willing to admit that some advantage may result from these schools, even on their present footing. We have also, in the appendix to the minutes of the Committee of Council, a detailed Report on the Normal seminary at Glasgow; which, notwithstanding some defects pointed out by Mr Gibson, appears to be the best as yet in existence, and to which England is indebted for some of her most efficient teachers; and a similar establishment is in the course of formation in Edinburgh.

But these institutions do not, in our opinion, diminish the importance to be attached to a school of this kind, under the immediate superintendence and direction of the Government. We are convinced that such a school might be made a most useful instrument in improving the character of our elementary education, and of securing the efficiency of other kindred establishments. Into such a school every modern improvement in the system or mode of elementary instruction might, under the direction of the Committee of Council, be introduced; and whatever experience had there proved to be advantageous, would rapidly find its way into the systems of all the other Normal schools throughout the country. We would have it, in fact, stand in the relation of a model school to the rest; and it might perhaps be open for the gratuitous reception of teachers who had passed through other approved Normal schools, on the recommendation of the promoters of these schools; as well as for the reception and instruction, either of candidates for the office of schoolmaster, or of actual teachers of good moral character, who, conscious of their own deficiencies, might desire to take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded, of qualifying themselves for the efficient discharge of the duties of their profession. The elements for such a school already exist, or rather an excellent foundation for it has been laid, in the Training School at

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Battersea, established by Dr Kay (now Mr Kay Shuttleworth) and Mr Tufnell in 1840, at their own expense; of which a full account is to be found in the Appendix to the Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for 1841. This school has been visited by many of the most eminent friends to education; and we believe that, notwithstanding its recent establishment, and the circumstance of its having been entirely dependent for support on private resources, unanimous testimony has been borne to its efficiency and excellence. Even should there be any hesitation or doubt as to the establishment of such a school as we have recommended, under the immediate superintendence and direction of the Committee of Council, we are convinced that a portion of the funds voted by Parliament for education, would be most usefully applied in aid of the increasing expenses of this school at Battersea.

Another mode in which the Committee might render essential service to the cause of education, is by granting gratuities to teachers whose qualifications shall have been favourably reported on by the Inspectors, and the state of whose schools shall have given evidence of their efficiency. We know that objections were urged against this proposal, when it was made by the late Government; but we hope that these objections will be no more heard of, or at least will no longer be suffered to prevent the adoption of a measure which we think well calculated to stimulate the energy and encourage the efforts of men who have often a thankless, generally an ill-paid office; and who, when faithfully discharging the duties of that office, amply merit all the encouragement which can fairly be afforded them. Or if any remaining jealousy of the influence of the Government should still raise an objection, surely some mode of obviating it might be devised—such, for instance, as requiring the recommendation of the superintendent or promoters of the school, in addition to that of the Government Inspector, in order to entitle the recipient to a gratuity. Any measure, in fact, which can tend to raise the position of the schoolmaster, to induce able and duly qualified men to undertake and retain the office, to increase the sense of the honourable nature of his duties, and to assign him that 'status to which the importance of his office, and the 'extensively beneficial nature of his labours, entitle him,'* will be well deserving the consideration of the Committee, and will, we hope, not be overlooked by them.

Another mode in which the Committee might increase the

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* Mr Gibson's *Report on Education in the Presbyteries of Haddington and Dunbar.*

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efficiency of elementary schools, has been pointed out by Mr Gibson, with whose suggestion we entirely concur. He recommends the compilation and publication of a complete set of cheap school-books. He thinks, indeed, that 'it would be difficult to 'mention any thing, the accomplishment of which would have a 'more extensive and beneficial influence on elementary educa-'tion.' We are fully aware of the delicacy of such a task; and we have no wish that any attempt should be made to force the use of such books on any school. All that we wish is, that the Committee should avail themselves of the means which they can command for such a publication; and should offer a really good set of school-books, at a cheap rate, to the promoters of schools. The want of such books is constantly noticed in the Reports of the Inspectors, and must to a great degree paralyse the efforts even of the best masters. The Committee have, we believe, already published manuals, or sheets of singing and writing lessons—so that the adoption of this suggestion would only be an extension, though a very important one, of what they have already undertaken.

Should the Committee thus enlarge the scope of their operations, and embrace these and similar objects in their proceedings, we need hardly suggest that application should be made to Parliament for a sum more worthy of the purpose for which it is to be appropriated, than that which has hitherto been granted; and we are confident that there would, in that case, be no hesitation on the part of the House of Commons in complying with such a demand.

It is scarcely necessary to say, that it has been no part of our intention, in this article, to write an essay on national education. We have abstained, as far as possible, from raising questions involving the principles on which national education ought to be conducted. It has been our object to deal with the question practically, in connexion with the means now in progress for extending and improving elementary education in this country—and to enquire how far the Committee of Council has hitherto proved, and is likely hereafter to prove, a means of conducing to this important end. In what it has already accomplished we see much ground for satisfaction, and we trust we shall not be found to have indulged in too sanguine an expectation of its future usefulness.

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ART. IV.—*Second Report from the Select Committee on South Australia.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 10th June 1841.

IN the discussion of the 'Wakefield Theory of Colonization,' which appeared in a former Number of this Journal, we briefly noticed the settlement of South Australia as an experiment, devised by the especial patrons of that theory, for the purpose of bringing its merits to a practical proof—an experiment of which the issue was still to be seen. We explained the circumstances out of which the scheme arose, the general principles by which it was distinguished from previous enterprises of the same kind, and its progress up to the date of the latest accounts then accessible to the public; and without presuming to treat it as a failure, merely because the boasted evidences of success appeared to us to be fallacious, we confessed a growing anxiety to receive some indications of stable and permanent prosperity more substantial than the value of Bonds in the market; or the number of capitalists who might be willing to stake large sums of money upon the chances of the speculation turning out well. For at that time, though we had heard much of the increasing value of land, as indicated by the enormous prices paid for lots in favourable situations—much of the unexampled 'attractiveness' of the new colony, its streets, squares, wharfs, public buildings, and club-houses—much of the rapid influx of settlers and of British capital, and something of a growing revenue derived from customs' duties upon goods imported; we had as yet heard nothing of exports or of internal production—nothing of new sources of wealth opened in the colony itself—nothing, in short, of the creation of that promised fund from which was to be derived the interest upon all the capital permanently invested there, as well as the means of repaying all the borrowed money which had been laid out in making the colony 'attractive.' Of the creation and growth of this fund we were anxious to hear; because, unless the bosom of the new land should prove capable of producing supplies of new wealth sufficient to remunerate the capitalist for his advances, it was plain that—how long soever the game of speculation might be carried on, how long soever the money might be shifted from hand to hand, how many fortunes soever might be made and lost before the cheat was finally detected, and upon whomsoever the loss might ultimately fall—it must end at last in failure and disaster.

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Not many weeks after our remarks were written, serious apprehensions began to prevail that all was not so well in South Australia as it had been represented, and South Australian revenue Bonds were no longer negotiable; and these apprehensions were shortly confirmed by the refusal of the Commissioners to honour bills drawn upon them by their own officer resident in the colony—a virtual declaration of insolvency; and a reference of the whole matter to Government, on the ground that they could no longer carry out the provisions of the act without further powers than those with which it entrusted them. The result of this reference, as our readers are aware, was the appointment of a select Committee of the House of Commons, by whom the whole case was minutely investigated, and on whose recommendation a temporary advance of L.155,000 was made by Parliament to enable the Commissioners to meet the immediate emergency. Their second Report, containing a series of recommendations as to the future government of the colony, lies before us, (with evidence and an appendix,) in one of those huge folios in which our legislators think it expedient to seclude from idle curiosity the fruits of their graver deliberations; and will, according to an intimation given by Lord Stanley in the House of Commons, speedily occupy the attention of Parliament. Had the getters up of this and similar experiments used a similar vehicle for the conveyance of their communications to the public, we might have been content to leave this history of the progress and issue of it to make its own impression. But advertisements, prospectuses, leading articles in newspapers, and even pamphlets, find their way into heads where no folios can follow them; and we hope, therefore, that in reducing to a circulable shape the more material results of this important investigation, and committing them to the wings of our lighter octavo, we shall be performing no unacceptable service to the idler public, whom it much concerns to be truly informed of the fate of such projects; inasmuch as it is to the idler public that all new projects, requiring borrowed money to set them on foot, especially address themselves. The broad fact, indeed, that up to this period the experiment has proved a failure, is sufficiently notorious. The creation, within so short a time, of so great a financial embarrassment—the demand upon the public for L.155,000 before four years were out, to save from absolute ruin a colony in behalf of which it has been constantly promised that it would at least cost nothing to the mother country—speaks for itself in language which every body can understand, and nobody can dispute. Which of the parties concerned has been most to blame, may admit of controversy; but the result

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which they have brought out amongst them, will not be popularly recognised under any better name than failure. Admitting, then, that the experiment has failed, the question is, what and how much we are to infer from the failure; what light does it really throw upon that theory of colonization which it was *meant* to bring to the test; and whether, giving up as vicious the principles of the South Australian colonization act, we must give up the 'Wakefield principle' along with them? Our own opinion is, that the question as to the soundness and practical efficacy of that principle, as expounded by us on a former occasion, remains exactly where it was, and is not at all affected by the issue of this experiment; the miscarriage of which is sufficiently accounted for by other parts of the scheme quite apart and separable from it, though unfortunately placed in the same boat. The principles of navigation are not answerable for the wreck of a vessel entrusted to an ignorant pilot, or sent out without proper equipments; nor must Mr Wakefield's theory of colonization be too hastily condemned, because it has not been able to overcome the threefold disadvantage under which he was content that it should be tried—of a territory unexplored and unfavourable, a Board of managers inexperienced and irresponsible, and a supply of money drawn from a source at once expensive and uncertain. We formerly intimated our opinion, that in expecting it to triumph over all natural disadvantages, its patrons expected too much from it. Our belief that it was sound, and our hope that results of great practical importance might be expected from its operation, we as yet see no reason to abandon. But to make our conclusions more intelligible, it will be convenient to begin with some account of the negotiations, and the abortive schemes that preceded the introduction of the measure which was specially adopted.

That Mr Wakefield, once satisfied as to the value of his theory, should be in a hurry to see it at work, was natural and laudable; that he should be duly cautious and deliberate in maturing his plans, and surveying his ground, was hardly to be expected. How soon after the promulgation of his doctrine South Australia was fixed on as a fit field of operation, we are not informed: but the choice seems to have cost very little trouble. Of the 'huge cantle' which was to be cut out of the globe for this purpose, scarcely any thing was then known—except the latitude and longitude, the general temperature of the climate, and the aspect of the land as seen from the coast. How far the fertility extended inwards, whether the appearances of fertility on the coasts were not themselves superficial, what supply there was of water, what the soil was capable of growing, whether the selected territory

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consisted chiefly of grass or jungle, sand or rock, mountain, plain, or swamp—all this was left to the imagination. But where nothing is known, more may be hoped—and, whatever might be the qualities of the land, at all events it was waste, and remote from other settlements. The very beauty of the thing was, that by securing the just proportion between the surface of the land and the labouring population, it would make all lands alike fertile. If the soil proved less rich than was expected, it was only to bestow more labour upon it—if more labour were wanted, it was only to pour in emigrants more rapidly—if more means of emigration were required, it was only to raise the price of land. Certainly an only child does not suffer more from the blindness of parental affection than an only theory. The territory 'lying 'between the 132d and 141st degrees of east longitude, and be-'tween the 20th parallel of south latitude on the north, and the 'Southern Pacific Ocean on the south,' was voted 'eminently 'fit for the reception of emigrants or settlers'—and negotiations commenced accordingly with the Colonial Office in the beginning of 1831.

Lord Howick, then Under Secretary for the Colonies, thought favourably of the principle, and was disposed, under proper cautions, to make the trial; and Lord Ripon had no objection, provided it could be done without an additional item in the estimates, and without involving the Government, should the scheme prove unsuccessful, in the discredit of the failure. To provide against this, it was proposed that the Government should have nothing to do with it; but that it should be undertaken by a Company, with a paid-up capital, upon whom, along with the management, would devolve all the risk and all the responsibility. A Company, with a capital of L.500,000, was to undertake the charge of founding, peopling, and governing the new settlement; of managing the land sales according to certain principles to be defined in their charter; of applying the proceeds to emigration; and of advancing money to defray the preliminary outlay;—and if, on trial, the plan did not succeed—*i. e.* if the population did not reach a certain amount within a certain period, it was to be given up; *i. e.* the peculiar principles on which the Colony was to be established were no longer to be insisted on: South Australia was to be as New South Wales, or as Van Diemen's Land. This sounded fairly. But if the Company were thus to undertake all the responsibilities of Government, they must, of course, be trusted with the authority of Government likewise; and the authority which they required amounted to little less than a delegation of all the substantial powers of sovereignty. This Lord Ripon was not prepared to sanction;

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and without this the project could not proceed. Accordingly, after a year and a half spent in fruitless endeavours to adjust the difficulty, the proposition was abandoned. And in truth it might as well have been given up at first; for the condition required by Lord Ripon was obviously impracticable. Unless it could have been contrived, that in case of failure not only the pecuniary losses, but the social and political consequences also, should fall upon the projectors alone, it was plainly impossible for Government to escape responsibility for the issue of an experiment which could not be tried without its express sanction. By deputing others to conduct it, Lord Ripon might indeed throw upon them a subordinate responsibility; but so far from absolving the Ministers of the Crown by that means of the responsibility in chief, he would rather involve them in a double responsibility—making them answerable, not only for the propriety of the experiment, but also for the fitness of the instruments.

Up to this point, it might be thought the obstacle to this undertaking lay solely with Lord Ripon, who demanded a condition from the undertakers which he refused them the means of fulfilling. But from the correspondence which took place on the revival of the project during Lord Stanley's administration of the Colonial department, it appears that this condition of the scheme—namely, that the Government should have no concern in the practical management, was one which the undertakers themselves were prepared to insist on quite as obstinately as Lord Ripon; for Lord Stanley interposed no such stipulation, but, having made up his mind to sanction the experiment, was quite ready to take his share in the charge of it. The idea of a *Sovereign* Company being now abandoned, the following plan was next proposed:—The limits of the Colony being marked out, a guarantee was to be given by Government that no land should ever be sold within those limits below a certain price—that the whole of the sum derived from the sale of land should be employed in conveying to the Colony young pauper labourers of both sexes in equal proportions—and that the maximum price of Government land, though it was to be advanced from time to time, should never be reduced. The Governor and all the officers were to be appointed by the Crown; and upon the Governor was to devolve the whole power and responsibility of the government, 'until the Colony should be thought sufficiently advanced to 'receive the grant of a Legislative Assembly.' But since the entire revenue derived from land sales was to be spent in emigration, a fund would still be wanting for the purposes of the civil government. Provision was to be made for this by a Joint Stock Company, who were to make themselves 'responsible to the

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'Government for a paid annual income' during a certain period —the money so advanced constituting a colonial debt: in consideration of which they were to have the pre-emption of 100,000 acres, to be selected within a given time, at the *first minimum* price; and the privilege, so long as those advances should be continued, of selecting the emigrants.

This scheme was at least intelligible or feasible. South Australia was to be a Crown colony, governed in the usual way; only that the expenses of Government, instead of being provided by a Parliamentary grant, were to be advanced on speculation by a Joint Stock Company trading in land, and looking to the profits of that trade to pay the interest and cover the risk. To a project framed on these principles, Lord Stanley was ready to accede, subject to certain stipulations; of which the chief was, that the security for the fixed income applicable to the civil government should be good. This was in August 1833. But though the proposal originated with the South Australian Association, its purpose appears to have been premature. If the conditions satisfied Lord Stanley, they certainly did not satisfy the Association. Whether it was that capitalists hung back, and would not subscribe on such conditions; or that the distrust of the colonial office had been revived by the intervening discussions; or that the practical management had got into other hands; or that the plans had been originally proposed in the hope that Lord Stanley would object, as Lord Ripon had done before, to risk his credit by taking any direct path in carrying it out, and that so the demand for larger powers might seem to be forced upon the Association against their own desire; or whatever may have been the cause, certain it is, that when the plan came to be drawn out in detail, it had assumed an aspect so different that it can hardly be recognized as the same. By the draft Charter, which was submitted to Lord Stanley in February 1834, it was proposed to transfer to the proposed Company not merely all the requisite powers for managing the emigration and trading in the land, but the entire authority of government, checked by a veto on the part of the crown. They were to have power to make, or delegate the power of making, all laws, institutions, ordinances, &c.; to constitute all courts; to appoint all governors, judges, and magistrates; and to levy all rates, taxes, and duties. To the Crown was reserved the power of disallowing any of their acts and appointments in the first instance, and of removing their officers in case of misconduct; but it was to originate nothing; nor could it otherwise interfere. When Lord Stanley objected to this delegation of authority, and refused to entertain the project further, unless it were agreed that 'the

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'government of the colony should be left in the hands of the Crown 'and its constitutional advisers, until it should be able to govern 'itself,' he was informed by Mr Grote, writing in behalf of the Association, that his objection was 'fatal to the project of 'a chartered colony; for, of course, no body of persons would 'consent to take the trouble and responsibility of such an under-'taking, without at the same time obtaining sufficient authority 'for carrying their objects into effect;' and as he declared, at the same time, that to be a joint stock company for the purchase of land never was the object of the Association, and that 'for 'such a company to purchase land at a lower price than that 'which should afterwards be paid by others,' would be directly contrary to one of their first principles,* it was plain that that project was at an end.

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* These assertions contrast so strangely, not only with the actual provisions, but with the proposed object of the original scheme, that one would almost think an entire chapter, in the course of which the views of both parties had completely changed, had dropped out of the correspondence. On the 6th July 1833, Mr Whitmore forwards to Lord Stanley 'a project for founding a new colony on the southern coast of 'Australia, by means of the purchase of waste lands from Government, 'by a joint stock company and by individuals;' and the views of this proposed company he thus explains:—'The inducement to the company to 'found this colony is this right of pre emption at the first minimum price. 'Having the first choice of land, they will be able to select that upon 'which the seat of government will be placed, &c. The profit of the 'company will arise from the additional value which the increase of popu-'lation, and the growth of capital, always confer upon land, and from the 'increase in the minimum price at which the Government land will be 'sold; while the price paid by the company for their land will be uniform 'at whatever period it may be taken up.' On the 21st March 1834, Mr Grote replying, in the absence of Mr Whitmore, to Lord Stanley, remarks, as the draft charter says:—'It is true that, at the interview to 'which you refer, Mr Stanley suggested that the Association should be a 'joint stock company for the purchase and sale of land; *but this never 'was the object of the present Association;* and I may add, that the pro-'posal at the conclusion of your letter, for bestowing land on such a com-'pany at a lower price then, than that which should afterwards be paid by 'others, is directly contrary to one of the chief objects of the Association; 'viz. that in the intended colony land should be uniformly sold upon 'equal terms to all applicants.' It would appear that there must have been somebody behind the curtain who understood the objects of the Association much better than its more prominent members; for we observe that in the draft charter, though it was provided that the company, instead of any right of pre-emption, should have the whole territory conveyed to them in trust, therefore, that in their separate capacity they

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It appears, however, that the difficulty was not in finding persons who would take the 'trouble and responsibility,' but who would purchase shares, 'without having sufficient authority 'to carry their objects into effect;' for it was not proposed to try whether the project of a colony, founded on Wakefield's principles, would not have credit enough in the money market to enable them to raise the requisite fund, by way of loan, on the security of its future revenues. The fundamental principle of selling the land at a *minimum* price, and spending the entire proceeds upon immigration, was to be established by act of Parliament; the management of the land sale and the immigration to be entrusted to a Board of Commissioners, who were to be further charged with the duty of raising the loans; the powers of government to be vested in the Crown. To this proposition Lord Stanley was also ready to accede, provided he could be satisfied that the territory selected was fit for the purposes of colonization—that at least L.35,000 would be invested in the purchase of land—that there were persons ready to embark for the colony with a capital of not less than L.50,000; and that an annual income, applicable to 'the support of such parts of 'the establishment of the colony as might seem to her Majesty's 'Government absolutely essential,' of L.5000 for the first three years, L.8000 for the next three, and L.10,000 for the four following, could be effectually guaranteed. The Committee of the Association undertook to satisfy him upon all these points; but before the negotiations were concluded, Lord Stanley resigned his office, and the final decision upon the proposition devolved upon his successor. In urging the new Secretary not to delay that decision, the Committee represented the plan as one which had been already approved—every condition required by his predecessor having been complied with; and which only waited for an official announcement of the official sanction which it had already received. How far this representation was just, we cannot tell—Lord Stanley's latest views having been explained at an interview of which there is no record in these papers. All we can say is, that if he was really prepared to sanction the measure in the shape which it ultimately assumed,

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could not trade in land; yet, by the 34th clause, they were to have the power of incorporating as many land-trading companies as they pleased, on such conditions as they pleased—a privilege much more extensive, and one which might be made much more profitable. For it does not seem that they were precluded from incorporating themselves, or any number of themselves, for these purposes.

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he must either have misapprehended the effect of some of its provisions, or altered his mind on two important points which, once at least, he had been prepared to insist on. The question as to the fitness of the territory for colonization, was expressly waived as one on which those who proposed to emigrate must judge for themselves; and the clauses relating to the revenue fund, instead of securing *to the Crown* a fixed income for carrying on the government of the colony, left to the Commissioners (apparently, however, through some oversight) not merely the duty of raising, but the right of appropriating, the loan at their own discretion, without any check whatever; except one which made the arrangements with regard to salaries contingent upon the approbation of the Treasury. By this arrangement, whether attributed to oversight or to foresight, the clauses which reserved to the Crown all the ordinary powers of government became practically useless. The blood and sinews of the Government being under the control of the Commissioners, the Crown with all its powers had no effectual authority. The Commissioners could do many things without the consent of the Crown; but the Crown could scarcely carry a single point against the Commissioners. Even the power of appointing and removing at pleasure the members of the Commission, was one of which practically but little use could be made. The sole chance of getting the project started under such conditions, vested in the confidence reposed by a section of the public in the new principle; and it was notorious that the faith of that section in the Wakefield theory of colonization was not more deeply rooted, than their faith in what we have called the Wakefield theory of the Colonial Office;—their settled distrust of the capacity, the intentions, and the integrity of all ministers of that department. To intrust the duty of the Commissioners to any person enjoying the confidence of the Government, but not enjoying the confidence of what now began to be called 'the South Australian public,' would have been the same thing as to crush the scheme. None but the immediate disciples and known supporters of Mr Wakefield would have had either the zeal or the influence necessary for overcoming the preliminary difficulties. Accordingly, it was left to the chairman of the Association to suggest the names of the Commissioners; and of the eight gentlemen recommended by him no objection was taken to any; and the two others who were added as representatives of the Government, do not appear to have taken any active part in the proceedings. Under these auspices, the great experiment was at length afloat, with every prospect of success—if success were to be ensured by giving the projectors their own way; but with many chances of failure should they prove unequal to the management of it.

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It was necessary to go through these details, in order to show clearly in what relation the several parties concerned in this project really stood towards each other—a relation which the mere terms of the act, and power of the Commission, without reference to the preceding correspondence, from which are to be gathered the feelings and purposes, the understood expectations on one side, and the understood admissions on the other, and all the indirect or unexpressed obligations of the parties, would very imperfectly represent. At this point it will be convenient to examine the project more carefully, and to consider how far it can be regarded as a fair trial of the Wakefield principle, and how far we are bound to abide by the issue.

Now, in the first place, it is to be observed that this project involved not a simple but a complex experiment—not one but three principles of colonization, hitherto untried, were to be tried all at once in the case of South Australia. It was to be a 'self-supporting' Colony—that was one principle;—and a colony governed by a few private gentlemen, without any previous experience in such a task, without any effective check upon their proceedings, without responsibility to any other department of the State, and without any direct interest in the success of their experiment—that was a second principle. And thirdly, it was to be a Colony founded on the system of selling the land, and spending the proceeds on immigration. So far as this last is concerned, we will not go so far as to say with Mr Wakefield, that the experiment has been 'eminently successful'—but we will say that there has been no indication of failure. The rapid influx of capital and of population during the first three years, did not prove that the system was a sound one, but only that many persons believed it to be sound. The sudden check and financial embarrassment in the fourth, did not prove it to be unsound; but only that the speculation had been carried too far, and that the finances had been mismanaged. The tree was in blossom, and has suffered a blight. We must wait for another season before we can know, by proof, what kind of fruit it will bear. Leaving, therefore, the Wakefield theory of colonization as still subject to the remarks with which we quitted it a year and a half ago, we turn to the two collateral novelties involved in the project, concerning which the issue proves much. To the 'self-supporting' system, and to the usurpation by private gentlemen of the proper functions of Government, may be distinctly traced the difficulties which have arisen; and we believe it to be far from unfortunate that these popular parts of the scheme have been so soon and so fairly brought to the test, and illustrated by so conspicuous an example.

By the 'self-supporting system of colonization,' (the notion

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of which Mr Wakefield seems to us to treat with more ridicule than it deserves,) we understand that system, on the credit—that is to say, on the *supposed* merits—of which you can borrow the means of founding, settling, and peopling a colony,—supporting it on the *promise* of the future revenue, until such revenue shall be actually forthcoming. Every moneyless inventor who brings his inventions into the market, by means of capital borrowed on the faith of its future value, proceeds on the self-supporting system. The man who persuades his friend that he has discovered a secret in farming by which he can make his fortune, and so obtains a loan of money to buy land for the purpose of trying it, is a self-supporting farmer. So the South Australian Association proclaim a new mode of colonization, by which a large revenue may be raised within a short time; and, having no money of their own, persuade people to lend them money at ten per cent to carry this scheme into execution. If they are right—if the new system prospers, and creates a revenue equal to the payment of the debt and the interest—then all is well. The colony, most strictly speaking, has supported itself. There it is; and it has cost nothing to any body.

But though we see nothing absurd in the notion of a self-supporting colony, nor do we feel justified in calling the name, as Mr Wakefield does, 'a kind of puff,'—(though no doubt it has been much used for puffing purposes,)—yet to the manner in which South Australia has been required to support itself, we see very serious objections; nor can we perceive any corresponding advantage. By refusing to advance any public money, and throwing the Colony upon the money market for supplies, it was intended to hold the public safe, and throw the whole risk upon private speculators. And if the failure of the speculators had involved nothing more than the ruin of those private speculators, the precaution would have been effectual, and not unreasonable. But the fact is, that the insolvency of a colony, established under the sanction of Government, with thousands of people in it, is a calamity which Government can never throw aside, as the result of a private speculation with which it had nothing to do. If not bound to uphold its credit, (a point which it would not be easy to maintain,) it is at least bound to save the inhabitants from destruction. If the speculation be a good one—that is, if the money be lent on good interest or good security—it is much better that the mother country should make the advance, which it can do on much better terms to both parties than private capitalists: if not, then it ought not to be sanctioned at all. For if unsafe with public money lent at four per cent, it must be many times more unsafe with private money lent at ten; and if it fail, the failure must

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be a public, and not a private matter. The mother country must pay for the losses, whoever may have the benefit of the gains. But there is a more serious objection to this mode of raising supplies than either its extravagance, or its futility as a security against expense to the mother country, or the almost irresistible temptation which it offers to a system of puffing—namely, its precariousness. During its earlier years, not only the prosperity of the Colony, but the very lives of the inhabitants, depend upon the regularity of the supplies; and that regularity depends upon the facility of borrowing money from private capitalists; who, being only concerned for the security of their own speculations, will refuse to lend the moment they apprehend any difficulty about the repayment. Twenty accidents, against which no foresight can provide, may discredit the speculation in their eyes. There need not even be any just ground for alarm. A false rumour will stop the supplies for the time as effectually as a true one. The Colony may be ruined by a 'leading article,' as suddenly as it was created. A puff may *break* it, as a puff has made. In the short history of South Australia, something of this has been actually experienced, and more is suggested. We trust that the lesson has not been read in vain, and that no second experiment, resembling it in this feature, will be attempted.

Nor is this short history less valuable for the considerations it suggests with regard to the other novel feature which we have noticed—the delegation to private projectors of the duties which belong properly to the recognized and responsible authorities of the country. There is scarcely any popular prejudice more unreasonable, but there is scarcely any more prevalent, than that which leads men to place more confidence in those of whom they know nothing, than those of whom they know much. Hoping always for more than we can have, and knowing that we cannot get what we want from the one, we turn to the other, of whom, knowing nothing, we do not know even that. Thus it is in the disputes between Government and projectors. Government has existed for centuries, and has wrought no miracle; whilst every year sends forth some sanguine or interested projector, burning with anxiety to show how some miracle may be wrought. The objections which he is met with fail to convince him; the discouragement makes him fierce. The refusal to adopt his views, he attributes to secret hostility. The public take part with the untried promiser against the tried non-performer. The matter is brought before Parliament. The ignorant lookers-on (who form a considerable majority in both houses) are easily persuaded that the thing is an experiment, and ought

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to be tried; and that since the responsible officers of the Crown say they cannot undertake to bring it to a successful issue, the trial must be made by the projector himself, who says he can. The necessary powers are accordingly conveyed to him by act of Parliament, and the Government is only too happy to get rid of the responsibility, the trouble, the importunity, and the abuse, all at the same time.

Nor is this arrangement without its plausibilities. The presumptions against government in respect both to zeal and ability for making the best of a new thing, are not altogether unfair. To plod on in the old ruts, to be jealous of all nostrums and novel theories, will always be the tendency of the executive, constitute it as you may; because the credit of success in such cases bears no proportion to the discredit of failure. They are the trustees of the nation; and, like all trustees, are more concerned to keep things from growing worse than to make them better. Therefore, under the best constituted executive, many good things will be left for private projectors to suggest; and these projectors will have many plausible, and probably some just grounds of complaint. In the case of our own Government, their aversion from all that is unprecedented is unduly strong, and amounts to a serious defect. It is not to be denied that the inventive department, owing to the total want of any agency working in that direction, is weak and languid; and the distrust of other mens' inventions proportionally active. Nor is it less true that, from want of a better supply of effective servants, and of stimulants to zeal and activity, many of its duties are neglected and mismanaged. The popular error is not in apprehending that the government will do the work ill, but in assuming that the projector will do it better; as if the censure of blunders in others offered any security that the censurer will commit no blunders himself. The delusion is a gross one, which the least reflection must dissipate; but it is wonderful how few of us are not, more or less, under its power. Let the securities for zeal, and ability, and integrity, in the discharge of their office by the ministers of the Crown be as defective as the most discontented projectors can assert; yet it is obvious that they are better than you have any where else. However defective the instruments they have to work with, they have at least a more extensive command than any other body, of the best instruments that are to be had. However inadequate the responsibility under which they act, they at least act under a more definite and effective responsibility than can be thrown upon any private persons, or Board of persons. However prone to avail themselves of the privilege of office for the purpose of

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shielding from enquiry what will not bear inspection, they are at least well known themselves—are liable to be called to a severe account in case of ultimate failure or palpable misconduct; and, conscious of living in the public eye, are deeply sensitive to public censure. Whatever objections may be urged against their methods of transacting business, their methods are at least the gradual growth of many years of trial; they include all the improvements prompted by long experience—all the securities against irregularity, all the precautions, checks, and helps of which time has suggested the expediency. That each man, indeed, should believe *of himself* that he could arrange every thing much better, (especially having never tried,) is not surprising; but why we, his neighbours, should believe it of *him*, is a matter for much wonder, though as old as the world. To any one who thinks, it must appear undeniable, that though securities for the good management of a new experiment in the hands of Government are bad enough, compared with what they ought to be; yet compared with the security we have when the management of it is transferred to a Board of private gentlemen labouring under a superfluity of public spirit, it is ample, and worthy of all confidence. The case before us supplies as apt an illustration as we could wish. Nearly seven years ago the charge of colonizing South Australia, with all powers and privileges appertaining, was committed to eight gentlemen unconnected with the Colonial Office; because the Colonial Office, not having due faith in the principle, could not be trusted for carrying it out. They had every facility for conducting their own scheme in their own way. They were allowed to select their own officers; and we doubt whether they could quote a single measure which they were prevented from taking, or a single important point in which they were thwarted, from the day of their appointment to that of their dismissal. It is now notorious that in the hands of these eight gentlemen, (for it is to be observed that the embarrassments had *risen* under their instructions, and before the news of the revocation of their commission had reached the colony, though the duty of dealing with them was inherited by their successors,) this great charge has miscarried;—that the result of their five years' administrations has been an advance of L.155,000 by the mother country, as the only means of avoiding immediate and extensive disasters in South Australia. How many of our readers can repeat the names of these eight gentlemen? Mr Wakefield was not among them. He abjures all responsibility, and now declares that he always apprehended some evil results from the arrangement. Had the responsibility been laid upon any of the regular departments of state, the issue

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would have remained as a personal blot upon the reputation of the minister at the head of it. As it is, it rests upon who knows whom?

That it was only an *experiment*, cannot be admitted as an excuse for thus confiding the conduct of it to inexperienced hands. There is a mischievous fallacy lurking under that word *experiment*. 'If you will not try my experiment yourselves, stand 'aside and let me try it,' is the cry of the projector to a distrusting Government, and all the people think it reasonable. Go into the fever ward of an hospital, announce an improved mode of treatment, and call on the surgeon either to try it himself or to let you try it,—he will answer that he has no right to do either the one or the other—either to make experiments, or to allow them to be made upon the patients under his charge—the failure of the experiment may be the death of the patient. But let the inventor of an improved method of colonization demand of the State, that if his method be not adopted generally, he shall at least have a colony made over to him to try it on, and nobody doubts the reasonableness of the demand. It is forgotten that the trial cannot be made at the sole risk of the inventor, and that the State is fully as answerable for evils that may arise from permitting hazardous experiments to be tried by others, as for refusing to adopt wise and safe ones itself. The duty of the Government in such cases is plain—to *entertain* all projects for the good of the community; to take up and give effect to those of the wisdom of which it is satisfied; and resolutely to refuse its sanction to all such as it is not prepared to adopt.

We have dwelt thus long on this part of the subject, because we regard the establishment and the clear convincing illustration of these positions, (obvious as they seem,) as by far the most important result of this South Australian embarrassment. It is of little consequence comparatively to trace the chain of events which led to it, or to settle who has been most in fault; provided the result itself be set up as a conspicuous and standing example to warn all Statesmen and Parliaments against giving way to these popular delusions, or indulging themselves in this indolent legislation. The remedy for the many defects of our administrative government, is to be sought in the improvement, and, if necessary, the reconstitution of the establishment itself—a work which will find all reformers enough to do—not in transferring its duties to other and untried hands.

With regard to the eight South Australian Commissioners themselves, we cannot fairly charge them either with any great negligence, or any great incapacity in the discharge of their trust. They appear to have been active and pains-taking—the

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Immigration department seems to have been prosperously conducted—there has been no lack of exact and careful instructions; and, considering the novelty of the circumstances and their own inexperience, we do not know that it could be reasonably expected of them that they should do the work better. The thing they had to do, had never been attempted before—the means by which it was to be done, had never been employed before—they themselves had neither precedent to guide them, nor previous experience in the kind of duties which had devolved upon them. 'The act,' (says the Report of the Committee,) 'required that provision should be made for the reception, in a 'vast unexplored wilderness, and for the protection and good 'government of a population flowing in at a rate of unprece-'dented rapidity. The making of all necessary arrangements 'for that purpose was confided to a board of private gentlemen, 'not placed by their commissions under any adequate control 'in the exercise of their duties; and acting at a distance of '16,000 miles from the scene on which the experiment was to 'be tried. The only provision placed at their disposal for de-'fraying the costs of the undertaking, was a power to borrow 'money from private capitalists on the security of the future 'revenues of that unexplored wilderness; a precarious provi-'sion, therefore, and subject to interruption from a variety of 'accidents which they could neither foresee nor control.'* We do not quarrel with them for failing in the execution of such a charge; their great error was in consenting to undertake it.

To transfer to an unwatered wilderness, root, branch, and blossom, the conceptions which flourished so fairly in Adelphi Terrace, and make them prosper there, was no easy task. Their policy, their plans, and their precautions, read smoothly enough on paper, and every thing seems provided for. The design is clearly and carefully drawn. But when we turn to the impression which was actually printed off on the rugged and uneven ground of South Australia, a most distorted, blotted, and imperfect figure presents itself. The internal history of the colony exhibits a series of miscarriages, one treading upon the heels of another. First, the Governor quarrels with the Surveyor-General about the site of the capital; and the colonists split into factions before they have set up their houses. Then the Surveyor-General quarrels with his instructions, and throws up his office in disgust. Then his surveys stand still, to the great inconvenience of the purchasers of land, who have been promised immediate posses-

* *Report*, p. 9.

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sion. Then, in the urgent necessity of carrying the surveys forward at any cost, vast unforeseen expenses are incurred. Then the Governor quarrels with the resident Commissioner, and must be recalled. Then the resident Commissioner with whom he quarreled is convicted of gross irregularities in his capacity of Colonial Treasurer, and is dismissed under serious suspicion of peculation. Then this Colonial Treasurer is replaced by another, 'who appears to have been most irregular,' and who was shortly obliged to be placed in the hands of the Attorney-General for not rendering his accounts. Then the Colonial Storekeeper is found to have been guilty of great irregularity, proceeding 'partly from the confusion of the colony,' but principally from his 'utter unacquaintance with the principles of 'public duty;' a deficiency for which 'several other heads of 'departments had to be dismissed,' and which 'had been, and 'still was, a great cause of the difficulties of the colony.' Then the new Governor, in his zeal to correct all these irregularities, is obliged to treble the charges of the civil establishment; and under the inevitable necessity of providing for the stream of immigration which was poured in upon him, together with his great anxiety to prevent what he calls 'stagnation,' is involved in an expenditure not only beyond his authority, but beyond his power of calculation, and beyond the utmost means of the Commissioners to meet;—an expenditure of which he was unable to form the roughest estimate, but which was increasing quarter by quarter from a rate of L.12,000 per annum to a rate of L.140,000; and all this without even the advantage of a knowledge on the part of the Commissioners of the demands which were coming upon them. Upon a comparison of Colonel Gawler's Despatches, announcing the progress of his expenditure, (which will be found at pp. 220-266 of the appendix to the report,) with the dates of the bills drawn by him upon the Board in England, (which will be found at p. 172 of the same,) it may be distinctly shown, that before June 1840 the Commissioners had no reason to suppose that the annual demands upon them would exceed L.42,000 per annum; that the bills presented for payment *during that month* indicated a demand of L.140,000; and that the next month brought them, along with the first complete financial statement which they had received, a warning that for some time to come they must expect no less. This it was which brought the matter to a crisis; for it was now plain that the powers of borrowing, with which they were entrusted by the act, even if used to their fullest extent, would not enable them to satisfy all their liabilities. Accordingly, in August, they suspended all further payments, and then threw themselves upon the government.

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Colonel Gawler was recalled, and Captain Grey was sent out to declare a bankruptcy, and commence a system of rigorous retrenchments; and all other questions connected with the subject were to stand over until a Committee of the House of Commons should have reported upon them.

The recommendations of the Committee are embodied in a series of resolutions, which are introduced by an explanatory Report, containing a statement of the grounds of them, a rapid but fair account of the origin and nature of the embarrassment, and a judgment upon the conduct of the several parties implicated. Of the measures recommended by the Committee with a view to the better administration of the affairs of the colony in future, the most important are the dissolution of the Board of Commissioners; and the placing of South Australia, as to its general government, on the same footing with other Colonies belonging to the British Crown;—the making of provision by Parliament for such advances of money as may be necessary for maintaining its existence; the advances, with interest at not more than four per cent, to be charged to the colony as public debt;—the relaxation of the existing rule as to the disposal of land, so far as to allow *one-half* of the proceeds to form part of the general revenue, the other half being still devoted to immigration; to admit of the reservation by the Crown of any lands required for public purposes, or for the benefit of the aborigines; and to throw the cost of survey upon the purchaser, by an agreeable charge in addition to the purchase money, instead of charging it as heretofore to the general revenue;—the establishment, instead of the uniform price system which has hitherto been adopted, of that of public auction at a minimum upset price, with some modifications, however, tending to combine the advantages of both;—namely, first, a provision that the sales by auction shall take place *periodically;* second, that between these periods any land which has been put up and not sold shall be purchasable by the first applicant at the minimum upset price; third, that blocks of land, containing not less than 20,000 acres each, may be sold by private contract, only not below the minimum price; and lastly, that the minimum price itself may be raised above its present amount of L.1 per acre, 'with a view to 'the principle of maintaining such an amount as may tend to 'remedy the evils arising out of too great a facility of obtain-'ing landed property, and a consequently disproportionate sup-'ply of labour, *and exorbitant rate of wages.*'

It will be seen, therefore, that if the recommendations of the Committee be adopted, the Wakefield principle will at length have a fair trial in South Australia; as soon, at least, as the arrears due

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to past mismanagement shall be paid off; for it will no longer be under the same gaberdine with the two companion principles which we have spoken of above. The colony will have a source of supply not liable to fail, *because* it is a case of extremity; and it will have the best security for good government during its infancy which the nation has been able to devise. At the same time the 'Wakefield principle of colonization,' properly so called, is retained entire; excepting among those parts of it, (relating to the 'sufficient' price and the application of the *entire* proceeds to immigration, and to the *uniform* price as distinguished from the auction system,) against which we argued at length on a former occasion; and one of which at least Mr Wakefield himself has now given up.

The only part of these recommendations to which we are disposed to demur, is that which relates to the raising of the minimum price. Not that we have any positive reason for thinking that the price of land in South Australia will not bear to be raised higher, but we do not see our way through the process by which it is proposed to determine it. It appears to us that there lie at the bottom of the reasoning on this matter, two assumptions which will not be found to bear the test of experience. The first is, that the *value* of the land may be increased to any extent by increasing the *price*. The second is, that by regulating the minimum price and the quantity of immigration, it is possible in a new country to reduce the price of labour; that is, to place the labourer so far at the mercy of his employer as to force him to be content with less than he wants. 'In a colony,' says the *Report*, 'where the extent of available 'land may, when compared with the population, be practically 'considered as unlimited, ordinary land, if all were allowed to 'appropriate what they pleased, would have no value whatever, 'and it only acquires a value from the policy of not allowing it 'to be appropriated, except by those who purchase it on certain 'terms.' All this we admit; but we are not so clear as to the inference which is drawn from it in the next sentence. 'As the 'value acquired by land under such circumstances is artificial, so 'it may be made *higher* or lower *at the discretion of the authority* 'by which it is created.' Now, surely there are other limits to the *value* of land besides the *price* demanded for it. By raising the price as high as you please, you may make it as difficult as you please to get; but not therefore as much worth having. You may make a thing so dear that it is not worth buying at the price. You may make a penny roll as dear as a quartern loaf, if you have the command of the wheat market, but you cannot make it feed as many people. Make bread so dear that people

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cannot buy enough to live on, and they will feed on potatoes. So with land. So long as the produce of the soil will pay a reasonable interest on the price demanded, you can raise the value by creating an artificial scarcity; but as soon as the price rises above that point, the artificial scarcity will operate only as a prohibition upon the sale. The question is, how high you can price waste land in South Australia without making the purchase of it a bad investment of capital, or a worse than can be had elsewhere?

If indeed by applying the additional price to the introduction of labour, you could be sure to cheapen labour in proportion—this artificial value might be increased indefinitely, until the productive powers of the land, as well as the value of its produce, reached their maximum. But this brings us to the other question: Is it practicable by *any* regulations to make a labouring population in a new colony so dependent upon the employer of labour, that the rate of wages shall sink in any thing like that proportion—or indeed that they shall sink at all? Certainly no tendency of the kind has appeared in South Australia. And we strongly suspect, that if the principle recommended by the Committee be adopted, of 'progressively increasing the price of 'land until the object of establishing a due proportion between 'the supply and demand for labour, and between the population 'and the extent of territory occupied by it, shall have been 'accomplished'—or as it is expressed in another page, until such a price be imposed 'as shall prevent a greater quantity of land 'from being bought than the number of inhabitants is sufficient 'to make use of to advantage'—one of two things must happen; either such a price must be demanded as no capitalist can afford to give; or such stringent regulations with regard to the labouring population must be adopted, as no Government will be able to enforce. Labour may be made more plentiful, we doubt not; but we doubt whether within any appropriate period it will become more cheap. The value of the land will in that case be determined by the nett profits of the produce which it can be made to yield; and the price must follow the value.

There is one other point on which the Report is not quite satisfactory to us. In their judgment upon the conduct of the several parties who have been implicated in the affairs which have led to this embarrassment, they appear to us to have extended their indulgence to Colonel Gawler too far. No doubt, a man who has not had an opportunity of making his defence is entitled to large allowances; and although it is difficult to believe that he has not done things on too grand a scale, and has been far more liberal in his expenditure for the benefit of the

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Colony than its pecuniary circumstances justified; we are not masters of the circumstances sufficiently to say positively, that, had he not determined to incur that expenditure, a worse result might not have happened. But the charge against him is not merely that he involved his employers in a debt so far beyond his authority, and beyond even their means to pay—circumstances may be imagined in which an officer is justified in assuming such a responsibility—but that he did it without giving them any adequate warning of the extent to which he was prepared to go. He not only drew bills upon them for thousands upon thousands beyond his authority, without specifying the particular services for which they were drawn—this, in the confused state of affairs, it may have been impossible to do with exactness—but he did not furnish them with the means of conjecturing, within any reasonable limits of approximation, what amount they were to be prepared for. It is true that he kept warning them in general terms that he was forced to incur 'enormous' expenses, the responsibility for which 'filled him with anxiety;' but what did an 'enormous' expenditure mean, when the authorized expenditure was L.12,000 a year? Was it twice as much, or three times, or four times as much? The only account (previous to that upon the receipt of which his Commissioners threw up their charge) on which any definite conjecture could be built as to the total amount for which they must in future be prepared, was that which accompanied the half-year's Report dated 26th November 1839, and which must have been received by them in February 1840. In this despatch he recounts the causes which have made his actual expenditure so much exceed the expected estimate; gives a list of the things he has had to do; and adds, all this *has been done* (not 'has yet to be done') '*in a very* '*expensive period.*' This account therefore did not indicate an increased, but rather a diminished expenditure thereafter. Now, the bills drawn by Colonel Gawler, in excess of the regulated estimate, for the services of this year, amounted to L.42,000;—an excess quite large enough to answer the general terms in which he had spoken, and to justify his anxiety. But while this account was on its way home, at what rate was Colonel Gawler actually drawing upon them? At a rate of L.50,000 per annum, or L.60,000, or L.100,000? No, but of L.140,000! Now, we contend that Colonel Gawler—however impossible it may have been for him to form an exact estimate, or even an estimate nearly approaching to accuracy, of the expenditure for the half year before him—ought to have been able to make a guess within a hundred thousand pounds. He should have been able to give his employers some idea whether, when he talked of enormous

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excesses above the regulated estimate, he meant twice as much, or twelve times as much. And this was the rather required of him, because the very ground on which he justifies his assumption of such responsibility, is the total incapacity of his Commissioners to form any judgment for themselves; and because he knows that their resourses were not unlimited, and that his drafts must be trespassing very closely on the limits of these. The Committee say that they 'are not' prepared to affirm the insufficiency of the grounds on which he has alleged his inability 'to furnish information as to the specific services for which he was 'about to draw, or to supply *any* estimates of the total amount 'he should be compelled to draw in the course of the year.' It appears to us that the Committee *ought to have been prepared* to allege the insufficiency of these grounds; and that, from the principle involved in their hesitation to do so, inferences may be drawn, of which very inconvenient and dangerous applications may be made by all officers serving the Government in distant places. If the excuse is good for the expenditure of hundreds of thousands, it is as good, or better, for the expenditure of unauthorized millions; inasmuch as the inability to 'furnish infor-'mation as to the specific services, and to supply estimates of the 'total amount,' would be ten times as great. We regret this piece of false candour and indulgence on the part of the Committee; because it may be construed into an intimation that there were not sufficient grounds for recalling Colonel Gawler—a measure than which none was ever more imperatively called for. In other respects, the Report appears to us to contain a fair judgment upon the conduct of all parties.

The Evidence contains a good deal of interesting and conflicting testimony as to the natural productive capacities of South Australia; of which Mr Angus has a high opinion. But there is so little solid experience as yet to build on, that such opinions can be entertained only as conjectures; and, as we said before, we must wait to see what fruit the tree will bear, and what it will sell for, before we can form any grounded conclusions. What is certain is, that a very large proportion of this selected territory turns out to be unavailable from natural sterility—so barren that it will be worth nothing to a purchaser, however much you make him pay for it—and so much of it, that it was at one time thought advisable to alter the boundaries of the colony, for the purpose of taking in a more fertile tract between it and Port Philip. Some considerable tracts of very good land have, however, been discovered since; and we hope that the barren parts will only operate as an anti-dispersive; and that no practical evil will result from the unfortunate selection of the field of

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operations. With regard to this part of the question, however, pending the arrival of some more decisive indications, we must be content with quoting, in their own words, the result of the enquiries of the Committee as to the present position and prospects of the province:—

'The public debt charged on the future revenues of South Australia, including the sums raised by the Commissioners, the advance recently made by Parliament, and the proposed further advance to the Emigration Fund, will amount to L.296,000. The annual interest payable upon it will be about L.15,000. The number of inhabitants is supposed to be about 15,000. The ordinary revenue, which has been progressively increasing, may now be estimated at about L.30,000 per annum. The ordinary expenditure, which has been increasing still more rapidly, is now proceeding at a rate amounting, together with the interest of the loan, to about L.70,000 a-year; and although it may be hoped that some reduction may be effected by the present Governor, your Committee are unable, from want of detailed evidence in this country, to speak with any confidence on the subject.

'With regard to the natural resources of the colony, the value of the produce, and the amount of revenue which it may hereafter yield, your Committee have not been able to obtain sufficient data to justify them in pronouncing a decided opinion; they would, however, refer to the evidence given by Mr Angus, as showing the recent progress of agriculture, and the aptness of the soil for raising grain, and for pasturage; to that of Mr Elliot in explanation of the quantity of available land still unsold; to a statistical report transmitted by Colonel Gawler, and to the general tenor of his despatches, as encouraging the hope that, after making allowance for very large tracts of wholly unavailable land, the natural capacities of the colony are considerable; and that as its tillage extends, and its stock multiplies, it may in due time yield an ample revenue, and become a valuable appendage to the British crown. For the present, however, it does not appear to your Committee that there are any certain grounds for expecting either such an increase of revenue or such a reduction of expenditure, as would obviate the necessity of making provision out of some fund, over and above the ordinary revenue, for an annual deficit of a large amount.'—(*Report*, p. x.)

ART. V.—*The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore, Esq.* Collected by Himself. 10 vols. 12mo. Longman and Company. London: 1840-42.

WE are glad that Mr Moore has thought fit to raise for himself, in his own lifetime, the Monument which has been erected for other distinguished poets after their death only,

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and by the hand of editors more or less qualified for the task, by publishing this edition of his complete works. We are glad also to see that his eminent publishers, at whose judicious request this Monument was undertaken, have done their part to render it worthy of the name inscribed upon it. The edition is, indeed, a very tasteful and desirable one; and, enriched as it largely is with introductory and prefatory recitals and notices, replete with interesting biographical and critical details and remarks, it cannot but be hailed as a precious addition to other similar collections of elegant literature.

But we do not regard Mr Moore as having, by yielding to the wish for a complete edition of his published poems, in that way settled his accounts with posterity, and relinquished all further control over his poetical testament. On the contrary, we perceive intimations in some of his prefaces that there still remain additions to be made—unfinished fragments, and sketches of compositions—which only await a little resolution on his part to be moulded into shape and rendered presentable. And really, when we remember how few years have elapsed since the appearance of his last poetical work of importance—the 'Epicurean;' how thoroughly that beautiful fiction, though destitute of the ornament of verse, bore witness to the undiminished vigour of the poetical faculties of the writer—we feel that the public has some further claims upon him, before he finally relinquishes the Lyre. Thus much, most assuredly, we would not say, did we feel that with him the period of excellence had past. Nothing is more painful than the exhibition of genius in decay. Nothing is more distressing than to witness those who have already won for themselves a safe and lofty eminence, descending again into the arena with decayed strength and fires, and seemingly unconscious of their own decline—making a poor profit of the popularity of their well-known names, to the utter loss of all that peculiar dignity which belongs to self-respecting retirement. But, as we have said before, this appears to us to be a destiny which Mr Moore has no reason whatever to fear. He has rather withdrawn from the field with his powers, if we may so express ourselves, not yet fully developed; for poets of a highly imaginative order do indeed grow very prematurely old. The richest outpourings of their genius are commonly the earliest, and the decline is soon perceptible. Not so with poets of quick wit, sensibility, and graceful thought—the class in which Mr Moore holds so very distinguished a position. With them there are generally two very distinct epochs of perfection: they ripen twice, if we may so express ourselves. The first has the character of youthful fire; the second, that of pathos and reflection. Their task has been

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chastised by time; the luxuriance of their imagery repressed. They have lost something, probably, in buoyancy as well as in brilliancy; but those intellectual powers which lie at the foundation of excellence of this description remain the same, or rather improved and mellowed by age; for these faculties are not of the same exhausting character as imagination, and do not react with its restless and terrible power on the mind and the body.

We cannot but think that the reader of these collected poems, now placed for the first time in the order of their production, will be able to trace in them the details of the little history which we have endeavoured to sketch out. From the youthful poems, full of fire and freshness, he passes to the author's first work of importance, and as yet his greatest, 'Lalla Rookh;' written, it should seem, about 'the mid-way of this our life's career,' although not published until later. Here he will find that brilliancy of thought and diction, which in so remarkable a degree characterize the author, carried even to excess. As we proceed onwards, we perceive his occasional poetry becoming more and more coloured with the tints of reflection and of tenderness—less exciting, and more satisfying; until at last we find the gradual change of tone completed in the 'Epicurean'—in our view, the most perfect of all Mr Moore's compositions as a work of art; and which probably, if it had not wanted the ornament of verse, would have been the most popular.

On this account, we cannot avoid expressing our earnest hope that the expectations vaguely held out, as we have above observed, in some parts of the prefaces, may be fulfilled. For instance, we have no doubt that out of the rejected materials for 'Lalla 'Rookh,' which Mr Moore describes as lying by him, it is in his power to produce what might not perhaps attain the almost incredible popularity reached at once by that poem, but might prove even more acceptable to genuine lovers of poetry. There is, perhaps, no other bard alive (except one) to whom we could honestly give this advice—to vanquish the temptation, whether of indolence or diffidence, and write more; and we shall resolutely refuse to consider these ten volumes as a *fait accompli*, until the time for making 'farther observations' is hopelessly gone by.

We have said that we do not regard Mr Moore as a poet of the high imaginative order; nor do we suppose that this is a point which will be much contested even by his warmest admirers, amongst whom we rank ourselves; but in adding that we cannot either attribute to him the characteristic of much fancy, in the higher and more poetical sense, we shall probably encounter more opposition. And this leads us to devote a few pages to

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that much-vexed question, what is really meant by the term 'Fancy' in poetical criticism?

No point in the metaphysics of poetry appears to have given English critics so much trouble, as the establishment of the distinction between Imagination and Fancy. And this difficulty, it is to be observed, is one which perplexes English critics only; for in no other language does the distinction in question exist. Neither the French *Fantasie*, nor Italian *Fantasia*, has any resemblance at all to our word Fancy, in the sense in which we attribute it as a quality to poetical or romantic compositions. The Germans, those learned analysts, do indeed recognize very minute and refined contrasts between their *Einbildungskraft* and *Phantasie;* but then they appear to mean something widely different from ourselves by the attributes thus designated;—the first being rather the power of the mind to concentrate its attention on its own imaginary creations; the latter, a quick and keen perception of lively images, suggesting themselves spontaneously. And this very circumstance, namely, the absence of any distinction similar to our own in foreign languages, might perhaps suggest to us a doubt whether we are not sometimes a little seduced, by an accident of the dictionary, into drawing visionary contrasts where no real difference exists—a suspicion which will be rather increased than lessened, when we observe the odd perplexities into which the endeavour to define and analyze these supposed antagonists, has led some of our chief authorities on the subject.

'The distinction between Imagination and Fancy is simply,' as one writer tells us, 'that the former altogether changes and 'remodels the original idea, impregnating it with something 'extraneous. The latter leaves it undisturbed, but associates it 'with things to which, *in some view or other*, it bears a resem-'blance.'

This distinction seems to us to represent the real difference which exists between the effects of a stroke of Imagination and a stroke of quick Thought, or wit—a *concetto*, turn, or point. When Homer terms the morn 'rosy-fingered,' we recognize at once the true poetical imagination, 'remodelling,' in our critic's language, 'the original idea, and impregnating it with some-'thing extraneous.' In Butler's well-known comparison,

> 'When, like a lobster boil'd, the morn
> From black to red began to turn,'

we discover a clever effort of wit, 'associating the original idea 'with a thing to which, *in some view or another*, it bears a 'resemblance.' But to cite this as an instance of Fancy, and

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at the same time to call such creations as Titania, Ariel, Caliban, fanciful, and the mental faculty which conceived them Fancy, would be to render analysis useless, and criticism ridiculous.

Let us hear a very eminent philosopher, the late Dugald Stewart, on the same subject:—

'Fancy is Imagination *at a lower point of excitement*—not dealing with passions, or creating character; not pouring out unconsciously, under the influence of strong feeling, images as they arise massed and clustered—but going in search of comparisons and illustrations; and when it invests them with personality, as in metaphor, still adhering much more closely to the logical fitness and sequence which govern similar ornaments in prose. It seems to act like a colder and weaker species of imagination—furnishing the thoughts which "play round the "head, but do not touch the heart;" pleasing the eye and ear; creating or heightening the idea of the beautiful much more than the sublime.'

This is indeed criticism conveyed in exquisite language; but when we come to examine the philosophy of the passage, we fear it will be found indeterminate, and inconsistent with itself. The first sentence is striking, and, whether it will bear close analysis or not, it certainly conveys to our mind something nearly resembling the popular notion of the difference between the two words. But Mr Stewart, unfortunately, loses sight forthwith of his first distinction, and goes after another. Having defined Fancy as identical with Imagination, only 'at a lower point of 'excitement,' he proceeds to describe its functions as altogether inconsistent with those of the other faculty; for surely there can be no process more different from any exercise of Imagination, than that of 'going in search of comparisons and illustrations.' Here he seems to approach the notion which indentifies Fancy with 'Wit,' in the older and more general sense of that word. Yet presently afterwards he returns again to something more resembling his original distinction. Fancy, he says, 'creates 'or heightens the idea of the beautiful much more than the 'sublime.' Surely the process of 'going in search of compari-'sons and illustrations,' is just as likely to end in producing the one as the other.

But—if the reader will forgive our presumptuous attempt at dissection—Mr Stewart does not give us, in this passage, a much clearer notion of the functions of Imagination (which he has elsewhere beautifully defined) than of Fancy. Imagination does not 'deal with the passions,' any more than Fancy—that is, it does so only incidentally: its own empire is elsewhere. Neither can it be properly said to 'create characters:' that is the proper function of the Dramatic Faculty—a faculty constantly exhibited in the highest degree by writers who are not

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poets in any sense of the word. To give the same name to the distinguishing characteristic of Milton, and the distinguishing characteristics of De Foe and Le Sage, could surely serve no purpose but to show how completely over-refined analysis ends in confounding objects, instead of discriminating between them.

Let us next see whether a great poet will afford us any assistance in getting out of the labyrinth in which our æsthetic philosophers have involved us.

'Fancy,' says Mr Wordsworth, 'depends upon the rapidity and profusion with which she scatters her thoughts and images, trusting that their number, and the felicity with which they are linked together, will make amends for the want of individual value; *or*, she prides herself on the curious subtlety and the successful elaboration with which she can detect their lurking affinities. If she can win you over to her purposes, and impart to you her feelings, she cares not how mutable and transitory may be her influence, knowing that it will not be out of her power to resume it on an apt occasion. But the imagination is conscious of an indestructible dominion; the soul may fall away from it, not being able to sustain its grandeur; but if once felt and acknowledged, by no act of any other faculty of the mind can it be relaxed, impaired, or diminished. *Fancy is given to quicken and to beguile the temporal part of our nature, imagination to incite and support the eternal.* Yet it is not less true, that fancy, as she is an active, is also, under her own laws and in her own spirit, a creative faculty. In what manner fancy ambitiously aims at a rivalship with the imagination, and imagination stoops to work with the materials of fancy, might be illustrated from the compositions of all eloquent writers, whether in prose or verse, and chiefly from those of our own country. Scarcely a page of the impassioned part of Bishop Taylor's works can be opened that shall not afford examples. Referring the reader to these inestimable volumes, we will content ourselves with placing a conceit, ascribed to Lord Chesterfield, in contrast with a passage from the *Paradise Lost.*

> "The dews of the evening most carefully shun:
> They are tears of the sky for the loss of the sun."

'After the transgression of Adam, Milton, with other appearances of sympathizing nature, thus marks the immediate consequence:—

> "Sky lower'd, and, muttering thunder, some few drops
> Wept at completion of the mortal sin."

'The associating link is the very same in each instance: dew and rain, not distinguishable from the liquid substance of tears, are employed as indications of sorrow. A flash of surprise is the effect in the former case: a flash of surprise, and nothing more; for the nature of things does not sustain the combination. In the latter, the effects of the act, of which there is this immediate consequence and visible sign, are so momentous, that the mind acknowledges the justice and reasonableness of the sympathy in nature so manifested; and the sky weeps drops of

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water, as if with human eyes—as if earth had before trembled from her entrails, and nature gives a second groan.'

At the first opening of this splendid passage, we perceive a mysterious light, which seems to direct us out of the paths in which we were wandering; but it vanishes again before we have finished it. Indeed—if we might say so with due reverence—the poet leaves us even more perplexed than the critics; and we are tempted to acknowledge the justice of the profound reasonings of those supporters of the successful candidate at the late Oxford election to the Professorship of Poetry, who pronounced him better qualified for it than his antagonist—first, in respect of orthodoxy; secondly, in that he had never been known to aberrate into verse.

For surely the distinction between Imagination and Fancy cannot lie, in the first place, in the comparative profusion and rapidity of succession of their respective imagery. Take for instances the inspired Prophets, or Æschylus, or Milton, in many parts: what can exceed the rapidity with which the images are poured forth, wheel within wheel, or as if each was pregnant with its successor? And yet we surely, in common parlance, denominate these instances of their superlative Imagination, not of their Fancy. And Mr Wordsworth then proceeds to ascribe to Fancy, in the alternative, a very opposite function—that of subtly detecting remote affinities;—here, again, assimilating it, as other authorities have done, to something radically different, Wit; and making it altogether unlike that which he nevertheless with the utmost truth asserts it to be—a *creative* faculty.

May we venture on the still bolder step of quarrelling with the instance which so high an authority has selected in support of his position? The passage from Lord Chesterfield is of course a mere conceit, passable enough for 'a person of quality.' But is not the passage of Milton in reality a conceit also, although of a far higher description? Does it exhibit any *creative* faculty? Does it call up any image in the mind of the reader, or suggest any as present in that of the poet? Is it, in short, any thing more than an effort of thought, 'associating 'the original idea with things to which, in some view or other, 'it bears a resemblance,' by what Aristotle would have called a metaphor κατ' ἀναλογιαν? 'For,' as that most unpoetical philosopher would infallibly have summed up the case, 'as tears are to 'the human face, so are drops of water to the sky.'

Nor will another distinguished poet afford us any better guidance out of our difficulties. Lord Byron, in the course of the paradoxical warfare which it was his pleasure to wage against

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the poetical taste of his times, thought proper to assert, among other doctrines, that Pope was an imaginative poet; and supported his position by example, as follows:—

'We are sneeringly told that Pope is the "poet of reason"—as if this was a reason for his being no poet! Taking passage for passage, I will undertake to cite more lines teeming with imagination, from Pope, than from any two living poets, be they who they may. To take an instance at random from a species of composition not very favourable to imagination—satire. Set down the character of Sporus, with all the wonderful play of *fancy* which is scattered over it, and place by its side an equal number of verses, from any two existing poets of the same power and the same variety—where will you find them?'

Let us take a few specimens from the famous 'character of 'Sporus,' to which Lord Byron here refers:—

'Yes, let me flap this bug with gilded wings,
This painted child of dirt, that stinks and stings:
Whose buz the witty and the fair annoys,
Yet wit ne'er tastes, and beauty ne'er enjoys.
Eternal smiles his emptiness betray,
As shallow streams run dimpling all the way.
Eve's tempter thus the Rabbins have express'd,
A cherub's face, a reptile all the rest;
Beauty that shocks you, parts that none can trust,
Wit that can creep, and pride that licks the dust.'

Surely, whether we agree with the noble critic in his admiration of this passage or not, it is rhetoric, not poetry; or poetry, at best, only of that secondary sort of which we have spoken. It is a collection of witty thoughts, poured forth no doubt with great 'profusion and variety,' fetched with some trouble from various repositories, and placed in collocation by a *tour-de-force*. The last four verses are nervous and pointed enough; but their antithetical turn shows plainly the absence of imagination. Pope was not indeed destitute of that faculty, as modern criticasters sometimes affirm. It sparkles here and there, though intermixed with much of a polished but inferior metal, in the 'Rape of the Lock.' It colours with a deep and powerful tincture the pathos which is the predominating excellence in the 'Epistle of Heloisa,' and in the 'Ode to the 'Memory of an Unfortunate Lady,'—especially in the fine prediction of the decay of the house of her unnatural kindred—

'While the long funerals blacken all the way.'

But these are exceptions, and do not alter the general cha-

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racter of his poetry. He is but the able, dexterous, and graceful workman, who fashions the material provided by others.

These and many similar definitions suggest to us the doubt, whether, in the first place, there is any radical distinction at all between true Fancy and Imagination; and secondly, whether we are not apt to confound two very different qualities under the same name;—the true Fancy of which we have spoken, and that spurious Fancy which is the offspring of a quick wit, conversant with poetical imagery, but which differs from the former in being in no degree *creative*, nor one of the higher poetical faculties.

To recur to a former instance. We are apt to term the poetry of the 'Tempest,' or of the 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' indiscriminately 'imaginative,' and 'fanciful;' and no one can fail to recognize the justice with which either epithet is applied to it. No one can fail to perceive, that the same 'creative' faculty, Imagination, peopled the isle of Prospero with delicate spirits, and the heath of Forres with ghastly sibyls;—that it is by a strictly similar exercise of genius, that disordered nature is made to sympathize with the waywardness of the fairy couple, and with the desolation of Lear. And, as we have said, all these scenes and passages are commonly, and properly, called 'imaginative.' Yet the poetry of 'Macbeth' is rarely, and that of 'Lear' never, called 'fanciful,' by correct critics. From whence does this difference arise? Merely, we suspect, from the subject-matter, and not at all from any distinction between the qualities. All poetical creations are *imaginative;* but when we want a word to distinguish those of a gayer, lighter order—more beautiful than sublime, and especially those which are fetched from a very unreal and dream-like world—we are apt to term them fanciful, in much the same sense as the Germans sometimes use the word *phantastisch.*

Spurious Fancy—that which the critics above cited have called by that name—seems to us altogether a different faculty, not in the least allied to Imagination or true Fancy, but belonging to the same category as Thought, Wit, Judgment, and many other manifestations of Intellectual Power. While the first class of faculties creates, the other remodels, compares, distinguishes; and often elaborates by effort, effects very similar to those which the former produces spontaneously. But instead of encumbering ourselves any further with definitions which, we are forced to confess it, express our meaning but inadequately, let us see whether a few instances will not assist us in conveying it, whether right or wrong, to the mind of the

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reader; and if we choose them from among favourite and well-known passages, it is on the principle of Dante—

> 'Che l'animo di quel, ch' ode, non posa
> Né ferma fede per esempio, ch' haja
> La sua radice incognita e nascosa.'

One of the commonest exercises of the imaginative faculty is Personification; and we are apt to forget how much of what is now merely metaphorical language, in common use, was originally imaginative in the highest degree. 'Hope and Charity, 'Love and Pity,' it has been said, 'have now become common-'places; but they were, notwithstanding, among the first and 'simpler creations of the art.'

> 'Pallida Mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
> Regumque turres,'

says Horace. Horace was not an imaginative writer; and probably took these phrases, without attaching any distinct image to them, out of the *Gradus ad Parnassum* which he carried in his head. But the first who personified Death, and *saw* the livid spectre knocking at the doors of her destined victims—(compare the description of the plague in that work of a true poet, 'Anastasius')—possessed an imagination of no common order. Let us see what success his image meets with, when it falls into the hands of a French polisher of modern days, who works with the implements of thought or wit—Malherbe:—

> 'La mort a des rigueurs à nulle autre pareilles:
> Nous avons beau parler,
> La cruelle qu'elle est se bouche les oreilles
> Et nous laisse crier!'

Thus far he has succeeded only in reducing the phantom of old times to the similitude of an angry schoolmistress, or obdurate landlady. But the turn which follows has been universally admired:—

> 'Le pauvre en sa cabane, où le chaume le couvre,
> Est sujet à ses lois,
> Et la garde qui veille aux barrières du Louvre
> N'en défend pas nos rois.'

And a fine thought it is, but only a thought—it adds nothing to the image; the 'regum turres' are particularized, and thus the lesson is brought home with more startling truth—but there is no creation.

In the following often-quoted lines of Dubartas—

> 'Loins des murs flamboyans qui renferment le monde,
> Dans le centre caché d'une clarté profonde,
> Dieu repose en lui-même—'

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the first line presents a highly imaginative picture; but, be it observed, it belongs, not to the Frenchman, but to Lucretius:—

'Extra flammantia mœnia mundi:'

Which Moore has borrowed from one or both:—

'As far
As the universe spreads her flaming wall.'

The second is a conceit, the offspring of spurious Fancy; for it does not present a simple image, but expresses an antithetical idea—the invisibility of an object placed in an intense light. And it is still a conceit in Milton, whether borrowed or not:—

'Dark with excessive light Thy skirts appear;
Yet dazzle heaven, that brightest seraphim
Approach not, but with both wings veil their eyes.'

And still more in Dryden, who expands the thought into a fine couplet, after his own fashion:—

'Thy throne is darkness in the abyss of light—
A blaze of glory which defies the sight.'

The last two lines, in the passage from Milton, are taken from another source, as Mr Hallam has pointed out—the following noble verses of an obscure Italian poet, Girolamo Preti:—

'Tu, per soffrir della cui luce i rai
Si fan dell' ale i serafini un velo.'

But Mr Hallam has omitted to add, that the original of both is in the vision of Isaiah:—'Each one' of the Seraphim 'had 'six wings: *with twain he covered his face,* and with twain he 'covered his feet, and with twain he did fly.' And the effort of what the critics already quoted call Fancy, but which we term Thought, is plainly seen in these modern imitations, in assigning *a reason* for the appearance. Imagination rests contented with creating, and never condescends to explain or justify. The whole passage, as was to be expected, has given birth to a variety of pretty *concettini.* See the 'Loves of the Angels,' *passim.* For instance—

'Oft, when from Alla's lifted brow
A lustre came, too bright to bear,
And all the seraph ranks would bow,
And shade their dazzled sight, nor dare
To look upon the effulgence there,' &c.

Milton is full of such conceits as that above quoted. And it may perhaps be suggested, as the most marked of all the distinctions between very early poetry and that of modern days, that in the former the creative faculty generally appears pure and naked,

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and absolutely unconnected with the reflective. In all modern poets, and most, perhaps, in the greatest of all, Dante, Shakspeare, Milton, Thought seems to struggle with Imagination for the mastery; and the one and the other produce their effects in such rapid succession, and so interchangeably, that nothing can be more difficult than to assign their respective provinces.

Very different is the fate which a fine image meets, when it passes successively through the hands of a series of poets of the imaginative order. Each impregnates it with his own peculiar colouring—each communicates to it something additional, which calls up a new vision to the mental eye, and is in truth a fresh creation.

In the venerable passage—

> 'Οίη περ φυλλων γενεη, τοιηδε και ανδρων,
> Φυλλα τα μεν τ' ανεμος χαμαδις χεει,' &c.—

the reader recognizes (what, as we have said, is comparatively rare in ancient poets) an effort at once of Imagination or Fancy, connecting the frail existence of humanity with that of the leaf—and of Thought, drawing out the parallel between the reproduction of the leaves and of generations of mankind. The turn, or antithesis, has been made use of by hundreds of poets of the secondary or unimaginative order, from Moschus downwards. The *image* has passed into the hands of all the greater masters of the art.

In Virgil it is associated with the idea of multitude:—

> 'Quam multa in silvis autumni frigore primo
> Lapsa cadunt folia . . . .'

So in Milton; but he immediately connects it with locality, and gives it a *picturesque* colouring:—

> 'Thick as autumnal leaves which strew the brooks
> In Vallombrosa, where the Etrurian shades
> High overarched embower . . . .'

In Dante, ever working out the minute circumstances of his pictures, and clinging closely to the 'shows of things,' the image suggested is that of the gradual fall, leaf by leaf, compared with the dropping of the melancholy ghosts, one by one, into the inevitable bark:—

> 'Come d'autunno si levan le foglie
> L'una appresso dell' altra, infin che l' ramo
> Rende alla terra tutte le sue spoglie,
> Similemente il mal seme d'Adamo
> Gittasi da quel lito ad una ad una.'

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Spenser personifies the *agent* as well as the patients :—

> 'With his sword disperst the raskall flocks,
> Which fled asunder, and him fell before,
> As wither'd leaves drop from their dried stocks,
> When the wroth western wind doth reave their locks.'

From whom, lastly, Shelley receives the treasure; and adds a peculiar circumstance, that of reversing the image, and with wonderful effect.

> 'Thou wild west wind! thou breath of autumn's being,
> Before whose unseen presence the leaves dead
> Are driven, like ghosts from an enchanter fleeing,
> Pestilence-stricken multitudes——'

It is evident that the spurious fancy of which we have spoken is an inferior quality in the scale of poetical excellences to that genuine sort which is merely imagination under another aspect. And yet it would be a most uncatholic and intolerant view of the subject to exclude it from that scale altogether. In point of fact, so accustomed are we to look on Imagination as the poetical faculty *par excellence*, as undoubtedly it is, that we are sometimes induced to regard it hastily as the only one; to consider poetry as strictly and wholly the expression of Imagination. This is not the case only with the pedantic Wordsworthian school of critics who now inundate this country, but with others of more comprehensive views. And we doubt whether many have reflected how very large a proportion of the pleasure which we derive from poetry is really drawn from the expression of Thought in its various forms—indignant, energetic, graceful, witty, fanciful—without one particle of the creative faculty being concerned in it. To this class belong almost all the satirists, from Horace and Juvenal, to Boileau, Pope, Churchill, whether severe in their indignation, or playing with the follies of mankind. It includes also the rhetorical poets—Lucan, Corneille, and the like; and the 'conceited,' commonly and mistakenly called Fanciful, Donne, Cowley, Marini, Gongora, and their respective followers. It is Thought or Reflection which gives the peculiar tinge of manly energy to the verse of Dryden—which sparkles in graceful criticism in Horace—which enlivens throughout with an indulgent philosophy and playful lessons of worldly wisdom, the charming narrative of Ariosto. And, to complete the catalogue, Thought and Passion, without one scruple of the strictly poetical Imagination, form the whole stock in trade of a nation of no mean rank in poetical literature—the French. There is no such thing as an imaginative French poet or poem—hardly a scene or a passage. But Thought, in all the various forms which we

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have enumerated, borrowing and turning to the best account the creations of a higher faculty, constitutes the staple commodity of the whole race of French poets; and is blended in those of a higher order with the powerful and harmonious expression of Passion—something, again, wholly distinct from Imagination proper.

We have gone rather the more at length into this attempt to establish a distinction sometimes overlooked, from an anxiety to guard ourselves against any suspicion of unduly depreciating the poet whose works are now before us, when we rank that Fancy, which is commonly reputed to be his peculiar excellence, in the secondary class already described. He cannot be called an imaginative writer; and, therefore, not 'Fancy's child' in the truest or highest sense—in the sense in which we have termed Fancy a creative quality. Not that he is by any means destitute of the first of poetical faculties, but that it is certainly not his characteristic or distinguishing excellence. His Fancy, like that of Donne and Cowley, is Wit;—wit, not only under the control of a better taste than theirs, but likewise of a purer feeling; wit suggesting images and thoughts with wonderful profusion, and a gracefulness often scarcely less admirable;—often too profuse, no doubt, for compactness, and too graceful for strength, but uniformly brilliant, and yet relieved from monotony by its singular buoyancy.

But rich as this Wit or Fancy is, we believe that those do Mr Moore great injustice who assign it as the attribute through which he is principally to live. To us at least, and we suspect to the infinite majority of his readers, the real charm of his poetry lies not there. It is when he speaks to the heart, not the head, that he is in his own element. The exquisite truth of sentiment, sometimes gay and sometimes melancholy, but always refined into the most perfect keeping with the common sympathies of men—this is far more delightful to us than all the more ambitious qualities of his muse. In our opinion, he may very safely allow his critics to dispute as much as they will about the real or false brilliancy of the oriental descriptions in Lalla Rookh, or the Rabbinical prettinesses of the Loves of the Angels. Both have been translated into some dozen languages, and honoured, it appears, with all manner of royal and courtly observance;*—nay,

* 'Among the incidents connected with this work, I must not omit to notice the splendid *divertissements,* founded upon it, which were acted at the Chateau Royal of Berlin, during the visit of the Grand Duke Nicholas to that capital in the year 1822. The different stories composing the work were represented in *tableaux vivants* and songs; and, among the crowd of royal and noble persons engaged in the per-

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which is more to the purpose still, both have been read, we take it, more than any other poems of our time, except Lord Byron's; and yet we would confidently wager against the existence of any man, woman, or child, who could repeat thirty lines together of either, always excepting 'Paradise and the Peri,' and the delicious songs in the 'Light of the Harem.' We admit that this is not altogether a fair test; for there are peculiarities in composition which make these poems excessively difficult to learn by heart, even for their most devoted admirers. But, on the other hand, there are thousands—tens of thousands—who have almost every line of the Irish Melodies and national songs constantly in their remembrances. And this seems to us to prove our proposition beyond all contest, that Mr Moore's true popularity rests, and will always rest, on those delicate touches of tenderness and gaiety which captivate the sense at first hearing, and once known are never forgotten;—which make so many of those genuine gems, his smaller lyrical poems, better remembered, and more constantly travelling from the heart to the lips, than any verse of any poet of these days, however lofty his pretensions may be.

Mr Moore himself ascribes much of the magic of these strains to music; and speaks of the 'Irish Melodies' as the only work of his pen 'whose fame (thanks to the sweet music in which it 'is embalmed) may boast a chance of prolonging its existence 'to a day much beyond our own.' And elsewhere, in the preface to his fifth volume, he goes at some length into the debatable question of the alliance between poetry of this description and music.

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formances, I shall mention those only who represented the principal characters, and whom I find there enumerated in the published account of the *divertissement.*

Fadladin, Count Haack, Marechal de Cour.
Aliris, Roi de Bucharie, S. A. I. Le Grand Duc.
Lallah Roukh, S. A. I. La Grande Duchesse.
Aurungzeb, le Grand Mogol, S. A. R. Le Prince Guillaume.
Abdallah, Pere d'Aliris, Le Duc de Cumberland.
La Reine, son Epouse, S. A. R. La Princesse Louise Radzivill.'—Vol. VI. p. xxv.

'Count Haack,' if he still survives, we do not doubt is as well qualified for the part of 'Fadladeen' as ever; but if the subjugator of Poland ever recollects himself mouthing out the Jacobinism of 'Hafed' in the Fire Worshippers, he must be ashamed of having lent his countenance to the dissemination of 'language and principles for which no-'thing short of the summary criticism of the chabuk (or knout) could be 'advisable.'

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'It was impossible that the example of Burns, in these his higher inspirations, should not materially contribute to elevate the character of English song-writing, and even to lead to a reunion of the gifts which it requires, if not, as of old, in the same individual, yet in that perfect sympathy between poet and musician which almost amounts to identity, and of which we have seen, in our own times, so interesting an example in the few songs bearing the united names of those two sister muses, Mrs Arkwright and the late Mrs Hemans.

'Very different was the state of the song department of English poesy at the time when first I tried my novice hand at the lyre. The divorce between song and sense had then reached its utmost range, and to all uses connected with music, from a birthday ode down to the libretto of the last new opera, might fairly be applied the solution Figaro gives of the quality of the words of songs in general: "Ce qui ne vaut pas la peine d'être dit, on le chante." . . . . .

'How far my own labours in this field, if indeed the gathering of such idle flowers may be so designated, have helped to advance, or even kept pace with the progressive improvement I have here described, it is not for me to presume to decide. I only know, that in a strong and inborn feeling for music lies the source of whatever talent I may have shown for poetical composition; and that it was the effort to translate into language the emotions and passions which music appeared to me to express, that first led to my writing any poetry at all deserving of the name. Dryden has happily described music as being "inarticulate "poetry;" and I have always felt, in adapting words to an expressive air, that I was but bestowing upon it the gift of articulation, and thus enabling it to speak to others all that was conveyed in its wordless eloquence to myself.'—(Vol. V. pp. xiii.–xv.)

We believe Mr Moore to be very sincere in these expressions of diffidence; not because we attribute to him any greater tendency to undue self-depreciation than to his brethren in general, but because we know how completely, in spirits exquisitely sensitive to music, the charm of thought and expression becomes subordinate to that of melody; and it is, undoubtedly, extremely difficult to 'untwist the hidden chains' which bind these two charms so strangely together. But if it could be accomplished, we suspect it would appear that, for every thousand who have been chiefly captivated by the music of his songs, there are at least a thousand more whose charm is in the poetry; and in whose memory the last sweet echoes of the strain linger almost wholly disengaged from the accompaniment, or altogether unconnected with any.

But what complicates the difficulty in the present instance is this, that Mr Moore is, in a peculiar and emphatical sense, the poet of music—a character in which no other poet approaches him, and very few even resemble him. Every one who has any

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susceptibility for music at all, is aware of the readiness with which some emotions of the mind are excited by it—that there are some sentiments which seem to respond immediately to particular tones, independently of all perceived or recognized association of thought. Now, Mr Moore's peculiar skill is in giving voice to this inarticulate language. Take, for instance, many of his old Irish airs: he found them associated with vulgar or unmeaning words; he detected the language of the air under the disguise, and expressed it in verse; insomuch that the words alone now convey precisely that class of emotions which are suggested by the music. This is quite a peculiar faculty, and extremely rare indeed. Burns had something of it, Béranger perhaps more; but Moore stands absolutely pre-eminent in it.

And we are not, therefore, surprised that the charm of poetry, and that of music, seem in his mind to be often regarded as identical. The very attributes by which he characterizes the lays at the command of his 'Spirit of Song' in Lallah Rookh, appear to us exactly his own; and the effect of his poetry is precisely, and without exaggeration, the same which he there ascribes to music.

'For mine is the lay that lightly floats,
And mine are the murmuring, dying notes,
That fall as soft as snow on the sea,
And melt in the heart as instantly.

'Mine is the charm, whose mystic sway
The spirits of past delight obey:
Let but the tuneful talisman sound,
And they come, like genii, hovering round.

'And mine is the gentle song, that bears
From soul to soul the wishes of love;
As a bird that wafts through genial airs
The cinnamon seed from grove to grove.

'Tis I that mingle in one sweet measure
The past, the present, and future of pleasure:
When Memory links the tone that is gone
With the blissful tone that's still in the ear:
And Hope from a heavenly note flies on
To a note more heavenly still that is near.'

We do not intend to dwell on these exquisite recollections. It would be mere pedantry to force them into critical discussion and comparison. No enthusiastic rhapsody of ours could heighten their charm; no analysis could detect the source of it; and the genius of Fadladeen himself could not detract from it. Still, their effect is not that of pure poetry, rigorously so called. All

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the criticism in the world will not persuade the mass of readers, that the poetry which is most popular with them, which speaks most to the heart, is not the best; nor will such cavils raise the judgment of the critic in their estimation; for though a few, like Lalla Rookh's ladies, will still begin to suspect that they 'ought 'not to be pleased,' we fear that the number of such obedient subjects is considerably diminished since the craft of reviewing first rose into eminence. Still it is true, that the mere tribute which susceptibility pays to that which excites it, is not the recognition of poetical excellence; otherwise the 'Gamester' and 'Isabella' would be the finest tragedies on the English stage. In order to be thoroughly alive to the impressions of music, a gentleman, as a profound critic has remarked, must be 'in a con-'catenation accordingly;' and the same thing is perhaps true of poetry such as Moore's, which *is* ideal music. It is when the heart is predisposed by recent emotion, or dwelling on the remembrance of its own past emotions—when it is attuned to love, or romance, or gaiety, or the soft and dreamy sadness which past illusions leave behind them, or the deeper regrets for departed youth—that such enchantment is peculiarly felt. It does not create, but finds, sympathies; it searches the very soul, but never entrances, or carries it away into another world of visionary being. Thus far it is of the earth, and earthly—of the very finest materials, doubtless, which this earth can furnish; but not of the harmony which Dante heard only in the last circle of his Paradise.

> 'Qualunque melodia pin dolce suona
> Quagiù, e più a se l'anime tira,
> Parebbe nube che squarciata tuona
> Comparata al suonar di quella Lira.'

And thus much more we will add respecting it, that this deep charm of pathos, after all, characterizes the best-remembered and most generally appreciated portions even of Moore's more ambitious poetry. It is not the gorgeous orientalism, the gracefulness, or the brilliancy of description, in Lalla Rookh, which really abide with the reader, but those occasional touches—

> 'The looks and tones that dart
> An instant sunshine through the heart,
> As if the soul that instant caught
> Some treasure it through life had sought'—

which arouse the sensibilities to which his peculiar province extends.

The most substantial passions of this earth scarcely appear to us to be within that province. The strong objections which

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were urged against the early poetry of our author were not without foundation, undoubtedly; and nothing can be more marked than the improvement of taste which has characterized him since. But both the sins and the improvement always appeared to us to be of taste only. It is singular enough, in so extensive a collection of love verses of every variety of colour, that there is so little of the passionate order; such as is sometimes—yet, even there, rarely—to be met with in Byron. We scarcely remember above one piece, in all Moore's poetry, which really breathes the soul of Sappho: we looked for it in this new collection, and found it reduced to 'a fragment.' Why this was necessary, we hardly know; nor do we altogether appreciate the criterion according to which some of our old acquaintances have been left out, and others left in; and we are not sorry that we possess an old 'Galignani' edition.

But, as we have said, criticism is altogether inadequate to analyze those real and unrivalled beauties which we have endeavoured to point out only. It was much more our purpose to make an essay towards appreciating our author as an artist; but, we perceive, the little we had to say on this subject is already nearly anticipated. His personages, angelic or human, always produced upon us the effect of Westall's drawings, with which, we suppose, it had been our fate to see his poems first illustrated—all rounded in the same unmeaningly graceful proportions—all with the same soft languishing physiognomy—as ideal a set of brothers and sisters as were ever grouped together on the walls of the Royal Academy. After our first reading of Lalla Rookh, we well remember how utterly insipid, or rather coarse and prosaic, the men and women of Shakspeare and Scott seemed to have become. We are sorry to say that, on a second perusal, it was as impossible to take an interest in Azim and Zelica, Hafed and Hinda, as in the personages of the 'Grand Cyrus.' And, perhaps, it is rather strange—one of the anomalies which seem to belong to all genius—that a poet whose peculiar spell is over the common sympathies of men—whose unstudied tones of sentiment never fail to speak *home*—should be so utterly unable to make the creatures of his stories like human beings at all. But the dramatic faculty is a gift apart from all others.

It is no doubt from a consciousness of this deficiency, in part, that the author overlays the outlines of his tales with such wonderful richness and profusion of elaborate imagery; and, as we have said, this is not the imagery of fancy, but of wit. It is difficult always to apply the test; but comparison, as we have seen, is perhaps the best. That which requires thought to

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please—that which raises no image to the mind's eye, but gives the judgment the satisfaction arising from a comparison exquisitely drawn, from the juxtaposition of sparkling objects unexpectedly brought together—this is conceit, and not fancy: for mind speaks to mind, and that which the poet has imagined affects the reader very differently from that which he has thought out. Yet the results are beautifully brilliant, and take the reason prisoner, until it has no small trouble to disentangle the false from the true enchantment.

A curious characteristic of poets of this order is, that in their sweetest strains we can so frequently detect a determination throughout to bring in a conceit at the end, which generally goes far to spoil the effect of all the remainder. As soon as they have touched the reader's heart by a tone or two of simple beauty, they kindly alleviate his excited sensibility, by giving him a riddle or an epigram to think about.

The following instance of what we mean, occurs in some extremely beautiful verses:—

'Peace be around thee, wherever thou rovest;
May life be for thee one summer's day,
And all thou wishest, and all that thou lovest,
Come smiling around thy sunny way!

'If sorrow e'er this calm should break,
May even thy tears pass off so lightly,
Like spring showers, they'll only make
The smiles that follow shine more brightly.

'May Time, who sheds his blight o'er all,
And daily dooms some joy to death,
O'er thee let years so gently fall,
They shall not crush one gloom beneath.

'*As half in shade and half in sun*
This world along its path advances,
May that side the sun's upon
Be all that e'er shall meet thy glances.'

Another, equally beautiful, occurs to us at random, and we cite it the rather, because we believe it to be published now for the first time:—

'Dreaming for ever, vainly dreaming,
Life to the last pursues its flight:
Day hath its visions fairly beaming,
But false as those of night:

'The one illusion, the other real,
But both the same brief dreams at last:
And when we grasp the bliss ideal,
Soon as it shines, 'tis past.

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'Here, then, by this dim lake reposing,
Calmly I'll watch, while light and gloom
Flit o'er its face, till night is closing—
Emblem of life's short doom!

'But though, by turns, thus dark and shining,
'Tis still unlike man's changeful day,
Whose light returns not, once declining,
Whose cloud, once come, will stay.'

The following has something of the same peculiarity: But we are almost ashamed to quote what is so familiar to the ears and hearts of all who have ever stood within the circle of the magician himself:—

'Say, what shall be our sport to-day?
There's nothing on earth, in sea, in air,
Too bright, too high, too wild, too gay,
For spirits like mine to dare!

'Tis like the returning bloom
Of those days, alas! gone by,
When I loved each hour I scarce knew whom,
And was blest I scarce knew why.

'Ay, those were days when life had wings,
And flew, oh flew, so wild a height,
That, like the lark which sunward springs,
'Twere giddy with too much light.

'And though of some plumes bereft
With that sun too nearly set,
I've enough of light and wing still left
For a few gay soarings yet.'

There is one more particular in which this edition will be welcome to numbers of readers: it contains all the satirical and humorous poetry of Mr Moore, from the 'Fudge Family in 'Paris,' down to his latest political squibs. These latter are quite as unrivalled in their kind as the 'Irish Melodies,' or the other serious specimens of his sentimental muse. Of course, when collected in this fashion, it cannot be expected that they should be quite as captivating as when they first enlivened us, one by one, occurring like 'green spots' in the waste of a dreary newspaper. But then, as a collection, they have the great advantage of conjuring back upon us the successive recollections of the politics of the last thirty years, more lively and more amusing than even in the works of the masters of caricature. We will only select one, which we well remember struck us with all the force

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of an argument when first we read it; and sure we are, that nothing so effective in the way of answer to it has yet appeared:—

'The longer one lives the more one learns,
Said I, as off to sleep I went,
Bemus'd with thinking of tithe concerns,
And reading a book, by the Bishop of Ferns,
On the Irish Church Establishment.
But lo! in sleep not long I lay
When Fancy her usual tricks began,
And I found myself bewitch'd away
To a goodly city in Hindostan:
A city, where he who dares to dine
On aught but rice, is deem'd a sinner:
Where sheep and kine are held divine,
And, accordingly, never drest for dinner.

'But how is this? I wondering cried,
As I walk'd that city, fair and wide,
And saw, in every marble street,
A row of beautiful butchers' shops—
"What means, for men who can't eat meat,
This grand display of loins and chops?"
In vain I asked—'twas plain to see
That nobody dared to answer me.

'So on from street to street I strode:
And you can't conceive how vastly odd
The butchers look'd: a roseate crew,
Inshrined in *stalls*, with nought to do:
While some on a *bench*, half dozing, sat,
And the sacred cows were not more fat.

'Still posed to think what all this scene
Of sinecure trade was meant to mean,
"And pray," asked I, "by whom is paid
The expense of this strange masquerade?"
"The expense—oh, that's of course defray'd"
(Said one of these well-fed hecatombers)
"By yonder rascally rice-consumers."
"What! they, who mustn't eat meat?"—"No matter;"
(And, while he spoke, his cheeks grew fatter,)
"The rogues may munch their *Paddy* crop,
But the rogues must still support our shop:
And, depend upon it, the way to treat
Heretical stomachs that thus dissent,
Is to burden all that won't eat meat
With a costly meat establishment."

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On hearing these words so gravely said,
With a volley of laughter loud I shook :
And my slumber fled, and my dream was sped,
And I found myself lying snug in bed,
With my nose in the Bishop of Ferns's book.'
—(Vol. IX. p. 71.)

As the political education of Ireland's national poet cannot but be a matter of interest, we subjoin a piece of his early biography, which will show in what manner

'Rebellion's springs, which through the country ran,'

became the sources of his youthful inspiration. It will be seen how narrowly Apollo preserved the embryo 'Irish Melodies' from a 'timeless end,' and the poet himself from being metamorphosed into one of the *black* swans of another hemisphere :—

'In the meanwhile this great conspiracy was hastening on with fearful precipitancy to its outbreak, and vague and shapeless as are now known to have been the views even of those who were engaged practically in the plot, it is not any wonder that, to the young and uninitiated like myself, it should have opened prospects partaking far more of the wild dreams of poesy than of the plain and honest prose of real life. But a crisis was then fast approaching when such self-delusions could no longer be indulged, and when the mystery which had hitherto hung over the plans of the conspirators was to be rent asunder by the stern hand of power.

'Of the horrors that foreran and followed the frightful explosion of the year 1798, I have neither inclination, nor, luckily, occasion to speak; but among those introductory scenes, which had somewhat prepared the public mind for such a catastrophe, there was one of a painful description, which, as having been myself an actor in it, I may be allowed briefly to notice.

'It was not many weeks, I think, before this crisis, that, owing to information gained by the college authorities of the rapid spread among the students not only of the principles, but of the organization of the Irish Union, a solemn visitation was held by Lord Clare, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, with the view of enquiring into the extent of this branch of the plot, and dealing summarily with those engaged in it.

'Imperious and harsh as then seemed the policy of thus setting up a sort of inquisitorial tribunal, armed with the power of examining witnesses on oath, and in a place devoted to the instruction of youth, I cannot but confess that the facts which came out in the course of the evidence went far towards justifying even this arbitrary proceeding; and to the many who, like myself, were acquainted only with the general views of the Union leaders, without even knowing, except from conjecture, who these leaders were, or what their plans or objects, it was most startling to hear the disclosures which every succeeding witness brought forth. There were a few, and, among that number, poor Robert Em-

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met, John Brown, and the two ——s, whose total absence from the whole scene, as well as the dead silence that day after day followed the calling out of their names, proclaimed how deep had been their share in the unlawful proceedings enquired into by the tribunal.

'But there was one young friend of mine, ——, whose appearance among the suspected and examined as much surprised as it deeply and painfully interested me. He and Emmet had long been intimate and attached friends; their congenial fondness for mathematical studies having been, I think, a far more binding sympathy between them than any arising out of their political opinions. From his being called up, however, on this day, when, as it appeared afterwards, all the most important evidence was brought forward, there could be little doubt that, in addition to his intimacy with Emmet, the college authorities must have possessed some information which led them to suspect him of being an accomplice in the conspiracy. In the course of his examination, some questions were put to him which he refused to answer—most probably from their tendency to involve and inculpate others; and he was accordingly dismissed, with the melancholy certainty that his future prospects in life were blasted; it being already known that the punishment for such contumacy was not merely expulsion from the University, but exclusion from all the learned professions.

'The proceedings, indeed, of this whole day had been such as to send me to my home in the evening with no very agreeable feelings or prospects. I had heard evidence given affecting even the lives of three friends whom I had long regarded with admiration as well as affection, and what was still worse than even their danger—a danger ennobled, I thought, by the cause in which they suffered—was the shameful spectacle exhibited by those who had appeared in evidence against them. Of these witnesses, the greater number had been themselves involved in the plot, and now came forward either as voluntary informers, or else were driven, by the fear of the consequences of refusal, to secure their own safety at the expense of companions and friends.

'I well remember the gloom, so universal, that hung over our family circle on that evening, as, talking together over the events of the day, we discussed the likelihood of my being among those who would be called up for examination on the morrow. The deliberate conclusion to which my dear honest advisers came was, that, overwhelming as the consequences were to all their plans and hopes for me, yet, if the questions tending to criminate others, which had been put to almost all examined on that day, and which poor —— alone had refused to answer, I must, in the same manner and at all risks, return a similar answer. I am not quite certain whether I received any intimation on the following morning that I was to be one of those examined in the course of the morning, but I rather think some such notice had been conveyed to me; and at last my awful turn came, and I stood in the presence of the formidable tribunal. There sat, with severe look, the Vice-Chancellor, and, by his side, the memorable Doctor Duigenan—memorable for his eternal pamphlets against the Catholics.

'The oath was proffered to me.

'"I have an objection, my lord," said I, "to taking the oath."

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'"What is your objection?" he asked sternly.

'"I have no fears, my lord, that any thing I might say would criminate myself; but it might tend to involve others, and I despise the character of the person who would be led, under any circumstances, to inform against his associates."

'This was aimed at some of the revelations of the preceding day, and, as I learned afterwards, was so understood.

'"How old are you, sir?" he then asked.

'"Between seventeen and eighteen, my lord."

'He then turned to his assessor, Duigenan, and exchanged a few words with him in an under tone of voice.

'"We cannot," he resumed, again addressing me, "suffer any one to remain in our University who refuses to take this oath."

'"I shall then, my lord," I replied, "take the oath, reserving to myself the power of refusing to answer any such questions as I have just described."

'"We do not sit here to argue with *you*, sir," he rejoined sharply; upon which I took the oath, and seated myself in the witness's chair.

'The following are the questions and answers that then ensued. After adverting to the proved existence of United Irish societies in the University, he asked, "Have you ever belonged to any of these societies?"

'"No, my lord."

'"Have you ever known of any of the proceedings that took place in them?"

'"No, my lord."

'"Did you ever hear of a proposal at any of their meetings for the purchase of arms and ammunition?"

'"Never, my lord."

'"Did you ever hear of a proposal made in one of these societies with regard to the expediency of assassination?"

'"Oh no, my lord."

'He then turned again to Duigenan, and, after a few words with him, said to me, "When such are the answers you are able to give, pray, what was the cause of your great repugnance to taking the oath?"

'"I have already told your lordship my chief reason; in addition to which, it was the first oath I ever took, and the hesitation was, I think, natural."

'I was now dismissed without any further questioning, and, however trying had been this short operation, was amply repaid for it by the kind zeal with which my young friends and companions flocked to congratulate me—not so much, I was inclined to hope, on my acquittal by the court, as on the manner in which I had acquitted *myself*. Of my reception on returning home, after the fears entertained of so very different a result, I will not attempt any description; it was all that *such* a home alone could furnish.'

We might have enriched this article with many more of the biographical and other notices scattered through these volumes, and by so doing, would have rendered it undoubtedly of far higher interest than by the critical enquiries in which we have indulged; but

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we were anxious to pay a debt long due to one, the character and tendency of whose powers we, in common with many others, misconstrued at his outset;—one whose mode of life, and habits of mind and thinking, ever involving him actively in the vortex of the existing world, and in the controversies as well as gaieties of the day, have made many unwilling to recognize his real position in the rank of poets from hostility or prejudice, and many more from real inability to conceive the power of genius to *live* on the agitated surface of society, as well as on the most tranquil lake which ever was haunted by the Muses;—one whom many pronounced at first too trifling to succeed, and then too successful in his own day to abide the test of another; but whose position in the brilliant band of the poets of this age, (now so rapidly vanishing from us one by one, and unreplaced,) is already fixed beyond the power of criticism or of Time—unrivalled in one exquisite department of his art, delightful in many.

ART. VI.—1. *Speech of the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, in the House of Commons, Feb.* 9, 1842.

2. *Speech of the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, March* 11, 1842.

NINE months ago, we remarked that our financial difficulties, painful as they are in their causes and in their immediate effects, are not without their advantages. We rejoiced that they had forced public attention towards the barbarous Commercial Code which every day tends more and more to diminish our enjoyments, to misdirect our industry, to render our trade hazardous as well as unproductive, and to divide society into hostile sections—intent some on wringing a profit out of the calamities of the country, and others on subverting the institutions under which such an oppression can be favoured or permitted. We rejoiced that they gave to a wise and patriotic Government the means of saying to classes, and even to individuals—'Unless you 'will allow us to increase the revenue by diminishing duties, we 'must tax you. If you wish sugar to continue at 8d. a pound, 'or bread at 9d. a loaf, or timber at 30 per cent beyond its natu-'ral price—if you wish our manufactures to oscillate between 'periods of feverish prosperity and prolonged depression—if you 'wish to lower the price of labour, while you raise that of sub-'sistence—if you wish to render employment irregular, while 'you diminish its reward—if you wish to give a temporary sti-

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'mulus to rents, by injuring the profits out of which all rent is 'ultimately supported—you must consent to raise as a tax the 'revenue which you refuse as a boon. If you resolve to prolong 'folly and oppression until they reach the verge of ruin or revo- 'lution, you must contribute the expense of your system by a tax 'on your expenditure or on your income.'

We had no hope, indeed, of the immediate success of these arguments. We knew that they would be repelled by the selfishness of many, and by the prejudices of still more; and be deadened by the ignorance and apathy of the great mass of the community. We knew how comparatively small was the number of those who could estimate the evils to be encountered, or foresee the effect of the different remedies that might be applied. We knew that the party whose unhappy fate is to depend for power on misgovernment, and therefore on error, would proclaim that 'periods 'of distress are necessarily incidental to the state of a manufac- 'turing and commercial people—that our financial difficulties 'were the temporary result of a concession to ignorant impa- 'tience—that the welfare of the whole community may be best 'consulted by continuing to each class of monopolists its accus- 'tomed protection—that cheaper commodities would produce 'lower wages, freedom of commerce lower profits, and extension 'of trade dependence on foreign nations. And that the first step 'towards improvement must be the refusal of plans mischievous, 'so far as they are not visionary; and the second step, the expul- 'sion of their proposers.' We knew that all this would be said, and we knew that it would be believed; and we fully anticipated, therefore, the rejection of the Whig Budget, and the accession of a Tory Ministry.

But we then felt, and we still retain, a firm reliance on the ultimate prevalence of truth. Firmly convinced that the principles proposed and rejected in 1841, are the only principles by which the country can be restored to its former, or even be enabled to retain its present, amount of wealth and of civilization, we then believed, and we still believe, that those principles must in time be adopted.

It is possible, indeed, that the contest between good and evil may be protracted. It is possible that a long period may elapse during which months of prosperity may alternate with years of adversity; during which the value of our currency, the extent of our commerce, and the comfort of our population, may depend on the caprices of our variable climate; during which the barometer may be the regulator of wages and profits, and ten days of wind in March, or of rain in August, may decide the welfare or the distress of millions. But in time the struggle must end. In

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time we shall discover the folly of attempting to be wiser than Nature; and of striving to produce, by a system of alternate relaxation and prohibition—a system so complicated and so uncertain, that its inventor dares not venture a conjecture as to its operation *—the regular supply and steady price which are the spontaneous results of commercial freedom. In time we shall feel the wickedness of exposing millions to privation and want, in order to supply affluence to thousands; and in time the small class which governs us will discover that the permanence of its rule depends on its escaping from the charge of selfish legislation.

We have said that the intervening period may be long; but it is possible, we think even probable, that it may be short; and we are sure that the events of the few weeks during which Parliament has been sitting, have not tended to prolong it.

If the Melbourne administration had pursued the usual course of a declining party—if they had acted in 1841 as they did in 1839, had proposed no measures which they did not fully expect to carry, and had resigned as soon as their working majority was gone—the task of their successors would, for a time, have been comparatively easy. They would have found, indeed, a deficit; but from the twenty-five millions worth of taxes which had been repealed since the peace, there would have been no real difficulty in reimposing an amount sufficient to re-establish the revenue. They would have proceeded, as is the practice of that party, along the beaten road, and taxed houses, or windows, or salt, or leather; and we should have heard of no alteration in the corn law or the timber duties—of no importation of cattle, and unquestionably of no income tax. But the Budget of 1841 was a measure, the importance of which did not depend on its success. A plan which proposed to restore revenue by cheapening the subsistence, and increasing the comforts, and extending and steadying the trade of the country, might be defeated, but could not be disregarded. The contrast between such a measure and the coarse expedient of a mere increase of taxation, would have been too glaring. Sir Robert Peel therefore felt that he must propose a Budget possessing some resemblance, at least in form, to that of his predecessors; and we proceed, as far as the very brief time will allow, to consider how far he has succeeded.

The most mischievous of the abuses against which the Whig Budget was directed, is the gigantic injustice of the Corn Law.

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* See Sir R. Peel's answer to Lord Worsley, March 18, 1842.

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But not only is that law the palladium of the Tory party—it has been, until a few weeks ago, the especial favourite of Sir Robert Peel himself. 'I should like to know,' he said, in his Reply on the want of confidence motion in last June, 'who in this 'House has more steadily stood forward in defence of the exist-'ing Corn Law than I have done?'

We are inclined to think, that at this time he intended to retain unaltered the law of which he boasted to have been the steady defender. A short time afterwards, when he addressed the electors of Tamworth at the nomination, he expressly stated that he had come to the conclusion that the existing system should not be altered; and that our aim ought to be to render ourselves independent of foreign supply. Such must have been his plan, too, when he admitted the Duke of Buckingham to his Cabinet. He must have been aware that such an associate would not allow even the appearance of a breach in the walls which protect his monopoly. Even the speech of the 9th of February last, in which he brought forward the alterations, such as they are, which he now proposes, was that of a man yielding not to conviction, but to popular clamour. It contained scarcely a sentence that might not have been uttered by the fiercest and blindest champion of 'No surrender.' He began by denying the supposed amount of the existing commercial and manufacturing distress, and by maintaining that the distress, whatever it may be, has not been caused, or even promoted, by the Corn Laws, and will not be removed, or even palliated by their modification. Having thus disposed of those who are supported by profits, he proceeded to those who live by wages; and after stating, what is certainly true, that the bulk of the labouring classes in Great Britain are even now in a state superior to that of the bulk of the labouring classes on the Continent, he hinted (for he is too cautious to make such a statement in express words) that their superiority arose from the circumstance, that 'in this country meat is dear, corn is dear, and 'most of the leading articles which constitute the means of sub-'sistence and comfort, are dearer than in the Continental states.' He went on to repeat, that it is of the first importance to the 'permanent interests of the country, that, *as far as is possible*, we 'should be independent of foreign supply;' and that the foreign supply, if any, 'should be limited in quantity, and should be 'brought in only for the purpose of repairing an accidental and 'comparatively slight deficiency.' On these grounds he deprecated a fixed duty. He deprecated it because it woud not go to the utmost verge of possibility in excluding foreign supply—he deprecated it because it would substitute a permanent for a casual importation;—in other words, he deprecated it because it would

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give us a steady commerce and a settled currency;—because it would give a regular trade to the merchant, a regular demand to the manufacturer, and regular wages and regular employment to the workman.

Such premises appear to lead to no conclusion except the maintenance of the existing law, or adding to the severity of its restrictions and prohibitions. At length, however, he came to the reasons for a change. These he stated to be, first, that a general impression exists that some change is expedient; secondly, that a duty of 20s. having been found in ordinary seasons nearly prohibitory, a higher duty is a piece of useless insolence; and thirdly, that under the present law the importation of a whole year is generally concentrated within a short period, and at an inconvenient season, just before the home-grown corn is threshed. Of these arguments, we have no doubt that the first was that which most influenced Sir Robert Peel, but the last was the one on which he dwelt most. 'This consideration alone,' he remarked, 'ought to prevail with those who most approve 'the protection at present afforded, to listen with favour to some 'modifications of the existing law—modifications, in my opinion, 'likely to prove as advantageous to the agricultural interest as 'to any other class.'

These were the motives which he assigned for changing a law, in the defence of which he had for fourteen years 'steadily stood 'forth;'—motives so narrow and inadequate, that it is painful to believe that he really obeyed them. He supported his proposed alteration by no enlarged views of national welfare—by no plans to extend the trade, or increase the comforts, or relieve the distress, or appease the discontent of the people, or to increase the revenue of the State. Such objects he passed over, not because he is indifferent to them, but because he knew, and indeed avowed, that his proposed measure would not effect them. He avowed, that in proposing merely a shadow of a fixed duty—a duty still perplexed by a sliding scale, though sliding by more regular gradations, and with two intervals of rest—he was leaving the real principle of the existing Corn Law unaltered.

But though he refused to abandon the sliding scale, he might have materially improved the law; or, to speak more accurately, have materially diminished its mischief by an effectual reduction of duty. He stated the question for the consideration of Parliament to be, 'What was the amount of duty which would give 'a just and satisfactory protection to domestic agriculture?'—a question to be determined, according to Sir Robert Peel, by two considerations; first, the price which, on the whole, may be considered a sufficient encouragement to the grower; and se-

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condly, the price at which foreign corn can be introduced. On the second point he said nothing. The first he fixed for wheat at 56s. At this price, therefore, he subjected foreign wheat to a duty of 16s., rising to 20s., its maximum, when the price falls to 50s.; and sinking to 1s., its minimum, when the price rises to 73s. Instead of the sudden jumps of the present scale, two rests are interposed, one from 66s. to 68s., both inclusive, when the duty is stationary at 6s.; the other at 54s. and 53s., when it is stationary at 18s. As a further protection to domestic agriculture, he proposed to increase the number of towns from whose returns of prices the averages are framed;—an increase which, by letting in returns from cheaper markets, is expected to lower the Gazette price by between two and three shillings a-quarter. It must be recollected, therefore, in considering the probable results of the proposed duties, that about two shillings a-quarter will be taken from the apparent price, and therefore added to the duty; so that when wheat, under the present system of averages, would be stated at 56s. a-quarter, it will, under the new system, be stated at 54s.; and therefore incur an eighteen shilling, instead of a sixteen shilling duty.

But, even disregarding this new element in the calculation, it is clear that the proposed scale will be, as it is avowedly intended to be, in all ordinary seasons, prohibitory. Sir Robert Peel states the average price of wheat to be 56s., and at that price imposes a duty of 16s. Now, a duty of 16s. has been found from experience to be nearly prohibitory. Out of the thirteen millions and a half of quarters which have been entered for home consumption under the existing law, not a million and a half have been entered at a duty amounting to 16s.

A further, and perhaps a still clearer evidence as to the effect of the proposed duty, may be acquired by examining the question which Sir Robert Peel, after stating its importance, did not think fit to resolve; namely, the price at which foreign corn may be obtained. On this subject, however, we will not trouble our readers with statements of shipping charges and consular returns. The papers on corn presented to Parliament on the 4th March 1842, (No. 50,) contain information which appears to us to be more satisfactory.

The island of Jersey enjoys a free corn trade. She is not forced to have recourse to the nearest market, lest a cargo from a distant port should find that a sudden rise of duty has changed profit into loss. She can import at the time and from the country which affords the cheapest supply, and her demand is too slight to affect sensibly any market. Under such circumstances, the prices at which Jersey imports may be considered as the most

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favourable at which corn can be obtained in the British islands. We subjoin the prices of foreign wheat in Jersey since 1828, when the present Corn Law was passed, down to 1841 inclusive, the latest period for which the returns are published; and we have added from the same Parliamentary Paper the average price in England for the same period.

Year.	English Price.		Foreign Price.		
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	
1829	66	3	68	0	
1830	64	3	54	0	
1831	66	4	62	6	
1832	58	8	57	0	
1833	52	11	39	0	
1834	46	2	40	0	
1835	39	4	36	0	
1836	48	6	37	0	
1837	55	10	47	0	
1838	64	7	55	0	
1839	70	8	67	0	
1840	66	4	54	9	
1841	64	4	51	1	
	58	9½	51	5	(within minute fractions.)

It will be seen, that during that period the average price of foreign wheat in Jersey, which, as we have already stated, represents the most favourable price at which it could be obtained in England, has been 51s. 5d. per quarter; and that the average price in England has been 58s. 9½d. a quarter—a price which Sir Robert Peel considers excessive. At this price he imposes on foreign wheat a duty of 14s., which, added to the average price of 51s. 5d., raises the cost of importing foreign wheat to 65s. 5d., and of course prohibits it. Until British corn has risen to 62s., at which price the duty falls to 10s., and the price and duty taken together, of foreign corn, amount to 61s. 5d.—importation at average foreign prices cannot take place. Indeed it cannot take place even then, since the necessary results of the attempt to import—namely, a rise of the price abroad, and a fall here—would derange so even a balance. We have not the slightest doubt, that if Sir R. Peel's proposition be adopted, it will be under the law of 1842, as it was under the law of 1828. Nine-tenths of the importation will be confined to the occasions when the English price exceeds 65s., and the remainder will be sold at a loss by the victims of our perverse ingenuity.

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One of the great rules of commercial legislation, indeed of all legislation whatever, is to diminish the empire of chance, to enable men to reckon on the results of their actions, or at least not to disturb the elements of the calculation. The duties which conform best to this rule, are the ordinary *ad valorem* duties. The producer, the importer, and the warehouser, who deals in articles subject to such a duty, may calculate on a steadiness of profit even greater than can always be expected under a perfect freedom of trade; since what he gains or loses by a rise or fall in price, is in some measure balanced by an increase or diminution of duty. A fixed duty, though it contains no such principle of compensation, has the great advantage of stability. One portion of the cost of production, often a very important one, is unalterable. One of these duties, an *ad valorem* or a fixed rate, is adopted, with one exception, in our whole fiscal code; the fixed rate being generally applied to raw produce, the *ad valorem* rate to manufactured articles. The solitary exception—the single commodity as to which the law strives to aggravate the hazards of commerce—the single commodity on which it imposes a duty not *ad valorem*, but *contra valorem*—the single commodity as to which, when the price falls, the law doubles the importer's loss by a proportionate addition to the duty, and, when it rises, doubles his gain by a proportionate diminution of duty—the single commodity to which this monstrous legislation is applied, is the *food of the bulk of the inhabitants of Great Britain*. It is the commodity of which the legislating classes are the principal producers, and the labouring classes the principal consumers. It is the commodity from which the incomes of the former are derived, and on which those of the latter are spent. After this, who can wonder at Chartism?

We have often thought it a question, whether, if we had had to choose between the system of successive, but unforeseen prohibition, and free admission, under which we have suffered ever since 1815, and a permanent prohibition, we ought not to have preferred the latter. Now, of course, with a population increased forty-four per cent, Sir Robert Peel's proposed independence of foreign supplies has become impracticable—at least if the labouring classes are to be allowed to continue the use of wheat; but it was otherwise when the population of Great Britain did not exceed thirteen millions.

The average price of corn would have been somewhat higher—the rate of increase in the towns and manufacturing districts would have been retarded—the productiveness of industry would have been diminished—wages would therefore have been somewhat lower: we should have been a less numerous and a poorer

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people. But, on the other hand, we should have escaped one of the main causes of the alternations of prosperity and distress, of panic and confidence, of increased and diminished demand for labour, which, with an increased rapidity of recurrence, have been interspersed during the whole of that period. Our currency would not have been deranged by sudden demands. The specie in the vaults of the Bank of England, the narrow foundation on which our vast superstructure of credit rests, would not have been periodically threatened with exhaustion. The Bank would not have been forced, in its struggles to retain the gold which the imperious demand for food was driving out, to curtail its issues, to endanger the fortunes of the mercantile world, and to alter the standard of value by which all men's proceedings are regulated. Our trade would not have been deranged by being forcibly attracted in a certain direction at one period, and forcibly repelled at another. Our work-people would not have suffered at one period under the demoralizing influence of a sudden rise of wages, and at another under the still more demoralizing influence of a sudden depression. We are inclined to think that we should, on the whole, have been a better and a happier people.

Of course, we do not mean to prefer the condition of Great Britain under a supposed prohibition of the importation of corn, to its condition if importation had been subjected to a moderate fixed duty. Such a duty would, indeed, have produced the effect deprecated by Sir Robert Peel. It would have occasioned, except in the rare case of a succession of abundant harvests, a steady importation. It would have made us dependent on foreign nations for a portion of our regular supply. We should have had to endure the dependence of the rich on the poor, the dependence of England on Ireland, the dependence of Sir Robert Peel himself on his own tradesmen. But that supply would have been drawn from the whole world, instead of coming from the few ports whose proximity now enables them almost exclusively to take advantage of our unforeseen demands. If it be true, according to Sir Robert Peel, that the great corn producing countries of Europe, lying in the same latitude with this country, are affected by the same causes, and therefore participate in our scarcity, and in our abundance, what can be more insane than a policy which confines us to the least favourable markets? With the whole world competing for our custom, we should have purchased our supply at the price at which the producer could afford it; not at that which he could extort from our necessities. We should have purchased it for manufactures instead of for bullion; by extending our trade instead of by

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deranging it; by improving instead of deteriorating the welfare of our work-people; by augmenting the public revenue instead of diminishing it; by adding to the Customs without taking from the Excise. Such would have been the results, and such would now be the results of the substitution of a fixed duty for the sliding scale, which Sir Robert Peel has thought fit to grant to the prejudices of his supporters. We are told, however, that a fixed duty could not be maintained. Whether it could be maintained or not, would depend on its amount. A fixed duty of 20s., or even of 15s., certainly could not be supported, and ought not to be supported; but it is equally clear that a fixed duty of 8s., the amount proposed by the late Government, *could* be maintained. In the whole of the fourteen years during which the present Corn Law has existed, there has been only one (1839) in which the average price has been above 66s. 4d.; and there four, 1831, 1839, 1840, and 1841, in which it 66s. 3d. The latter, therefore, must be consider usually high. Yet in 1829, at this extravagant duty much exceeding 8s. was maintained. In that quarters of wheat were imported, at an average per quarter. In the rather dearer year of 1840, w 66s. 4d., a duty of 7s. 2d. a quarter was maintai quarters in that year paid that average amount a regular trade, a trade in which the abundance the South were allowed to supply the scarcity of the East and the North—when America, Hungary, and the Ukraine were admitted on equal terms with the countries in our own latitude, to which Sir Robert Peel confines us—when prudent merchants and corn-dealers could again venture to equalize prices, by reserving the excess of cheap years to supply the deficiency of dear ones—we do not believe that a price of 66s. 3d. a quarter would ever be reached. But if it were reached, the experience of 1829, nearly repeated in 1840, shows that a duty of 8s. could be maintained.

One of the most remarkable features of the long debates which followed Sir Robert Peel's proposal as to corn, was the abandonment by the leaders of the Tory party of most of the old bulwarks of monopoly. We were no longer told that the manufacturers are dependent on the agricultural market; and that it was their interest to pay an extra price for their bread, in the hope that a portion of that extra price would be laid out in the purchase of cottons and woollens. Sir R. Peel disclaimed all wish to prop up rents, or to defend the interests of any particular class. He left it to Sir E. Knatchbull to contend, that 'the duty of corn should be 'calculated in such a manner as to return to the landed interest

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'full security for their property, and for the station in the country 'which they had hitherto held;' and to be rewarded by indignant cheers from one side of the House, and by shame and silence on the other. Even the old fallacy, that wages depend on the price of corn—fall as it falls, and rise as it rises—was only hinted at by Sir R. Peel. He left that *falsism*, if we may be allowed to coin a term to designate what is both true and false, to be formally asserted only by his subordinates. He left to Lord Granby to maintain, that 'the experience of all Europe shows that the 'certain consequence of making food cheap is to lower wages;' to Sir Francis Burdett to affirm, that 'to the labouring classes the 'price of corn does not signify one straw;' to Mr Stuart Wortley to state, that 'if the price of corn were reduced, masters would 'reduce wages; that if sixpence a-week were saved to the artizan 'in corn, the diminution of wages would amount to 2s. 6d. a-'week:' to Mr Gladstone to talk of 'the fallacy of cheap bread;' and to Lord Mahon to argue, that 'the price of wheat being at 'Warsaw about 22s. a-quarter, the people were *therefore* mise-'rable and uneducated; and being in Amsterdam from 58s. to '63s. a-quarter, the artizan and labourer were there, as a natural 'result, in a comfortable condition.'

When such an error as this is maintained by men with the knowledge and sagacity of Mr Gladstone and Lord Mahon, and almost countenanced by Sir Robert Peel himself, it may be worth while, pressed as we are by questions equally important and still more urgent, shortly to expose it. It is easy to refute it directly. For this purpose it is necessary only to remind the reader, that wages depend on the supply, on the one hand, of labour, and, on the other hand, of the commodities intended for the use of the labourer. If the supply of the commodities intended to be used by the labourer is diminished, he is forced to work more hours for the same wages; to send his children, and perhaps his wife, to the factory; in short, to increase the supply of labour. If the supply of those commodities be increased, he can support himself by less exertion; he can keep his wife, and perhaps his eldest girl, at home; in short, he can diminish the supply of labour, and he does so. All this is clearly stated by Mr Milne, Mr Wood, Lord Mansfield, and Lord Lauderdale, in the evidence taken by the Committee of the House of Lords on Grain and the Corn Laws in 1814. We extract a portion of Mr Milne's evidence—the evidence of a man of great practical experience, both in agriculture and in manufactures.

'As a proprietor of land, have not you attended to the expense of agricultural labour in Scotland? I have.

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'Have you not also had large concerns as a manufacturer? I have.

'Where? At Aberdeen.

'In what line? Both in the cotton and linen manufacture.

'Can you state to the committee the effect, as far as your observation has gone, of the rise or fall of grain on the value of agricultural labour in Scotland?

'In Scotland, both agricultural labour and manufacturing labour are considerably affected by the rise and fall of grain and provisions. I have always considered, that when grain and other provisions rose, both manufacturing and agricultural labour fell; on the contrary, when provisions and grain fell, manufacturing and agricultural labour rose. The reason is obvious. Supposing there are in any one parish 100 labourers, who are able to do the work of that parish: if provisions rise, those labourers will do double work; of course, there being only a certain demand for labour, the labour falls: if provisions, on the contrary, fall, those labourers do much less work, probably not one-half; you must, therefore, seek more labourers; this makes a demand for labour, and labour rises.

'When you say that the labourer will do double work, do you not mean that the rise in the price of grain, and the difficulty of obtaining the same quantity, will urge him to do such a quantity of work as will enable him to have the usual enjoyments?

'Certainly; and very often it goes further than that, that he does too much work, and works beyond his strength, when grain is very high; at other times he is idle, when grain is low.

'Can you state to the committee any particular instance of agricultural work that you may have contracted for, in a dear year and a cheap year?

'I can state a very strong instance that happened to myself last year. I wished to enclose a farm at the latter end of the year 1812, or the beginning of 1813; I sent for my bailiff, and told him that I had enclosed, about five-and-twenty years ago, a good deal of land; that the enclosure at that time cost me 3s. per ell of 37 inches; that a neighbour of mine, two or three years ago, had made similar enclosures, which cost him 5s. per ell; that I thought he had paid too much, and that I ought to have it cheaper:—the answer I got from my bailiff was, that provisions were very high, that the labourers were doing double work, and that of course there was less demand for labour, and that he could do those enclosures last year at a cheaper rate than I had ever done them, and he actually executed this enclosure at about half-a-crown an ell. He again came to me, and told me that I had proposed to him to do some ditching and draining upon another farm, which I did not intend to do till about a twelvemonth after, from the circumstance of not being fully in possession of the whole farm; he requested I would allow him to do it that season, as he could do it so much cheaper, and that a great many labourers were idle from having a little work, in consequence of those who were employed doing double work; I desired him to go on with that labour likewise, and he actually contracted for very large ditches at sixpence an ell, which I do not think I could now do under from one shilling to eighteenpence, in consequence of the fall in provisions.

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'Can you give the committee any information respecting the effect of the price of provisions on manufacturing labour?

'When provisions are likely to fall, I have always been in the habit of giving orders to look out for more hands, imagining that more hands would be wanted to do the same quantity of labour; and when provisions got high, I never had much fear of getting plenty of hands, because they did more work.'

It may be said, however, that these are only temporary and immediate results, and that ultimately the supposed accordance between corn and wages would show itself. Has it shown itself in Ireland, where wages are one-third of the English prices, and corn is cheaper only by the expense of transport? Has it shown itself in the United States, where labour is worth a dollar a day, and wheat 40s. a quarter? But it may be asked, must not the labourer live? Of course he must; but not necessarily on corn. He may rise to meat, or sink to potatoes. Increase the supply of provisions, and he will live better. Add to that increase, improved trade and more regular employment, and he will live better still. Diminish the supply of provisions, and he will live worse. Increase the evil by a diminishing trade and irregular employment, and he will live worse still. But with the example of Ireland on the one side, and of America on the other, never talk of the 'fallacy of cheap bread;' or of 'wages rising and 'falling with the price of corn.'

On a matter, however, of such importance, it may be proper not merely to refute the error, but to show the causes which have occasioned able men to be entangled by it. The first and great cause probably is the fact, that high wages and a high price of provisions, and low wages and a low price of provisions, are in most countries coexistent; so a man who lives in a palace is generally wealthy, and a man who lives in a cottage is generally poor. But it would be rash to infer that wealth is occasioned by inhabiting a palace, or poverty by dwelling in a cottage. A high price of corn is not the cause, but the effect of high wages, and a low price of corn is not the cause, but the effect of low wages; just as a palace is the result, not the cause of wealth, and a cottage is the result, not the cause of poverty.

No principles are better established—no principles, indeed, are more true—than that the general price of corn must correspond with the price of that portion of the whole supply, which is regularly furnished at the greatest expense; and that the price of that portion consists entirely of the wages of the labourers who produce it, and the profits of the farmers who advance those wages. If the wages of a labouring family in one country are £40 a-year, and profits are ten per cent, the corn raised by that family's labour during a year must sell for £44. If in another

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country wages are L.20 a-year, an equal quantity of corn raised by the same labour may be sold for L.22. Halve wages in the former country, and double them in the latter, and prices will at least be reversed.

Again, in every corn-eating country, the great consumers of the corn are the labourers themselves. If wages rise, the principal commodity on which their wages are expended has a double tendency to rise; first, because it costs more to produce it; secondly, because the fund for purchasing it is increased. If wages fall, the principal commodity on which wages are expended has a double tendency to fall; first, because it costs less to produce it; and secondly, because the fund for purchasing it is diminished. As a general rule, it may be laid down, that high wages produce a high price of provisions, and low wages a low price of provisions; just as wealth is the cause of good clothes, and poverty is the cause of rags.

The principal exceptions to this rule are, the case of a fertile inadequately peopled country, in which the productiveness of agricultural labour makes up for its high price, as in the example of America; and the case of a country in which corn is raised, not for the use of the labourer, but for that of the more opulent classes, or for exportation. Such is the state of Ireland, and of Poland when our ports are open. In such a country as the valley of the Mississippi, though labour is dear, corn may be cheap, because little labour will produce a large quantity; in such a country as Poland, though labour is cheap, corn may be dear, because it will fetch a high price in England. A third exception might be afforded by an opulent manufacturing and commercial country, which should choose to purchase with the produce of its skill, its machinery, and its capital, the corn grown by the cheap labour of its less advanced neighbours, or from the fertile lands of less densely peopled regions.

Two accidental circumstances have concurred, the one in England, the other both in England and Scotland, to give currency to the error which we have been exposing. One was the maladministration of the unreformed English poor-law. In the pauperized districts, and there were few agricultural districts uninfected by pauperism, wages and employment were not a matter of contract, but of right, on the part of the labourer, and of duty on the part of the farmer or the overseer. The labourer was treated like a slave, paid not according to his services but his wants, and entitled not to a certain sum of money, but to the money, whatever were its amount, which would purchase a certain quantity of bread for each member of his family. Of course, under such a system the expense to the farmer of his plough-

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men, and of the horses which his ploughmen drove, was governed by the same causes. The wages of one rose and fell with the price of bread; just as the keep of the other rose and fell with the price of hay. Even now, though the scale has disappeared, its traces remain. The labourer with a family accustomed to wheaten bread, when its price rises beyond his means at his usual wages, threatens to enter the workhouse unless his wages are raised. The farmer is frightened at the probable increase of rates and submits; and infers that wages depend on the price of fine wheaten bread.

The other circumstance which promoted the error in question was the depreciation of the currency during the Bank Restriction Act. While the pound sterling gradually sunk till it was worth only 14s., of course, both wages and provisions had a tendency to rise, and, so far as that common cause affected them, to rise in precisely the same proportions. They did not, indeed, rise in the same proportions; as provisions were enhanced by a series of seasons the most calamitous on record, and by the obstacles opposed by the war to importation. In any ordinary state of things, wages would therefore have had a tendency to fall; but the stimulus given to trade and manufactures, by our enjoying the monopoly of the world, prevented their fall; and the alteration of the standard in which they were estimated gave them the appearance of rising. Every rise in the price of provisions, therefore, was followed by an apparent rise of wages; and among those who were ignorant of the real circumstances of the case, that is to say, among 999 out of every 1000 persons, the two ideas became connected as cause and effect.

Notwithstanding Sir Robert Peel's refusal to offer even a conjecture as to the revenue to be obtained under his Corn Bill, we have considered that bill as part of his financial scheme. We have done so on two grounds. First, because we cannot but believe that some revenue will be obtained, though a much smaller and more irregular one than would have been derived under a rational system. And secondly, because his management of an article which, under his predecessor's plan—the plan on the rejection of which his power is founded—would in last September have produced an additional revenue of more than L.700,000, must be considered as a financial measure. Like his alterations on the duties on coffee and on timber, it may be a measure for the diminution, not for the increase of the revenue, but still it is a measure of finance.

We now proceed to consider the remainder of his Budget, so far as he has thought fit to explain it.

We join in much of the praise which has been bestowed on his

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speech of the 11th of March. The arrangement is good, the statements are clear, there are many passages of powerful reasoning, and a few that rise to eloquence. We have no doubt that it will survive its occasion, and be long read as one of the best productions of a great artist. Indeed, when it shall be read merely as a study, it will appear a much better speech than it does now; for its great defect will then be unperceived. It will not be seen that it is a piece of elaborate sophistry. It will not be seen that the whole argument rests on one great palpable misrepresentation.

Sir Robert Peel first showed that, comparing the current revenue with the current expenditure, there is a deficit in the present year of rather more than two millions and a half; and that it is not an occasional but a permanent deficit, and must be remedied, therefore, not by temporary, but by permanent expedients. He then proposed to go through the possible expedients exhaustively.

Loans he of course rejected: they are mischievous palliations.

He then rejected further taxation on the articles of subsistence; believing that we have arrived at the limits of such taxation. The proof which he offered was, that the additional five per cent imposed in 1840 on the customs and excise, produced an increase of only one-half per cent. He stated that to raise the post-office duties would arrest a great experiment, which has not yet been fully tried; that to revive the taxes on salt, leather, or wool, or to impose a tax upon gas, would interfere with various compacts and commercial arrangements; and that further taxes on locomotion would prevent the labourer from carrying his only capital to the best market.

At length he came to consider the possibility of augmenting revenue by reduction of taxation; a subject which, probably because he felt it to be the portion of his premises most palpably false, he reserved to the last.

Having stated that in the cases of tobacco, hemp, sugar, malt, soap, paper, and advertisements, a reduction of duty had been followed by a diminution of revenue, he inferred that such must be the result of every reduction. And having, as he assumed, proved that every other mode of increasing the revenue is objectionable or inefficient, he proposed an Income tax.

Sir Robert Peel's proposition, that increase of revenue cannot be obtained by an alteration of duties, depends of course on the assumption, that the existing duties are in every case those by which the largest revenue can be obtained. In fact, it is only a different mode of stating the same proposition. But on looking through our existing tariff, or the tariff now proposed to Parliament, it will be seen that there is scarcely a single article of any

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importance on which different rates of duty are not imposed, depending on the place where it is produced, or from whence it is imported. Now it is obvious that, when different rates of duty are imposed on the same commodity, one only can be that by which the largest revenue is obtainable. Of the four rates imposed on coffee, 1s. 3d.—1s.—9d.—6d., one only can be the most productive. And when we find that the duty of 1s. 3d. produced in 1840, only L.671, and that of 9d. L.544,653, or nearly a thousand times as much; it seems strange to suppose that no revenue could be obtained by a reduction of the former. When a duty on sugar of L.3, 3s. produced a revenue of L.7647, and a duty of L.1, 4s. produced L.3,717,369, would a reduction of the former be unproductive? If a duty of L.2, 16s. 6d. per load on Baltic fir timber produced L.331,325, and a duty of 11s. 6d. on Canada fir timber L.304,540, is it not obvious that one or the other, or both must be wrong? Again, if out of 3,500,000 lbs. of silk, exported from France to England, only 1,800,000 pay duty,* so that the expense of paying duty and of smuggling appear to be nearly equal,—is it not probable that a small reduction of duty would turn the balance in favour of the fair trader, and increase both the revenue and the consumption?

But the relief wanted is, it is urged, *immediate*. Well, would not a diminution of differential duties afford immediate relief? If our warehouses are filled with commodities, excluded from our market by prohibitory duties, would no revenue be obtained by such a reduction as would admit them to be entered for home consumption, instead of being re-exported to countries enjoying a wiser financial system? It is perfectly true that, when a duty imposed for the purpose of revenue is reduced, the immediate effect is loss, and the ultimate gain remote. But when a differential duty is reduced, the whole result is gain, and the gain is immediate.

The fallacy of Sir Robert Peel's argument is so gross, that it almost implied disrespect for his hearers. He affirmed that the plan proposed by the late Government would not afford any immediate relief; and his reason was, that no immediate increase of revenue followed the reduction of duties on tobacco, hemp, sugar, malt, soap, paper, and advertisements; though the two measures had, in fact, nothing in common. The duties on tobacco, hemp, sugar, malt, soap, paper, and advertisements, were revenue duties. They had been originally imposed at the amount sup-

* See Mr Porter's evidence, Committee on the Import Duties, 2536, export.

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posed to be most productive. The presumption therefore was, that the reduction would occasion a loss. The duties which the late Government proposed to reduce, were duties originally proposed, not for the purpose of revenue, but of exclusion. They were duties for the purpose of excluding foreign sugar, foreign timber, and foreign corn. The presumption therefore was, that their reduction would produce a gain. And experience had shown that on one article, and in one month, it would have produced a gain of more than L.700,000. To confound things not only dissimilar but opposed, simply because they bear the common name of reduction, was worthy neither of the audience, the occasion, nor the speaker. And yet it was upon this fallacy that his whole argument rested; for he admitted that the expediency of an income tax depended on its *necessity*—on its being the only resource except a loan. The truth being, that we have to choose, not between an income tax and a loan, but between an income tax and cheaper bread, cheaper sugar, and cheaper coffee; and a nearer approach to equality in the burdens imposed on Canadian and Baltic timber.

We have said that the wide and bold principles of utility on which the rejected Budget of 1841 was founded, rendered it necessary that the Budget of 1842 should bear some resemblance to it. Sir Robert Peel therefore has his amended tariff. A very few years ago, such words from a Tory minister would have been ominous. They would have portended aggravated taxation and still more rapacious monopoly. But though, at length, we have rounded the corner, though we have left behind, never we trust to return towards it, the extreme point of fiscal misgovernment, the difference between the Whig and Tory tariff is as great as the improved intelligence of the times will allow. The Whig tariff proposed great improvements with respect to a few great articles. The Tory tariff proposes small improvements in a great many small articles. The Whig tariff proposed to improve the revenue by nearly two millions. The Tory tariff proposes to reduce it by about L.1,200,000. The Whig tariff was framed on the principle of diminishing differential duties; the Tory tariff not only perpetuates and extends them, but establishes them as the general and fundamental basis of the British customs. Whether a commodity, supposed to be capable of being exported from our colonies, have or have not been hitherto subjected to a differential duty—whether it have or have not hitherto entered into colonial trade, even if it be an article which, from its obscurity, has been left unenumerated—the monopoly of the British market is endeavoured to be secured to it by differential duties; never less than a 100 per cent, and often amounting to 500 per

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cent. We must say that the mere establishment of this most mischievous principle, appears to us far to outweigh the advantages, considerable as they are, offered by other portions of the scheme.

And yet the loss which this principle will occasion is one of the pretexts for the income tax. By raising the duty on colonial timber, and lowering that on foreign timber, until the advantage given to colonial timber was only 150 per cent, the late ministry expected to *add* L.600,000 a-year to the revenue. By abolishing the duty on Canadian timber, while a duty, amounting in many instances to more than 50 per cent on the value, is retained on foreign timber, Sir Robert Peel expects to *take* L.600,000 a-year from the revenue. This difference, L.1,200,000, is nearly half of the deficiency of the year. In the same spirit, while the duty on colonial coffee is to be reduced to 4d. a pound, that on foreign coffee is to be fixed at 8d. Sir Robert Peel estimates the consequent loss at L.170,000 a-year. Now, when we recollect that foreign coffee can be furnished so much more cheaply than colonial coffee—that in the face of a differential duty of 50 per cent, and the further expense, amounting to about one halfpenny a pound, of being sent round from the Cape of Good Hope, it supplies more than one-third of our consumption, and nearly one-half of our revenue—there can be no doubt that if, instead of increasing the differential duty from 50 to 100 per cent, we abolished it, and imposed on all coffee the duty most productive of revenue, we might substitute a gain for a loss.

The coffee of Hayti, grown by freemen, and fully equal in quality to the average of what we consume, might be obtained in this country, all expenses except duty paid, at rather less than fivepence per pound. It is sold at that price on the Continent of Europe. Our present tariff subjects it to a duty, including the expense of the voyage to the Cape, of about 190 per cent. Under Sir Robert Peel's tariff, it will remain subject to a duty of 160 per cent. For what purpose is this enormous duty retained, while that on British Colonial coffee is reduced by one half? For the purpose of revenue? No. Sir Robert Peel expects a heavy loss on the whole transaction. To repress slavery, or the slave trade? No. The bulk of the coffee excluded by our present tariff, and by our proposed differential duties, is free grown. For the benefit of the proprietors and mortgagees of coffee estates in the British West Indies? *This*, of course, is the real motive; but we do not believe that the object will be attained. The effect of the monopoly given to our colonies has been a competition for labour, which, operating on an untrained population, has produced among the negroes idleness,

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irregularity, carelessness;—in short, every quality that can make a labourer unprofitable; and, among the planters, a blind struggle to retain their existing cultivation—fruitless in most cases, and, where it has been effected, absolutely ruinous.* The reduction of the duty on colonial coffee by more than 33 per cent, will of course raise the price in bond—that is to say, the price extra the duty; since the dealer would be able to pay for it twopence a pound more than he now pays, if he continued to sell it at the same price; and to pay for it a penny a pound more than he now pays, if he should reduce the price to the consumer by a penny a pound.

The natural result seems to be, that the increased demand should produce increased cultivation—increased supply, a fall of price, and an increased consumption. This is the result expected by Sir Robert Peel. Paradoxical as it may appear, we believe that the result will be diminished cultivation—diminished supply—no reduction of price, and, of course, no increase of consumption. And we found our expectation on the double monopoly, which is the object of Sir Robert Peel's differential duties. The monopoly possessed by the negro against the planter, in all our principal colonies, makes increased cultivation impossible. Irregular work for a few days in the week, and a few hours in the day, gives the labourer all that he requires. His present idle and insubordinate habits are the result of a fund for the purchase of labour, larger than, with the existing habits of the labourers, can be beneficially employed. Increase that fund, as must be the necessary result of a rise in the price of coffee in bond, and the disproportion between the amount of wages offered by one party, and of labour offered by the other party, will be aggravated. The negro will act with respect to coffee as he has acted with respect to sugar. He will do less work for the same wages. Cultivation will decrease instead of increasing; the loss to the revenue will be aggravated by the loss to the consumer; and the friends of slavery, and of the slave-trade, will triumph in an additional instance of the failure of emancipation.

Some of the other errors and abuses of the proposed tariff will have a more extensive effect; but perhaps there is none that is more glaring than the proposal as to coffee. Such a wanton destruction of revenue looks almost like a determination to render an income tax necessary.

We feel some doubt, too, as to the propriety of abandoning, without enquiry, export duties amounting to L.108,000 a-year.

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* See Mr Burney's excellent observations on the Island of Trinidad.

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Sir R. Peel says that such duties are contrary to a sound principle of legislation. Of course *all* duties are mischievous, and are defensible only because a revenue is necessary; but we own that we see no reason for considering an export duty as more mischievous than an import duty. In fact, all duties on imports are also duties on exports. As all steady trade is barter, and as foreign nations can purchase only as far as they sell, every restriction on importation, is a restriction on the exportation of the British commodity, with which the foreign commodity would directly or indirectly have been purchased. The only difference is, that where a direct tax is laid on exports, the inconvenience is concentrated on the producer whose commodity is taxed. He is aware of the fact, and complains. When a tax is laid on imports, the inconvenience is diffused. The aggregate of the consequent interruption of exportation may be considerable; but the share of each producer is small, and perhaps unperceived even by himself. If the export duties in question can be shown to be specifically injurious, let them be abandoned.

But we shall feel great difficulty in believing them to be specifically injurious, until we find them specifically complained of. It is to be observed that, according to Sir Robert Peel's statement, a large part of them must fall almost entirely on the foreign consumer. He states, that they arise in part 'from the export of 'woollens and yarns *to countries with which we have no reciprocity* '*treaties*.' If this were true—if these export duties on woollens and yarns were imposed only on goods exported to countries with which we have no reciprocity treaties, the purchasers in those countries would unquestionably bear the whole burden. Our manufacturers and traders could not deal with them, on terms less profitable than those which they exact from others, and therefore must charge them with the duty as an addition to the price. But we believe that Sir Robert Peel, whose acquaintance with the laws of the customs is but recent, has committed an error. We believe that those duties are not affected by our reciprocity treaties, and apply as much to one foreign country as to another. If, however, he has not committed an error, he has furnished an irresistible argument against his own proposal.

On the other hand, we approve, so far as the question is merely an economical one, of the proposed export duty on coals. And when we consider that those whom it will affect are few and united—the most dangerous sort of enemies with whom a minister can have to contend—we admire the courage of the proposer. It has always appeared to us, that to export a commodity incapable of reproduction, on the *abundance*, not merely the *possession*—we repeat, on the *abundance*—of which our

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national existence depends, and which we are consuming at home on a rapidly increasing ratio—and to export it to our manufacturing rivals—is a preference of immediate to ultimate good, resembling that of the Dutch garrison who sold powder to their besiegers. It has been said that the principal export consists of small coals, and that if it is interrupted they will be wasted at the pit's mouth. We do not believe that this would now be the result. Small coals mixed with pitch constitute Grant's patent fuel, now extensively employed in Steam-Boats; and which, if the abundance of small coal reduce its price, must come into general use. Again, small coal, mixed with clay, forms one of the most efficient and most lasting kinds of fuel; as those who have visited Liege or Aix-la-Chapelle, where scarcely any other fuel is used, must have observed. For the last century, we have been wasting our coal with the recklessness with which our Scottish ancestors wasted their forests.

On economical grounds, therefore, we are grateful to Sir R. Peel for his interposition.

But the question is not purely economical. It has its political side. Our manufactures, and with our manufactures, our wealth, our power, and probably our constitution, are dependent on the importation of raw produce. Up to the present time, duties on the exportation of raw produce have been rare. Are we wise in setting an example of them? The restrictions of our different commercial codes have generally found zealous imitators. Are we sure that what we are now proposing will not be copied? Have we ascertained how far an export duty on coals may affect our pending negotiations with France? France is our principal customer for coals, and, with her irritable suspiciousness, is not unlikely to believe that the whole object of Sir R. Peel's Budget is to deprive her factories and steam-vessels of coal. The absurdity of this suspicion would not, in such a country as France, diminish its prevalence; or prevent its exercising an unfavourable influence on our commercial treaty. We do not offer these suggestions as conclusive against the proposed duty, but as matters to be deliberately considered by the public. The Cabinet of course has already considered them.

It is a strong proof of the rashness and inconsistency with which Sir Robert Peel's tariff has been framed, that the indirect effects of many of its provisions neutralize their direct influence; and sometimes convert what is apparently beneficial into evil. The export duty on coals is perhaps an instance. The admission of cattle, sheep, and fresh provisions, is perhaps another. Taken by itself, this innovation deserves the highest praise. It overthrows at once one of the strongholds of the landed mono-

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poly. It is beneficial to commerce, to navigation, to the revenue, and indeed to the whole community as consumers. But when we consider it, not as an insulated measure, but as connected with the proposed Corn Law, our praise must be qualified till it almost approaches to censure. At the price which he considers the average price, 56s. a quarter, he imposes on wheat a duty of 16s., or more than 27 per cent. He admits cattle, sheep, and meat, at duties not exceeding 9 per cent. As far as differential duties, amounting to 300 per cent, can effect the purpose, he encourages tillage, and discourages pasture. As manager of the affairs of the public, therefore, his conduct is precisely the reverse of that followed by every man in the management of his own affairs. The great object of every landlord is to prevent the conversion of pasture into tillage. For this purpose, land-agents and conveyancers accumulate all the resources of their ingenuity. We have no doubt that every lease granted by Sir Robert Peel contains an express reservation of £10 a-year of additional rent for every acre of pasture ground broken up—express clauses that this additional sum shall be considered as a rent, not as a penalty, and not be relievable against, at law or in equity; and further clauses enabling the landlord, not merely to compel payment of the additional rent, but further to re-enter and eject the tenant. Of all rural crimes, this seems to be the most heinous. But the act which he forbids and punishes as an individual, as a legislator, he bribes every tenant to commit. The great fault of British agriculture, and particularly of English agriculture, is the preponderance of white crops. This error—if what is knowingly done in the hope of immediate profit at the expense of the inheritance ought to be called an error—not only retards the improvement of our second-rate soils, but is one main cause of the increasing irregularity of our harvests. Much of the land now under the plough in England is productive only in extraordinary years. Five years out of six it is cultivated at a loss. The sixth, perhaps, comes a lucky season, when the harvest is good locally, but bad generally, and a prize is drawn—but a prize probably which does not make up for the previous blanks. It would be much better for landlord, tenant, and consumer, if such land were employed to produce the steady moderate return of pasture, instead of being an instrument for gambling in tillage. When we consider Sir Robert Peel's Corn Law and Cattle Law as one measure, and add to them his proposed exemption from income tax, of tenants under £300 a-year, and the consequent temptation to subdivide farms and waste capital, we doubt whether any other modern statesman has devised a system so mischievous to the agriculture of a country.

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We ought to add, that the copy of the proposed tariff which we are forced to use, is that which was first delivered. It is said to contain many typographical errors, which are to be corrected in a subsequent edition. We trust that the tripling the duty on oil-seed cakes is one of these errors. We trust that the subjecting the important articles of butter, cheese, eggs, and meat, and bark, to differential duties of 400 per cent, is another. We trust, too, that either this cause, or the commercial treaties still pending, may be the explanation of the numerous *ad valorem* duties of 30 per cent, and 25 per cent, which we see scattered through the tables. And, on the whole, although we cordially approve of many of the details, we close the schedules with deep regret, that, in the present state of political knowledge, a British Minister should believe that such a tariff is worth purchasing with an income tax.

We do not mean to express any fixed abhorence to an income tax, or to affirm even that it ought to be confined to a period of serious European war. If a real reform of the tariff were proposed to us—a reform which should not leave out or mismanage such commodities as butter, cheese, hops, sugar, coffee, and corn—a reform which should sweep away protective and differential duties—a reform which should prefer the interests of millions to those of thousands—and if it were found that such a reform would produce a temporary loss of revenue—for such a reform, we should be ready to pay the price, the heavy, but not the extravagant price, of a temporary income tax.

But the tax to which, for such a purpose, we would submit, would be a very different one from that which is now proposed.

In the first place, it would include all who could be held able to pay it. Every tax, to be just, must either be self-imposed, or be proportioned to the means of the payer. Taxes upon consumption which do not affect the necessaries of life, conform to the first of these rules—they are self-imposed. 'In the price of 'threepence-halfpenny,' says Adam Smith, 'now paid for a pot 'of porter, the different taxes may amount to three-halfpence. 'If a workman can conveniently spare these three-halfpence, he 'buys a pot of porter. If he cannot, he contents himself with a 'pint, and as a penny saved is a penny got, he gains a farthing 'by his temperance. He pays the tax as far as he can afford to 'pay it, and every act of payment is perfectly voluntary—what he 'can avoid if he chooses to do so.' A tax deducting an equal per centage from the revenue of all permanent property, conforms to the second rule; it is proportioned to the means of the payer. But taxes on the necessaries of life are unjust, since they take

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as much from a family with L.30 a-year, as from a family with L.300 a-year. Taxes upon ground rents, on the devolution of personal property, on the conveyance of land, or on legal proceedings, are equally unjust. They select particular classes for taxation. Taxes imposed on persons possessing a given amount of property or income, and excluding others, except on the ground of inability to pay, are equally unjust, and far more dangerous. There are no marked divisions in society depending on the nature of property. Proprietors of ground rents, lands, or funds, are interspersed among men of every condition. But society is divided, according to the amount of property, into marked classes, —the poorer being always the more numerous. To hold out any one class as the subjects of exclusive taxation, is to hold out a minority as the objects of legal plunder. Sir Robert Peel proposes to exempt all incomes under L.150 a-year, that is to say, to exempt more than nine-tenths of the community. The return of the number of persons receiving dividends in 1838—the last year for which we have seen it—states that out of 188,498 such persons, 172,096 received an amount not exceeding L.100 a-year; 10,001 an amount between L.100 and L.200 a-year; and only 6401 an amount exceeding L.200 a-year.* We have no doubt that the persons with incomes between L.150 or L.250 a-year, far exceed in number all whose incomes are larger. Are *they* not likely to demand exemption? When once an injustice has been committed, when once a line has been drawn, depending on the arbitrary will of the legislator, what security have we that it will be adhered to? What security have we that it will not be gradually pushed up, until the opulent become what they were in the Greek republics—mere trustees for the State? The proposed exemption may be a clever party measure; it may render the tax a favourite with the ten-pound householders, and with all who are below them; it may gratify their hatred of the middle classes, and of the aristocracy; but, in the pursuit of immediate popularity, Sir Robert Peel has entered on a course in which it will be difficult to stop, and ruinous to advance. This is his first movement towards the revolutionary party which infests both sides of the House; and ranges itself, according to each member's constituency, under the ultra Tory or ultra Radical banner. We presume that he has well weighed its consequences.

In the second place, the tax to which we would submit must be confined to that portion of income which can fairly be called

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* Porter's *Tables*, Part ix. p. 5.

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revenue; that it is to say, to the portion which can be spent without impairing the capital. If a man has lent L.20,000, to be repaid to him with interest by four annual payments, can he be said to have an income of L.6000 the first year, L.5750 the second, L.5500 the third, and L.5250 the fourth?* Can his real annual income be said to be more than L.1000? Yet, as far as we are at present acquainted with Sir Robert Peel's plan, he will be taxed, in the first place, as if his whole receipts were income; and secondly, the income arising from the L.5000, paid off and reinvested by him every year, will be again subject to taxation; so that, in fact, he will be taxed every year as if his income were L.6000 a-year; that is to say, six times more than if he had lent his money on mortgage at five per cent, and ten times as much as if he had purchased a landed estate with it. What can be said of the fairness of a tax which, the value of the property in each case being the same, taxes one man L.18 a-year, and the other L.180?

Of course, we would carry our principle further. Can the merchant, who derives a profit apparently high from a hazardous business; the professional man, who, if he were to spend all that he gains during his few years of eminence and health, would leave his family beggars; the clergyman and the public officer, a third of whose income is employed in insuring his life, or in effecting an accumulation which is to serve as an insurance;—can any one of these be said to possess, as a means of expenditure, all that is called his income?

But it may be said, that to attempt to obviate all these anomalies would give a great deal of trouble, and diminish the productiveness of the tax. Suppose that it would. To refuse enquiry because it would cost trouble—to refuse redress because it would cost money—to commit blind wholesale injustice, in order to save the annoyance of having to investigate, and the expense of having to exempt; this again is a conduct to which the term revolutionary, in the most hateful sense of that word, must be applied. This is a conduct which would have been revolting if it had been suggested by a demagogue to an assembly of the people; or by a committee of public safety to a national convention. It could scarcely have been excused, if it had been offered as a sudden expedient to a struggling nation, to meet an unexpected emergency. It is now proposed to a British Parliament

* See Mr Attwood's speech, March 23, 1842, where he states this to be his own case; the very government which imposes the tax being his debtor.

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by a Conservative minister, after six months of deliberation, to supply a voluntary deficiency.

Nor is the excuse, so far as the difficulty of the investigation is concerned, founded on fact. The case of precarious or temporary investments seems to present no difficulty whatever. We know that money cannot, as a general rule, be safely invested so as to produce interest at more than 4 per cent. Whatever is received beyond this is a compensation, generally an inadequate compensation, for risk. Let the income derived from all money investments be calculated at 4 per cent on the sum which they cost; or, when that cannot be ascertained, at 4 per cent on their value. There can be no difficulty in this; and we cannot suppose that the most rapacious financier who has ever oppressed a nation would venture to object to it, on the mere ground that it would make the tax somewhat less productive. The case of professional men, including clergymen and public officers, is less susceptible of accurate adjustment; but the supposition that such men in general put by, and that under a sense of obligation, one third of their professional income, is, we believe, rather under the truth. That the amount must vary according to circumstances; that an old bachelor may venture to spend more than the man with a family; a man with an independent fortune more than one whose profession is the only fund from which a provision for ill health, or for children, is to be accumulated—all this is obvious; but the impossibility of minute discriminating justice is no excuse for universal indiscriminate injustice. What we should suggest, if we were framing an income-tax, would be, that such incomes should be rated at two-thirds of the incomes derived from investments. So that under the proposed rate they would pay L.1, 18s. 10d. and a fraction per cent, instead of L.2, 18s. 4d.

With respect to the incomes derived from trades, the data are more doubtful. We suggest, as the nearest approximation at which we have been able to arrive, that the average gross profits of successful trade may be taken at 10 per cent on the capital employed; and that of this amount 4 per cent may be considered as interest, 3 per cent as the remuneration for trouble, and 3 per cent as the compensation for occasional loss—leaving the average net profit 7 per cent, or about double what can be obtained from the funds. On large capitals the compensation for trouble may be smaller, and that for risk larger; the additional trouble taken by the smaller capitalist enabling him to diminish his risk. If we assume, as we are justified in doing, that the trader ought to lay by from the three per cent, which he is supposed to receive for his trouble, one-third—the amount supposed to be reserved by professional men—his real income, the

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income which he can afford to spend, will be 6 per cent on his capital. We should suggest, therefore, if we were proposing an income tax, that traders should be assessed at a supposed income of 6 per cent on their capital; or, if they did not think fit to declare their capital, then, at six-tenths of their declared incomes. The extra profit, which is a mere compensation for risk, cannot be fairly taxed, unless the State return to the trader, when he has sustained a loss, what it took from him when his speculations were successful.

The objection which has been raised by Sir Robert Peel,* that, if the tax is to depend on the tenure of the income, provision must be made for the case of a jointress, or for that of the tenant for life of an estate which, on his death, is to go to a distant relation, scarcely deserves an answer. The instances in which property is settled on a person for his life, without power to make a provision out of it for his children, are almost too rare for calculation; those in which it can be subjected to a jointure, and yet not charged for the benefit of children, are still rarer. And if it were thought fit to provide for them by assessing the income of such a tenant for life, or of such a jointress, as if it were a professional income, where would be the difficulty?

But modify an income tax as we will, it has this inherent vice, that it is, to a considerable extent, a tax upon the creation of capital. And yet it is remarkable that this vice has often been considered as a merit. It has been often said in its praise, that it affects the hoards of the miser. Those who use such language cannot know of what the hoards of a miser consist. They consist of ships, of docks, of canals, of railways, of farm buildings, of farm stock, of reclaimed lands, of mills, of machinery; in short, of all that produces wealth and enjoyment—of all the sources of employment to the people, rent to the landlord, and revenue to the Government. Every man must spend every shilling of his income, but he may spend it productively or unproductively. If a man with L.2000 a-year spends the whole unproductively, he gives the whole of it every year in exchange for commodities or services for his own enjoyment. If he spend half of it productively, or, in common language, if he save half of it, he employs that half, either himself, or through the agency of some person to whom he lends it, or whom he pays for managing it, in creating new sources of future revenue. Such a man, at the end of twenty years, has added L.20,000 to the capital of the country—an addition which would not have existed if, instead of paying men to drain or to plant, to erect steam-engines, or to

* See his speech, 24th March 1842.

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sink mines, he had paid them to wait behind his chair, or attend to his hothouses, or his hounds. Now, if the man with L.2000 a-year, whom we have supposed to save half his income, be subjected to a tax falling on his expenditure, the only consequence will be his personal inconvenience. He has so much less to spend, the Government so much more. He may be forced to discharge a footman—the Government is enabled to engage a soldier. But if the tax fall on the portion of his income which he saves, it forces him to discharge, not a footman, but a man whose services created every year a capital exceeding his wages. He is forced to withdraw a workman from a farm-yard, a railway, or a manufactory. Suppose such a man to be taxed 50 per cent on his income, and to pay the tax one-half out of what he had been accustomed to spend, and the other half out of what he had been accustomed to save, the L.500 a-year paid out of his expenditure, if it were paid for twenty years, would not affect the capital of the country; but the L.500 paid out of his savings would take L.500 from what would have been the capital of the country the first year, L.1000 the second, L.1500 the third, and so on, more and more, during every year that it lasted. For this reason, because they fall principally on unproductive expenditure, we prefer the assessed taxes to all other forms of direct taxation. If any other form of direct taxation be necessary, we prefer a direct tax on every man's declared expenditure.

Such a tax would have little tendency to diminish the accumulation of capital: to a certain extent, indeed, it would have a tendency to promote it, since many men would save in order to avoid the tax. It would have the further advantage of being, to a considerable extent, self-imposed. Its assessment, too, would be far less painful. Few persons would feel much objection to declare their expenditure, or to suffer it to be notorious; because its notoriety would neither affect their credit nor injure their vanity; and, so far as professional men and traders are concerned, expenditure is more easily ascertained than income.

We have said nothing of the vexatious procedure by which the proposed income tax is to be assessed or enforced; nor of the evasion, fraud, and demoralization which it will introduce; nor of its tendency to drive British property into foreign funds, and British subjects into foreign countries; nor of the danger of promoting extravagance, or even war, by a source of revenue so easy of increase. We have omitted these, and many other branches of the subject, not because we undervalue their importance, but simply because we cannot discuss them, at present, as we could wish.

The same reason prevents our adverting to the details of the debate upon the Budget, so far as it had proceeded at the

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time of writing these pages, in the House of Commons. It is a striking exhibition of the predominance of Sir Robert Peel over his immediate associates, a predominance as marked in 1842 as it was in 1835. Whether he is equally absolute in the Cabinet, is a different question—a question which a comparison of the measures which he brings forward, with those which he must be supposed to wish to bring forward, would lead us to decide negatively. But in the House it is clear, that either from choice or from necessity, (we suspect from necessity,) he represents every department, and refuses to be encumbered by assistance. Another remarkable characteristic of the debate, has been the superiority of the Opposition. Their cause, without doubt, gives them a great advantage; but it might have been expected that they would have had to buy their victories in discussion a little dearer.

Before we quit this part of the subject, we must express the regret—which we believe to be general throughout the country among all who are opposed to an income tax—that this part of the Budget was not met, by Lord John Russell, with an immediate expression of decided hostility. The vigorous supporter of the repudiated Budget of the preceding year, would have been guilty of no inconsistency—no impropriety—in opposing *in toto* the Budget of 1842. But that the Income tax section of it—that a proposal calculated to startle, and to meet a hesitating and grudging acquiescence even under the pressure of an expensive war for a just cause—should not have encountered, when brought forward in peace, and under no alarming destitution of other expedients, the instant resistance of the clear-sighted and firm-minded leader of the Opposition, seems to us truly surprising. The prudence and candour of his nature may have here seduced him into a great practical error. It may be that he was unwilling, without consulting his party, to follow his own impulses, and act on his own judgment. The result has been most unfortunate. The interposition of a whole week between the announcement of the measure and of the resistance, led to a suspicion that it was possible that it might be acquiesced in. It seems to us very clear that the public ought not to have been allowed, for a single day, to contemplate such a possibility. We now know that it was not contemplated by the leaders of the Liberal party; and we think that, in such a cause, they might have ventured to assume the responsibility of answering for the opinions and conduct of the whole body of their supporters.

It is scarcely possible that this paper should come into the hands of any one who, not having heard, has not read, Lord Brougham's very cogent speech, in the House of Lords, on the 17th of March. It will be seen that we differ from his Lordship

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as to the necessity of an income tax; but, as to the general evils of such a tax, and as to the specific mischief and injustice of the details of the present measure, we are delighted to find ourselves supported by his high authority. In one respect, indeed, he goes further than we do. We have suggested that incomes derived from personal exertion should pay at two-thirds of the rate of incomes derived from property. Lord Brougham proposes that they should pay only one-third. We tax them, therefore, twice as heavily as he does. We leave the public to decide between the two plans, and should not be dissatisfied if the difference were divided. But we think that Lord Brougham's proposal, of which we were not aware until the passages containing our own had been completed, proves that we have not been too liberal in our exemption.

Before concluding, we will, in despite of the ridicule which generally follows unconsummated predictions, hazard one.

We are convinced that if the income tax be persisted in, it will ultimately be fatal to the present Administration. We believe that it will be carried. We believe that a combination between the country gentlemen, who think that they are raising a bulwark around the corn-law; the planters, who think that they are securing the sugar-law; and the members whose constituencies rejoice in it as a blow to the aristocracy, will force it through the House. But when once it has come into operation—when the painful exposure and the humiliating discussion have been undergone—when men have felt what it is to tremble at the knock of a tax-gatherer, and to deprecate the suspicions of a commissioner—when the pain of loss has been embittered by that of degradation;—a detestation of the tax will arise which all the discipline of the Tory party will be unable to control. Unfortunately for that party, the eminent person who leads it is not distinguished for political foreknowledge. He has often yielded to circumstances, but always too late. If he should perceive the signs of the gathering storm in time to change his course—if the working of his new Corn Law should be such as to convince his followers that an alteration productive of a steady price, and a steady revenue, is expedient—if a treaty with Brazil should give him a fair pretext to add a million and a half to the revenue from sugar—if he can open his budget for 1843 by a promise that the income tax shall expire before 1844, and it shall be believed that he will perform that promise;—he may be able, to a certain degree, to skin over the wound which its introduction has inflicted on his influence among his real supporters. Many of them, indeed, are lost to him irretrievably. Some detest the injustice of his measure, others are frightened at its democratic tendency, and all writhe under its severity. It is probable that

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he is not aware—no minister, perhaps, ever is aware—of the deep and bitter feeling of distrust and dissatisfaction which he has roused. He never will again be popular with his own party, and he has too much experience not to know the value of the praise with which his fiercest enemies have endeavoured to blind him. He knows well with what motives and with what sincerity he is called bold, direct, and honest. Still, however, while they believe it to be their interest, a large portion of the Tory party may continue to serve under him against the Whigs. But they will make no sacrifices in his defence. They will volunteer no expensive contest for him. They will not endanger their seats in his service. They will refuse no pledge against an income tax. If his power imply a continuance of that tax, his majority, strong as it may now appear, will have crumbled away long before the period which he has ventured to assign for the duration of the tax shall have expired.

ART. VII.—*Frederic the Great and his Times.* Edited, with an Introduction, by THOMAS CAMPBELL, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1842.

THIS work, which has the high honour of being introduced to the world by the author of 'Lochiel' and 'Hohenlinden,' is not wholly unworthy of so distinguished a *chaperon*. It professes, indeed, to be no more than a compilation; but it is an exceedingly amusing compilation, and we shall be glad to have more of it. The narrative comes down at present only to the commencement of the Seven Years' War, and therefore does not comprise the most interesting portion of Frederic's reign.

It may not be unacceptable to our readers that we should take this opportunity of presenting them with a slight sketch of the life of the greatest king that has, in modern times, succeeded by right of birth to a throne. It may, we fear, be impossible to compress so long and eventful a story within the limits which we must prescribe to ourselves. Should we be compelled to break off, we shall, when the continuation of this work appears, return to the subject.

The Prussian monarchy, the youngest of the great European states, but in population and revenue the fifth amongst them, and in art, science, and civilization entitled to the third, if not to the second place, sprang from a humble origin. About the beginning of the fifteenth century, the marquisate of Brandenburg was bestowed by the Emperor Sigismund on the noble family of Hohenzollern. In the sixteenth century that family em-

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braced the Lutheran doctrines. Early in the seventeenth century it obtained from the king of Poland the investiture of the duchy of Prussia. Even after this accession of territory, the chiefs of the house of Hohenzollern hardly ranked with the electors of Saxony and Bavaria. The soil of Brandenburg was for the most part sterile. Even round Berlin, the capital of the province, and round Potsdam, the favourite residence of the Margraves, the country was a desert. In some tracts, the deep sand could with difficulty be forced by assiduous tillage to yield thin crops of rye and oats. In other places, the ancient forests, from which the conquerors of the Roman empire had descended on the Danube, remained untouched by the hand of man. Where the soil was rich it was generally marshy, and its insalubrity repelled the cultivators whom its fertility attracted. Frederic William, called the Great Elector, was the prince to whose policy his successors have agreed to ascribe their greatness. He acquired by the peace of Westphalia several valuable possessions, and among them the rich city and district of Magdeburg; and he left to his son Frederic a principality as considerable as any which was not called a kingdom.

Frederic aspired to the style of royalty. Ostentatious and profuse, negligent of his true interests and of his high duties, insatiably eager for frivolous distinctions, he added nothing to the real weight of the state which he governed: perhaps he transmitted his inheritance to his children impaired rather than augmented in value, but he succeeded in gaining the great object of his life, the title of king. In the year 1700 he assumed this new dignity. He had on that occasion to undergo all the mortifications which fall to the lot of ambitious upstarts. Compared with the other crowned heads of Europe, he made a figure resembling that which a Nabob or a Commissary, who had bought a title, would make in the company of Peers whose ancestors had been attainted for treason against the Plantagenets. The envy of the class which he quitted, and the civil scorn of the class into which he intruded himself, were marked in very significant ways. The elector of Saxony at first refused to acknowledge the new Majesty. Louis the Fourteenth looked down on his brother King with an air not unlike that with which the Count in Molière's play regards Monsieur Jourdain, just fresh from the mummery of being made a gentleman. Austria exacted large sacrifices in return for her recognition, and at last gave it ungraciously.

Frederic was succeeded by his son, Frederic William, a prince who must be allowed to have possessed some talents for administration, but whose character was disfigured by the most odious vices, and whose eccentricities were such as had

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never been seen out of a madhouse. He was exact and diligent in the transaction of business, and he was the first who formed the design of obtaining for Prussia a place among the European powers, altogether out of proportion to her extent and population, by means of a strong military organization. Strict economy enabled him to keep up a peace establishment of sixty thousand troops. These troops were disciplined in such a manner, that placed beside them, the household regiments of Versailles and St James's would have appeared an awkward squad. The master of such a force could not but be regarded by all his neighbours as a formidable enemy, and a valuable ally.

But the mind of Frederic William was so ill regulated, that all his inclinations became passions, and all his passions partook of the character of moral and intellectual disease. His parsimony degenerated into sordid avarice. His taste for military pomp and order became a mania, like that of a Dutch burgomaster for tulips; or that of a member of the Roxburghe club for Caxtons. While the envoys of the Court of Berlin were in a state of such squalid poverty as moved the laughter of foreign capitals; while the food placed before the princes and princesses of the blood-royal of Prussia was too scanty to appease hunger, and so bad that even hunger loathed it—no price was thought too extravagant for tall recruits. The ambition of the king was to form a brigade of giants, and every country was ransacked by his agents for men above the ordinary stature. These researches were not confined to Europe. No head that towered above the crowd in the bazars of Aleppo, of Cairo, or of Surat, could escape the crimps of Frederic William. One Irishman more than seven feet high, who was picked up in London by the Prussian ambassador, received a bounty of near L.1300 sterling—very much more than the ambassador's salary. This extravagance was the more absurd, because a stout youth of five feet eight, who might have been procured for a few dollars, would in all probability have been a much more valuable soldier. But to Frederic William, this huge Irishman was what a brass Otho, or a Vinegar Bible, is to a collector of a different kind.

It is remarkable, that though the main end of Frederic William's administration was to have a great military force, though his reign forms an important epoch in the history of military discipline, and though his dominant passion was the love of military display, he was yet one of the most pacific of princes. We are afraid that his aversion to war was not the effect of humanity, but was merely one of his thousand whims. His feeling about his troops seems to have resembled a miser's feeling about his money. He loved to collect them, to count them, to see them

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increase; but he could not find it in his heart to break in upon the precious hoard. He looked forward to some future time when his Patagonian battalions were to drive hostile infantry before them like sheep. But this future time was always receding; and it is probable that, if his life had been prolonged thirty years, his superb army would never have seen any harder service than a sham fight in the fields near Berlin. But the great military means which he had collected, were destined to be employed by a spirit far more daring and inventive than his own.

Frederic, surnamed the Great, son of Frederic William, was born in January 1712. It may safely be pronounced that he had received from nature a strong and sharp understanding, and a rare firmness of temper and intensity of will. As to the other parts of his character, it is difficult to say whether they are to be ascribed to nature, or to the strange training which he underwent. The history of his boyhood is painfully interesting. Oliver Twist in the parish workhouse, Smike at Dotheboys' Hall, were petted children when compared with this wretched heir-apparent of a crown. The nature of Frederic William was hard and bad, and the habit of exercising arbitrary power had made him frightfully savage. His rage constantly vented itself to right and left in curses and blows. When his majesty took a walk, every human being fled before him, as if a tiger had broken loose from a menagerie. If he met a lady in the street, he gave her a kick, and told her to go home and mind her brats. If he saw a clergyman staring at the soldiers, he admonished the reverend gentleman to betake himself to study and prayer, and enforced this pious advice by a sound caning, administered on the spot. But it was in his own house that he was most unreasonable and ferocious. His palace was hell, and he the most execrable of fiends—a cross between Moloch and Puck. His son Frederic and his daughter Wilhelmina, afterwards Margravine of Bareuth, were in an especial manner objects of his aversion. His own mind was uncultivated. He despised literature. He hated infidels, papists, and metaphysicians, and did not very well understand in what they differed from each other. The business of life, according to him, was to drill and to be drilled. The recreations suited to a prince, were to sit in a cloud of tobacco-smoke, to sip Swedish beer between the puffs of the pipe, to play backgammon for three-halfpence a rubber, to kill wild hogs, and to shoot partridges by the thousand. The Prince-Royal showed little inclination either for the serious employments or for the amusements of his father. He shirked the duties of the parade—he detested the fume of tobacco—he had no taste either for backgammon or for field-sports. He had received from nature an

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exquisite ear, and performed skilfully on the flute. His earliest instructors had been French refugees, and they had awakened in him a strong passion for French literature and French society. Frederic William regarded these tastes as effeminate and contemptible, and, by abuse and persecution, made them still stronger. Things became worse when the Prince-Royal attained that time of life at which the great revolution in the human mind and body takes place. He was guilty of some youthful indiscretions, which no good and wise parent would regard with severity. At a later period he was accused, truly or falsely, of vices, from which History averts her eyes, and which even Satire blushes to name —vices such that, to borrow the energetic language of Lord-Keeper Coventry, 'the depraved nature of man, which of itself 'carrieth man to all other sin, abhorreth them.' But the offences of his youth were not characterized by any peculiar turpitude. They excited, however, transports of rage in the King, who hated all faults except those to which he was himself inclined; and who conceived that he made ample atonement to heaven for his brutality, by holding the softer passions in detestation. The Prince-Royal, too, was not one of those who are content to take their religion on trust. He asked puzzling questions, and brought forward arguments which seemed to savour of something different from pure Lutheranism. The King suspected that his son was inclined to be a heretic of some sort or other, whether Calvinist or Atheist his majesty did not very well know. The ordinary malignity of Frederic William was bad enough. He now thought malignity a part of his duty as a Christian man, and all the conscience that he had stimulated his hatred. The flute was broken—the French books were sent out of the palace—the prince was kicked, and cudgelled, and pulled by the hair. At dinner the plates were hurled at his head—sometimes he was restricted to bread and water—sometimes he was forced to swallow food so nauseous, that he could not keep it on his stomach. Once his father knocked him down, dragged him along the floor to a window, and was with difficulty prevented from strangling him with the cord of the curtain. The queen, for the crime of not wishing to see her son murdered, was subjected to the grossest indignities. The Princess Wilhelmina, who took her brother's part, was treated almost as ill as Mrs Brownrigg's apprentices. Driven to despair, the unhappy youth tried to run away; then the fury of the old tyrant rose to madness. The prince was an officer in the army; his flight was therefore desertion, and, in the moral code of Frederic William, desertion was the highest of all crimes. 'Desertion,' says this royal theologian, in one of his half-crazy letters, 'is from hell. It is a work of the children of

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'the devil. No child of God could possibly be guilty of it.' An accomplice of the prince, in spite of the recommendation of a court-martial, was mercilessly put to death. It seemed probable that the prince himself would suffer the same fate. It was with difficulty that the intercession of the States of Holland, of the Kings of Sweden and Poland, and of the Emperor of Germany, saved the House of Brandenburg from the stain of an unnatural murder. After months of cruel suspense, Frederic learned that his life would be spared. He remained, however, long a prisoner; but he was not on that account to be pitied. He found in his jailers a tenderness which he had never found in his father; his table was not sumptuous, but he had wholesome food in sufficient quantity to appease hunger; he could read the *Henriade* without being kicked, and play on his flute without having it broken over his head.

When his confinement terminated, he was a man. He had nearly completed his twenty-first year, and could scarcely, even by such a parent as Frederic William, be kept much longer under the restraints which had made his boyhood miserable. Suffering had matured his understanding, while it had hardened his heart and soured his temper. He had learnt self-command and dissimulation; he affected to conform to some of his father's views, and submissively accepted a wife, who was a wife only in name, from his father's hand. He also served with credit, though without any opportunity of acquiring brilliant distinction, under the command of Prince Eugene, during a campaign marked by no extraordinary events. He was now permitted to keep a separate establishment, and was therefore able to indulge with caution his own tastes. Partly in order to conciliate the king, and partly, no doubt, from inclination, he gave up a portion of his time to military and political business, and thus gradually acquired such an aptitude for affairs as his most intimate associates were not aware that he possessed.

His favourite abode was at Rheinsberg, near the frontier which separates the Prussian dominions from the duchy of Mecklenburg. Rheinsberg is a fertile and smiling spot, in the midst of the sandy waste of the Marquisate. The mansion, surrounded by woods of oak and beech, looks out upon a spacious lake. There Frederic amused himself by laying out gardens in regular alleys and intricate mazes, by building obelisks, temples, and conservatories, and by collecting rare fruits and flowers. His retirement was enlivened by a few companions, among whom he seems to have preferred those who, by birth or extraction, were French. With these inmates he dined and supped well, drank freely, and amused himself sometimes with concerts, some-

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times with holding chapters of a fraternity which he called the Order of Bayard; but literature was his chief resource.

His education had been entirely French. The long ascendency which Louis XIV. had enjoyed, and the eminent merit of the tragic and comic dramatists, of the satirists, and of the preachers who had flourished under that magnificent prince, had made the French language predominant in Europe. Even in countries which had a national literature, and which could boast of names greater than those of Racine, of Molière, and of Massillon—in the country of Dante, in the country of Cervantes, in the country of Shakspeare and Milton—the intellectual fashions of Paris had been to a great extent adopted. Germany had not yet produced a single masterpiece of poetry or eloquence. In Germany, therefore, the French taste reigned without rival and without limit. Every youth of rank was taught to speak and write French. That he should speak and write his own tongue with politeness, or even with accuracy and facility, was regarded as comparatively an unimportant object. Even Frederic William, with all his rugged Saxon prejudices, thought it necessary that his children should know French, and quite unnecessary that they should be well versed in German. The Latin was positively interdicted. 'My son,' his majesty wrote, 'shall not learn Latin; and, more 'than that, I will not suffer any body even to mention such a 'thing to me.' One of the preceptors ventured to read the Golden Bull in the original with the Prince-Royal. Frederic William entered the room, and broke out in his usual kingly style.

'Rascal, what are you at there?'

'Please your majesty,' answered the preceptor, 'I was ex-'plaining the Golden Bull to his royal highness.'

'I'll Golden Bull you, you rascal!' roared the majesty of Prussia. Up went the king's cane, away ran the terrified instructor, and Frederic's classical studies ended for ever. He now and then affected to quote Latin sentences, and produced such exquisite Ciceronian phrases as these:—'Stante pede morire,'—'De gustibus non est disputandus,'—'Tot verbas tot spondera.' Of Italian, he had not enough to read a page of Metastasio with ease; and of the Spanish and English, he did not, as far as we are aware, understand a single word.

As the highest human compositions to which he had access were those of the French writers, it is not strange that his admiration for those writers should have been unbounded. His ambitious and eager temper early prompted him to imitate what he admired. The wish, perhaps, dearest to his heart was, that he might rank among the masters of French rhetoric and poetry.

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He wrote prose and verse as indefatigably as if he had been a starving hack of Cave or Osborn; but Nature, which had bestowed on him, in a large measure, the talents of a captain and of an administrator, had withheld from him those higher and rarer gifts, without which industry labours in vain to produce immortal eloquence or song. And, indeed, had he been blessed with more imagination, wit, and fertility of thought, than he appears to have had, he would still have been subject to one great disadvantage, which would, in all probability, have for ever prevented him from taking a high place among men of letters. He had not the full command of any language. There was no machine of thought which he could employ with perfect ease, confidence, and freedom. He had German enough to scold his servants, or to give the word of command to his grenadiers; but his grammar and pronunciation were extremely bad. He found it difficult to make out the meaning even of the simplest German poetry. On one occasion a version of Racine's *Iphigénie* was read to him. He held the French original in his hand; but was forced to own that, even with such help, he could not understand the translation. Yet though he had neglected his mother tongue in order to bestow all his attention on French, his French was, after all, the French of a foreigner. It was necessary for him to have always at his beck some men of letters from Paris to point out the solecisms and false rhymes, of which, to the last, he was frequently guilty. Even had he possessed the poetic faculty—of which, as far as we can judge, he was utterly destitute—the want of a language would have prevented him from being a great poet. No noble work of imagination, as far as we recollect, was ever composed by any man, except in a dialect which he had learned without remembering how or when; and which he had spoken with perfect ease before he had ever analysed its structure. Romans of great talents wrote Greek verses; but how many of those verses have deserved to live? Many men of eminent genius have, in modern times, written Latin poems; but, as far as we are aware, none of those poems, not even Milton's, can be ranked in the first class of art, or even very high in the second. It is not strange, therefore, that in the French verses of Frederic, we can find nothing beyond the reach of any man of good parts and industry—nothing above the level of Newdigate and Seatonian poetry. His best pieces may perhaps rank with the worst in Dodsley's collection. In history, he succeeded better. We do not, indeed, find in any part of his voluminous Memoirs, either deep reflection or vivid painting. But the narrative is distinguished by clearness, conciseness, good sense, and a certain air of truth and simplicity,

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which is singularly graceful in a man who, having done great things, sits down to relate them. On the whole, however, none of his writings are so agreeable to us as his Letters; particularly those which are written with earnestness, and are not embroidered with verses.

It is not strange that a young man devoted to literature, and acquainted only with the literature of France, should have looked with profound veneration on the genius of Voltaire. Nor is it just to condemn him for this feeling. 'A man who has never 'seen the sun,' says Calderon in one of his charming comedies, 'cannot be blamed for thinking that no glory can exceed that of 'the moon. A man who has seen neither moon nor sun, cannot 'be blamed for talking of the unrivalled brightness of the morn-'ing star.' Had Frederic been able to read Homer and Milton, or even Virgil and Tasso, his admiration of the *Henriade* would prove that he was utterly destitute of the power of discerning what is excellent in art. Had he been familiar with Sophocles or Shakspeare, we should have expected him to appreciate *Zaire* more justly. Had he been able to study Thucydides and Tacitus in the original Greek and Latin, he would have known that there were heights in the eloquence of history far beyond the reach of the author of the *Life of Charles the Twelfth*. But the finest heroic poem, several of the most powerful tragedies, and the most brilliant and picturesque historical work that Frederic had ever read, were Voltaire's. Such high and various excellence moved the young prince almost to adoration. The opinions of Voltaire on religious and philosophical questions had not yet been fully exhibited to the public. At a later period, when an exile from his country, and at open war with the Church, he spoke out. But when Frederic was at Rheinsberg, Voltaire was still a courtier; and, though he could not always curb his petulant wit, he had as yet published nothing that could exclude him from Versailles, and little that a divine of the mild and generous school of Grotius and Tillotson might not read with pleasure. In the *Henriade*, in *Zaire*, and in *Alzire*, Christian piety is exhibited in the most amiable form; and, some years after the period of which we are writing, a Pope condescended to accept the dedication of *Mahomet*. The real sentiments of the poet, however, might be clearly perceived by a keen eye through the decent disguise with which he veiled them, and could not escape the sagacity of Frederic, who held similar opinions, and had been accustomed to practise similar dissimulation.

The prince wrote to his idol in the style of a worshipper; and Voltaire replied with exquisite grace and address. A correspondence followed, which may be studied with advantage by those

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who wish to become proficients in the ignoble art of flattery. No man ever paid compliments better than Voltaire. His sweetest confectionary had always a delicate, yet stimulating flavour, which was delightful to palates wearied by the coarse preparations of inferior artists. It was only from his hand that so much sugar could be swallowed without making the swallower sick. Copies of verses, writing-desks, trinkets of amber, were exchanged between the friends. Frederic confided his writings to Voltaire; and Voltaire applauded, as if Frederic had been Racine and Bossuet in one. One of his royal highness's performances was a refutation of the *Principe* of Machiavelli. Voltaire undertook to convey it to the press. It was entitled the *Anti-Machiavel*, and was an edifying homily against rapacity, perfidy, arbitrary government, unjust war—in short, against almost every thing for which its author is now remembered among men.

The old King uttered now and then a ferocious growl at the diversions of Rheinsberg. But his health was broken; his end was approaching; and his vigour was impaired. He had only one pleasure left—that of seeing tall soldiers. He could always be propitiated by a present of a grenadier of six feet eight or six feet nine; and such presents were from time to time judiciously offered by his son.

Early in the year 1740, Frederic William met death with a firmness and dignity worthy of a better and wiser man; and Frederic, who had just completed his twenty-eighth year, became King of Prussia. His character was little understood. That he had good abilities, indeed, no person who had talked with him, or corresponded with him, could doubt. But the easy Epicurean life which he had led, his love of good cookery and good wine, of music, of conversation, of light literature, led many to regard him as a sensual and intellectual voluptuary. His habit of canting about moderation, peace, liberty, and the happiness which a good mind derives from the happiness of others, had imposed on some who should have known better. Those who thought best of him, expected a Telemachus after Fénélon's pattern. Others predicted the approach of a Medicean age—an age propitious to learning and art, and not unpropitious to pleasure. Nobody had the least suspicion that a tyrant of extraordinary military and political talents, of industry more extraordinary still, without fear, without faith, and without mercy, had ascended the throne.

The disappointment of Falstaff at his old boon-companion's coronation, was not more bitter than that which awaited some of the inmates of Rheinsberg. They had long looked forward to the accession of their patron, as to the day from which their own prosperity and greatness was to date. They had at last

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reached the promised land, the land which they had figured to themselves as flowing with milk and honey; and they found it a desert. 'No more of these fooleries,' was the short, sharp admonition given by Frederic to one of them. It soon became plain that, in the most important points, the new sovereign bore a strong family likeness to his predecessor. There was a wide difference between the father and the son as respected extent and vigour of intellect, speculative opinions, amusements, studies, outward demeanour. But the groundwork of the character was the same in both. To both were common the love of order, the love of business, the military taste, the parsimony, the imperious spirit, the temper irritable even to ferocity, the pleasure in the pain and humiliation of others. But these propensities had in Frederic William partaken of the general unsoundness of his mind, and wore a very different aspect when found in company with the strong and cultivated understanding of his successor. Thus, for example, Frederic was as anxious as any prince could be about the efficacy of his army. But this anxiety never degenerated into a monomania, like that which led his father to pay fancy-prices for giants. Frederic was as thrifty about money as any prince or any private man ought to be. But he did not conceive, like his father, that it was worth while to eat unwholesome cabbages for the sake of saving four or five rixdollars in the year. Frederic was, we fear, as malevolent as his father; but Frederic's wit enabled him often to show his malevolence in ways more decent than those to which his father resorted, and to inflict misery and degradation by a taunt instead of a blow. Frederic, it is true, by no means relinquished his hereditary privilege of kicking and cudgelling. His practice, however, as to that matter, differed in some important respects from his father's. To Frederic William, the mere circumstance that any persons whatever, men, women, or children, Prussians or foreigners, were within reach of his toes and of his cane, appeared to be a sufficient reason for proceeding to belabour them. Frederic required provocation as well as vicinity; nor was he ever known to inflict this paternal species of correction on any but his born subjects; though on one occasion M. Thiébault had reason, during a few seconds, to anticipate the high honour of being an exception to this general rule.

The character of Frederic was still very imperfectly understood either by his subjects or by his neighbours, when events occurred which exhibited it in a strong light. A few months after his accession died Charles VI., Emperor of Germany, the last descendent, in the male line, of the house of Austria.

Charles left no son, and had, long before his death, relinquished all hopes of male issue. During the latter part of his

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life, his principal object had been to secure to his descendents in the female line the many crowns of the house of Hapsburg. With this view, he had promulgated a new law of succession, widely celebrated throughout Europe under the name of the 'Pragmatic Sanction.' By virtue of this decree, his daughter, the Archduchess Maria Theresa, wife of Francis of Loraine, succeeded to the dominions of her ancestors.

No sovereign has ever taken possession of a throne by a clearer title. All the politics of the Austrian cabinet had, during twenty years, been directed to one single end—the settlement of the succession. From every person whose rights could be considered as injuriously affected, renunciations in the most solemn form had been obtained. The new law had been ratified by the Estates of all the kingdoms and principalities which made up the great Austrian monarchy. England, France, Spain, Russia, Poland, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, the Germanic body, had bound themselves by treaty to maintain the 'Pragmatic Sanction.' That Instrument was placed under the protection of the public faith of the whole civilized world.

Even if no positive stipulations on this subject had existed, the arrangement was one which no good man would have been willing to disturb. It was a peaceable arrangement. It was an arrangement acceptable to the great population whose happiness was chiefly concerned. It was an arrangement which made no change in the distribution of power among the states of Christendom. It was an arrangement which could be set aside only by means of a general war; and, if it were set aside, the effect would be, that the equilibrium of Europe would be deranged, that the loyal and patriotic feelings of millions would be cruelly outraged, and that great provinces which had been united for centuries would be torn from each other by main force.

The sovereigns of Europe were, therefore, bound by every obligation which those who are intrusted with power over their fellow-creatures ought to hold most sacred, to respect and defend the rights of the Archduchess. Her situation and her personal qualities were such as might be expected to move the mind of any generous man to pity, admiration, and chivalrous tenderness. She was in her twenty-fourth year. Her form was majestic, her features beautiful, her countenance sweet and animated, her voice musical, her deportment gracious and dignified. In all domestic relations she was without reproach. She was married to a husband whom she loved, and was on the point of giving birth to a child when death deprived her of her father. The loss of a parent, and the new cares of empire, were too much for her in the delicate state of her health. Her spirits were depressed, and her cheek lost its bloom.

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Yet it seemed that she had little cause for anxiety. It seemed that justice, humanity, and the faith of treaties would have their due weight, and that the settlement so solemnly guaranteed would be quietly carried into effect. England, Russia, Poland, and Holland, declared in form their intention to adhere to their engagements. The French ministers made a verbal declaration to the same effect. But from no quarter did the young Queen of Hungary receive stronger assurances of friendship and support than from the King of Prussia.

Yet the King of Prussia, the 'Anti-Machiavel,' had already fully determined to commit the great crime of violating his plighted faith, of robbing the ally whom he was bound to defend, and of plunging all Europe into a long, bloody, and desolating war; and all this for no end whatever, except that he might extend his dominions, and see his name in the gazettes. He determined to assemble a great army with speed and secrecy, to invade Silesia before Maria Theresa should be apprised of his design, and to add that rich province to his kingdom.

We will not condescend to refute at length the pleas which the compiler of the Memoirs before us has copied from Doctor Preuss. They amount to this—that the house of Brandenburg had some ancient pretensions to Silesia, and had in the previous century been compelled, by hard usage on the part of the Court of Vienna, to waive those pretensions. It is certain that, whoever might originally have been in the right, Prussia had submitted. Prince after prince of the house of Brandenburg had acquiesced in the existing arrangement. Nay, the Court of Berlin had recently been allied with that of Vienna, and had guaranteed the integrity of the Austrian states. Is it not perfectly clear, that if antiquated claims are to be set up against recent treaties and long possession, the world can never be at peace for a day? The laws of all nations have wisely established a time of limitation, after which titles, however illegitimate in their origin, cannot be questioned. It is felt by every body, that to eject a person from his estate on the ground of some injustice committed in the time of the Tudors, would produce all the evils which result from arbitrary confiscation, and would make all property insecure. It concerns the commonwealth—so runs the legal maxim—that there be an end of litigation. And surely this maxim is at least equally applicable to the great commonwealth of states; for in that commonwealth litigation means the devastation of provinces, the suspension of trade and industry, sieges like those of Badajoz and St Sebastian, pitched fields like those of Eylau and Borodino. We hold that the transfer of Norway from Denmark to Sweden was an unjustifiable proceeding; but would the king of Denmark be therefore justified in landing, without any new

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provocation, in Norway, and commencing military operations there? The king of Holland thinks, no doubt, that he was unjustly deprived of the Belgian provinces. Grant that it were so. Would he, therefore, be justified in marching with an army on Brussels? The case against Frederic was still stronger, inasmuch as the injustice of which he complained had been committed more than a century before. Nor must it be forgotten that he owed the highest personal obligations to the house of Austria. It may be doubted whether his life had not been preserved by the intercession of the prince whose daughter he was about to plunder.

To do the King justice, he pretended to no more virtue than he had. In Manifestoes he might, for form's sake, insert some idle stories about his antiquated claim on Silesia; but in his conversations and Memoirs he took a very different tone. To quote his own words: 'Ambition, interest, the desire of making 'people talk about me, carried the day; and I decided for war.'

Having resolved on his course, he acted with ability and vigour. It was impossible wholly to conceal his preparations; for throughout the Prussian territories regiments, guns, and baggage were in motion. The Austrian envoy at Berlin apprised his court of these facts, and expressed a suspicion of Frederic's designs; but the ministers of Maria Theresa refused to give credit to so black an imputation on a young prince who was known chiefly by his high professions of integrity and philanthropy. 'We will not,'—they wrote—'we cannot, believe it.'

In the mean time the Prussian forces had been assembled. Without any declaration of war, without any demand for reparation, in the very act of pouring forth compliments and assurances of good-will, Frederic commenced hostilities. Many thousands of his troops were actually in Silesia before the Queen of Hungary knew that he had set up any claim to any part of her territories. At length he sent her a message which could be regarded only as an insult. If she would but let him have Silesia, he would, he said, stand by her against any power which should try to deprive her of her other dominions: as if he was not already bound to stand by her, or as if his new promise could be of more value than the old one!

It was the depth of winter. The cold was severe, and the roads deep in mire. But the Prussians pressed on. Resistance was impossible. The Austrian army was then neither numerous nor efficient. The small portion of that army which lay in Silesia, was unprepared for hostilities. Glogau was blockaded; Breslau opened its gates; Ohlau was evacuated. A few scattered garrisons still held out; but the whole open country was subjugated: no enemy ventured to encounter the king in the field;

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and, before the end of January 1741, he returned to receive the congratulations of his subjects at Berlin.

Had the Silesian question been merely a question between Frederic and Maria Theresa, it would be impossible to acquit the Prussian king of gross perfidy. But when we consider the effects which his policy produced, and could not fail to produce, on the whole community of civilized nations, we are compelled to pronounce a condemnation still more severe. Till he began the war, it seemed possible, even probable, that the peace of the world would be preserved. The plunder of the great Austrian heritage was indeed a strong temptation; and in more than one cabinet ambitious schemes were already meditated. But the treaties by which the 'Pragmatic Sanction' had been guaranteed, were express and recent. To throw all Europe into confusion for a purpose clearly unjust, was no light matter. England was true to her engagements. The voice of Fleury had always been for peace. He had a conscience. He was now in extreme old age, and was unwilling, after a life which, when his situation was considered, must be pronounced singularly pure, to carry the fresh stain of a great crime before the tribunal of his God. Even the vain and unprincipled Belle-Isle, whose whole life was one wild daydream of conquest and spoliation, felt that France, bound as she was by solemn stipulations, could not, without disgrace, make a direct attack on the Austrian dominions. Charles, Elector of Bavaria, pretended that he had a right to a large part of the inheritance which the 'Pragmatic Sanction' gave to the Queen of Hungary; but he was not sufficiently powerful to move without support. It might, therefore, not unreasonably be expected, that after a short period of restlessness, all the potentates of Christendom would acquiesce in the arrangements made by the late Emperor. But the selfish rapacity of the king of Prussia gave the signal to his neighbours. His example quieted their sense of shame. His success led them to underrate the difficulty of dismembering the Austrian monarchy. The whole world sprang to arms. On the head of Frederic is all the blood which was shed in a war which raged during many years and in every quarter of the globe—the blood of the column of Fontenoy, the blood of the brave mountaineers who were slaughtered at Culloden. The evils produced by his wickedness were felt in lands where the name of Prussia was unknown; and, in order that he might rob a neighbour whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other by the Great Lakes of North America.

Silesia had been occupied without a battle; but the Austrian troops were advancing to the relief of the fortresses which still held

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out. In the spring Frederic rejoined his army. He had seen little of war, and had never commanded any great body of men in the field. It is not, therefore, strange that his first military operations showed little of that skill which, at a later period, was the admiration of Europe. What connoisseurs say of some pictures painted by Raphael in his youth, may be said of this campaign. It was in Frederic's early bad manner. Fortunately for him, the generals to whom he was opposed were men of small capacity. The discipline of his own troops, particularly of the infantry, was unequalled in that age; and some able and experienced officers were at hand to assist him with their advice. Of these, the most distinguished was Field-Marshal Schwerin—a brave adventurer of Pomeranian extraction, who had served half the governments in Europe, had borne the commissions of the States-General of Holland and of the Duke of Mecklenburg, had fought under Marlborough at Blenheim, and had been with Charles the Twelfth at Bender.

Frederic's first battle was fought at Molwitz; and never did the career of a great commander open in a more inauspicious manner. His army was victorious. Not only, however, did he not establish his title to the character of an able general, but he was so unfortunate as to make it doubtful whether he possessed the vulgar courage of a soldier. The cavalry, which he commanded in person, was put to flight. Unaccustomed to the tumult and carnage of a field of battle, he lost his self-possession, and listened too readily to those who urged him to save himself. His English grey carried him many miles from the field, while Schwerin, though wounded in two places, manfully upheld the day. The skill of the old Field-Marshal and the steadiness of the Prussian battalions prevailed; and the Austrian army was driven from the field with the loss of eight thousand men.

The news was carried late at night to a mill in which the king had taken shelter. It gave him a bitter pang. He was successful; but he owed his success to dispositions which others had made, and to the valour of men who had fought while he was flying. So unpromising was the first appearance of the greatest warrior of that age!

The battle of Molwitz was the signal for a general explosion throughout Europe. Bavaria took up arms. France, not yet declaring herself a principal in the war, took part in it as an ally of Bavaria. The two great statesmen to whom mankind had owed many years of tranquillity, disappeared about this time from the scene; but not till they had both been guilty of the weakness of sacrificing their sense of justice and their love of peace in the vain hope of preserving their power. Fleury, sinking under age and infirmity, was borne down by the impetuosity of Belle-Isle.

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Walpole retired from the service of his ungrateful country to his woods and paintings at Houghton; and his power devolved on the daring and eccentric Carteret. As were the ministers, so were the nations. Thirty years during which Europe had, with few interruptions, enjoyed repose, had prepared the public mind for great military efforts. A new generation had grown up, which could not remember the siege of Turin or the slaughter of Malplaquet; which knew war by nothing but its trophies; and which, while it looked with pride on the tapestries at Blenheim, or the statue in the 'Place of Victories,' little thought by what privations, by what waste of private fortunes, by how many bitter tears, conquests must be purchased.

For a time fortune seemed adverse to the Queen of Hungary. Frederic invaded Moravia. The French and Bavarians penetrated into Bohemia, and were there joined by the Saxons. Prague was taken. The Elector of Bavaria was raised by the suffrages of his colleagues to the Imperial throne—a throne which the practice of centuries had almost entitled the House of Austria to regard as a hereditary possession.

Yet was the spirit of the haughty daughter of the Cæsars unbroken. Hungary was still hers by an unquestionable title; and although her ancestors had found Hungary the most mutinous of all their kingdoms, she resolved to trust herself to the fidelity of a people, rude indeed, turbulent, and impatient of oppression, but brave, generous, and simple-hearted. In the midst of distress and peril she had given birth to a son, afterwards the Emperor Joseph the Second. Scarcely had she risen from her couch, when she hastened to Presburg. There, in the sight of an innumerable multitude, she was crowned with the crown and robed with the robe of St Stephen. No spectator could restrain his tears when the beautiful young mother, still weak from childbearing, rode, after the fashion of her fathers, up the Mount of Defiance, unsheathed the ancient sword of state, shook it towards north and south, east and west, and, with a glow on her pale face, challenged the four corners of the world to dispute her rights and those of her boy. At the first sitting of the Diet she appeared clad in deep mourning for her father, and in pathetic and dignified words implored her people to support her just cause. Magnates and deputies sprang up, half drew their sabres, and with eager voices vowed to stand by her with their lives and fortunes. Till then, her firmness had never once forsaken her before the public eye; but at that shout she sank down upon her throne, and wept aloud. Still more touching was the sight when, a few days later, she came again before the Estates of her realm, and held up before them the little Archduke in her arms. Then it was that the enthusiasm of Hungary broke forth into that

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war-cry which soon resounded throughout Europe, 'Let us die 'for our King, Maria Theresa!'

In the mean time, Frederic was meditating a change of policy. He had no wish to raise France to supreme power on the Continent, at the expense of the house of Hapsburg. His first object was, to rob the Queen of Hungary. His second was, that, if possible, nobody should rob her but himself. He had entered into engagements with the powers leagued against Austria; but these engagements were in his estimation of no more force than the guarantee formerly given to the 'Pragmatic Sanction.' His game now was to secure his share of the plunder by betraying his accomplices. Maria Theresa was little inclined to listen to any such compromise; but the English government represented to her so strongly the necessity of buying off so formidable an enemy as Frederic, that she agreed to negotiate. The negotiation would not, however, have ended in a treaty, had not the arms of Frederic been crowned with a second victory. Prince Charles of Loraine, brother-in-law to Maria Theresa, a bold and active, though unfortunate general, gave battle to the Russians at Chotusitz, and was defeated. The king was still only a learner of the military art. He acknowledged, at a later period, that his success on this occasion was to be attributed, not at all to his own generalship, but solely to the valour and steadiness of his troops. He completely effaced, however, by his courage and energy, the stain which Molwitz had left on his reputation.

A peace, concluded under the English mediation, was the fruit of this battle. Maria Theresa ceded Silesia: Frederic abandoned his allies: Saxony followed his example; and the Queen was left at liberty to turn her whole force against France and Bavaria. She was every where triumphant. The French were compelled to evacuate Bohemia, and with difficulty effected their escape. The whole line of their retreat might be tracked by the corpses of thousands who had died of cold, fatigue and hunger. Many of those who reached their country carried with them the seeds of death. Bavaria was overrun by bands of ferocious warriors from that bloody 'debatable land,' which lies on the frontier between Christendom and Islam. The terrible names of the Pandoor, the Croat, and the Hussar, then first became familiar to western Europe. The unfortunate Charles of Bavaria, vanquished by Austria, betrayed by Prussia, driven from his hereditary states, and neglected by his allies, was hurried by shame and remorse to an untimely end. An English army appeared in the heart of Germany, and defeated the French at Dettingen. The Austrian captains already began to talk of completing the work of Marlborough and Eugene, and of compelling France to relinquish Alsace and the Three Bishoprics.

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The Court of Versailles, in this peril, looked to Frederic for help. He had been guilty of two great treasons, perhaps he might be induced to commit a third. The Duchess of Chateauroux then held the chief influence over the feeble Louis. She determined to send an agent to Berlin, and Voltaire was selected for the mission. He eagerly undertook the task; for, while his literary fame filled all Europe, he was troubled with a childish craving for political distinction. He was vain, and not without reason, of his address, and of his insinuating eloquence; and he flattered himself that he possessed boundless influence over the King of Prussia. The truth was, that he knew, as yet, only one corner of Frederic's character. He was well acquainted with all the petty vanities and affectations of the poetaster; but was not aware that these foibles were united with all the talents and vices which lead to success in active life; and that the unlucky versifier who bored him with reams of middling Alexandrines, was the most vigilant, suspicious, and severe of politicians.

Voltaire was received with every mark of respect and friendship, was lodged in the palace, and had a seat daily at the royal table. The negotiation was of an extraordinary description. Nothing can be conceived more whimsical than the conferences which took place between the first literary man and the first practical man of the age, whom a strange weakness had induced to exchange their parts. The great poet would talk of nothing but treaties and guarantees, and the great king of nothing but metaphors and rhymes. On one occasion Voltaire put into his Majesty's hands a paper on the state of Europe, and received it back with verses scrawled on the margin. In secret they both laughed at each other. Voltaire did not spare the king's poems; and the king has left on record his opinion of Voltaire's diplomacy. 'He had no credentials,' says Frederic, 'and the whole 'mission was a joke, a mere farce.'

But what the influence of Voltaire could not effect, the rapid progress of the Austrian arms effected. If it should be in the power of Maria Theresa and George the Second to dictate terms of peace to France, what chance was there that Prussia would long retain Silesia? Frederic's conscience told him that he had acted perfidiously and inhumanly towards the Queen of Hungary. That her resentment was strong she had given ample proof; and of her respect for treaties he judged by his own. Guarantees, he said, were mere filigree, pretty to look at, but too brittle to bear the slightest pressure. He thought it his safest course to ally himself closely to France, and again to attack the Empress Queen. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1744, without notice, without any decent pretext, he recommenced hostilities, marched through the electorate of Saxony without troubling himself about

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the permission of the Elector, invaded Bohemia, took Prague, and even menaced Vienna.

It was now that, for the first time, he experienced the inconstancy of fortune. An Austrian army under Charles of Loraine threatened his communications with Silesia. Saxony was all in arms behind him. He found it necessary to save himself by a retreat. He afterwards owned that his failure was the natural effect of his own blunders. No general, he said, had ever committed greater faults. It must be added, that to the reverses of this campaign he always ascribed his subsequent successes. It was in the midst of difficulty and disgrace that he caught the first clear glimpse of the principles of the military art.

The memorable year 1745 followed. The war raged by sea and land, in Italy, in Germany, and in Flanders; and even England, after many years of profound internal quiet, saw, for the last time, hostile armies set in battle-array against each other. This year is memorable in the life of Frederic, as the date at which his noviciate in the art of war may be said to have terminated. There have been great captains whose precocious and self-taught military skill resembled intuition. Condé, Clive, and Napoleon are examples. But Frederic was not one of these brilliant portents. His proficiency in military science was simply the proficiency which a man of vigorous faculties makes in any science to which he applies his mind with earnestness and industry. It was at Hohenfriedberg that he first proved how much he had profited by his errors, and by their consequences. His victory on that day was chiefly due to his skilful dispositions, and convinced Europe that the prince who, a few years before, had stood aghast in the rout of Molwitz, had attained in the military art a mastery equalled by none of his contemporaries, or equalled by Saxe alone. The victory of Hohenfriedberg was speedily followed by that of Sorr.

In the mean time, the arms of France had been victorious in the Low Countries. Frederic had no longer reason to fear that Maria Theresa would be able to give law to Europe, and he began to meditate a fourth breach of his engagements. The court of Versailles was alarmed and mortified. A letter of earnest expostulation, in the handwriting of Louis, was sent to Berlin; but in vain. In the autumn of 1745, Frederic made peace with England, and, before the close of the year, with Austria also. The pretensions of Charles of Bavaria could present no obstacle to an accommodation. That unhappy prince was no more; and Francis of Loraine, the husband of Maria Theresa, was raised, with the general assent of the Germanic body, to the Imperial throne.

Prussia was again at peace; but the European war lasted

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till, in the year 1748, it was terminated by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Of all the powers that had taken part in it, the only gainer was Frederic. Not only had he added to his patrimony the fine province of Silesia: he had, by his unprincipled dexterity, succeeded so well in alternately depressing the scale of Austria and that of France, that he was generally regarded as holding the balance of Europe—a high dignity for one who ranked lowest among kings, and whose great-grandfather had been no more than a Margrave. By the public, the King of Prussia was considered as a politician destitute alike of morality and decency, insatiably rapacious, and shamelessly false; nor was the public much in the wrong. He was at the same time allowed to be a man of parts, a rising general, a shrewd negotiator and administrator. Those qualities wherein he surpassed all mankind, were as yet unknown to others or to himself; for they were qualities which shine out only on a dark ground. His career had hitherto, with little interruption, been prosperous; and it was only in adversity, in adversity which seemed without hope or resource, in adversity which would have overwhelmed even men celebrated for strength of mind, that his real greatness could be shown.

He had, from the commencement of his reign, applied himself to public business after a fashion unknown among kings. Louis XIV., indeed, had been his own prime minister, and had exercised a general superintendence over all the departments of the government; but this was not sufficient for Frederic. He was not content with being his own prime minister—he would be his own sole minister. Under him there was no room, not merely for a Richelieu or a Mazarin, but for a Colbert, a Louvois, or a Torcy. A love of labour for its own sake, a restless and insatiable longing to dictate, to intermeddle, to make his power felt, a profound scorn and distrust of his fellow-creatures, indisposed him to ask counsel, to confide important secrets, to delegate ample powers. The highest functionaries under his government were mere clerks, and were not so much trusted by him as valuable clerks are often trusted by the heads of departments. He was his own treasurer, his own commander-in-chief, his own intendant of public works; his own minister for trade and justice, for home affairs and foreign affairs; his own master of the horse, steward, and chamberlain. Matters of which no chief of an office in any other government would ever hear, were, in this singular monarchy, decided by the King in person. If a traveller wished for a good place to see a review, he had to write to Frederic, and received next day, from a royal messenger, Frederic's answer signed by Frederic's own hand. This was an extravagant, a morbid activity. The public business would assuredly have been better done if each department had been put under a man of

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talents and integrity, and if the King had contented himself with a general control. In this manner the advantages which belong to unity of design, and the advantages which belong to the division of labour, would have been to a great extent combined. But such a system would not have suited the peculiar temper of Frederic. He could tolerate no will, no reason in the state, save his own. He wished for no abler assistance than that of penmen who had just understanding enough to translate, to transcribe, to make out his scrawls, and to put his concise Yes and No into an official form. Of the higher intellectual faculties, there is as much in a copying machine, or a lithographic press, as he required from a secretary of the cabinet.

His own exertions were such as were hardly to be expected from a human body, or a human mind. At Potsdam, his ordinary residence, he rose at three in summer and four in winter. A page soon appeared, with a large basketful of all the letters which had arrived for the King by the last courier—despatches from ambassadors, reports from officers of revenue, plans of buildings, proposals for draining marshes, complaints from persons who thought themselves aggrieved, applications from persons who wanted titles, military commissions, and civil situations. He examined the seals with a keen eye; for he was never for a moment free from the suspicion that some fraud might be practised on him. Then he read the letters, divided them into several packets, and signified his pleasure, generally by a mark, often by two or three words, now and then by some cutting epigram. By eight he had generally finished this part of his task. The adjutant-general was then in attendance, and received instructions for the day as to all the military arrangements of the kingdom. Then the King went to review his guards, not as kings ordinarily review their guards, but with the minute attention and severity of an old drill-sergeant. In the mean time the four cabinet secretaries had been employed in answering the letters on which the King had that morning signified his will. These unhappy men were forced to work all the year round like negro-slaves in the time of the sugar-crop. They never had a holiday. They never knew what it was to dine. It was necessary that, before they stirred, they should finish the whole of their work. The King, always on his guard against treachery, took from the heap a handful at random, and looked into them to see whether his instructions had been exactly followed. This was no bad security against foul play on the part of the secretaries; for if one of them were detected in a trick, he might think himself fortunate if he escaped with five years of imprisonment in a dungeon. Frederic then signed the replies, and all were sent off the same evening.

The general principles on which this strange government was

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conducted, deserve attention. The policy of Frederic was essentially the same as his father's; but Frederic, while he carried that policy to lengths to which his father never thought of carrying it, cleared it at the same time from the absurdities with which his father had encumbered it. The King's first object was to have a great, efficient, and well-trained army. He had a kingdom which in extent and population was hardly in the second rank of European powers; and yet he aspired to a place not inferior to that of the sovereigns of England, France, and Austria. For that end it was necessary that Prussia should be all sting. Louis XV., with five times as many subjects as Frederic, and more than five times as large a revenue, had not a more formidable army. The proportion which the soldiers in Prussia bore to the people, seems hardly credible. Of the males in the vigour of life, a seventh part were probably under arms; and this great force had, by drilling, by reviewing, and by the unsparing use of cane and scourge, been taught to perform all evolutions with a rapidity and a precision which would have astonished Villars or Eugene. The elevated feelings which are necessary to the best kind of army were then wanting to the Prussian service. In those ranks were not found the religious and political enthusiasm which inspired the pikemen of Cromwell—the patriotic ardour, the thirst of glory, the devotion to a great leader, which inflamed the Old Guard of Napoleon. But in all the mechanical parts of the military calling, the Prussians were as superior to the English and French troops of that day, as the English and French troops to a rustic militia.

Though the pay of the Prussian soldier was small, though every rixdollar of extraordinary charge was scrutinized by Frederic with a vigilance and suspicion such as Mr Joseph Hume never brought to the examination of an army-estimate, the expense of such an establishment was, for the means of the country, enormous. In order that it might not be utterly ruinous, it was necessary that every other expense should be cut down to the lowest possible point. Accordingly Frederic, though his dominions bordered on the sea, had no navy. He neither had nor wished to have colonies. His judges, his fiscal officers, were meanly paid. His ministers at foreign courts walked on foot, or drove shabby old carriages till the axletrees gave way. Even to his highest diplomatic agents, who resided at London and Paris, he allowed less than a thousand pounds sterling a-year. The royal household was managed with a frugality unusual in the establishments of opulent subjects—unexampled in any other palace. The king loved good eating and drinking, and during great part of his life took pleasure in seeing his table surrounded by guests; yet the whole charge of his kitchen was brought within the sum

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of two thousand pounds sterling a-year. He examined every extraordinary item with a care which might be thought to suit the mistress of a boarding-house better than a great prince. When more than four rixdollars were asked of him for a hundred oysters, he stormed as if he had heard that one of his generals had sold a fortress to the Empress-Queen. Not a bottle of champagne was uncorked without his express order. The game of the royal parks and forests, a serious head of expenditure in most kingdoms, was to him a source of profit. The whole was farmed out; and though the farmers were almost ruined by their contract, the king would grant them no remission. His wardrobe consisted of one fine gala dress, which lasted him all his life; of two or three old coats fit for Monmouth Street, of yellow waistcoats soiled with snuff, and of huge boots embrowned by time. One taste alone sometimes allured him beyond the limits of parsimony, nay, even beyond the limits of prudence—the taste for building. In all other things his economy was such as we might call by a harsher name, if we did not reflect that his funds were drawn from a heavily taxed people, and that it was impossible for him, without excessive tyranny, to keep up at once a formidable army and a splendid court.

Considered as an administrator, Frederic had undoubtedly many titles to praise. Order was strictly maintained throughout his dominions. Property was secure. A great liberty of speaking and of writing was allowed. Confident in the irresistible strength derived from a great army, the king looked down on malecontents and libellers with a wise disdain; and gave little encouragement to spies and informers. When he was told of the disaffection of one of his subjects, he merely asked, 'How many thousand men 'can he bring into the field?' He once saw a crowd staring at something on a wall. He rode up, and found that the object of curiosity was a scurrilous placard against himself. The placard had been posted up so high that it was not easy to read it. Frederic ordered his attendants to take it down and put it lower. 'My people and I,' he said, 'have come to an agreement 'which satisfies us both. They are to say what they please, and 'I am to do what I please.' No person would have dared to publish in London satires on George II. approaching to the atrocity of those satires on Frederic, which the booksellers at Berlin sold with impunity. One bookseller sent to the palace a copy of the most stinging lampoon that perhaps was ever written in the world, the 'Memoirs of Voltaire,' published by Beaumarchais, and asked for his majesty's orders. 'Do not advertise it in an 'offensive manner,' said the king; 'but sell it by all means. I

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'hope it will pay you well.' Even among statesmen accustomed to the license of a free press, such steadfastness of mind as this is not very common.

It is due also to the memory of Frederic to say, that he earnestly laboured to secure to his people the great blessing of cheap and speedy justice. He was one of the first rulers who abolished the cruel and absurd practice of torture. No sentence of death, pronounced by the ordinary tribunals, was executed without his sanction; and his sanction, except in cases of murder, was rarely given. Towards his troops he acted in a very different manner. Military offences were punished with such barbarous scourging, that to be shot was considered by the Prussian soldier as a secondary punishment. Indeed, the principle which pervaded Frederic's whole policy was this—that the more severely the army is governed, the safer it is to treat the rest of the community with lenity.

Religious persecution was unknown under his government—unless some foolish and unjust restrictions which lay upon the Jews may be regarded as forming an exception. His policy with respect to the Catholics of Silesia presented an honourable contrast to the policy which, under very similar circumstances, England long followed with respect to the Catholics of Ireland. Every form of religion and irreligion found an asylum in his states. The scoffer whom the parliaments of France had sentenced to a cruel death, was consoled by a commission in the Prussian service. The Jesuit who could show his face nowhere else—who in Britain was still subject to penal laws, who was prescribed by France, Spain, Portugal, and Naples, who had been given up even by the Vatican—found safety and the means of subsistence in the Prussian dominions.

Most of the vices of Frederic's administration resolve themselves into one vice—the spirit of meddling. The indefatigable activity of his intellect, his dictatorial temper, his military habits, all inclined him to this great fault. He drilled his people as he drilled his grenadiers. Capital and industry were diverted from their natural direction by a crowd of preposterous regulations. There was a monopoly of coffee, a monopoly of tobacco, a monopoly of refined sugar. The public money, of which the king was generally so sparing, was lavishly spent in ploughing bogs, in planting mulberry-trees amidst the sand, in bringing sheep from Spain to improve the Saxon wool, in bestowing prizes for fine yarn, in building manufactories of porcelain, manufactories of carpets, manufactories of hardware, manufactories of lace. Neither the experience of other rulers, nor his

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own, could ever teach him that something more than an edict and a grant of public money is required to create a Lyons, a Brussels, or a Birmingham.

For his commercial policy, however, there is some excuse. He had on his side illustrious examples and popular prejudice. Grievously as he erred, he erred in company with his age. In other departments his meddling was altogether without apology. He interfered with the course of justice as well as with the course of trade; and set up his own crude notions of equity against the law as expounded by the unanimous voice of the gravest magistrates. It never occurred to him that a body of men, whose lives were passed in adjudicating on questions of civil right, were more likely to form correct opinions on such questions than a prince whose attention was divided between a thousand objects, and who had probably never read a law-book through. The resistance opposed to him by the tribunals inflamed him to fury. He reviled his Chancellor. He kicked the shins of his Judges. He did not, it is true, intend to act unjustly. He firmly believed that he was doing right, and defending the cause of the poor against the wealthy. Yet this well-meant meddling probably did far more harm than all the explosions of his evil passions during the whole of his long reign. We could make shift to live under a debauchee or a tyrant; but to be ruled by a busy-body is more than human nature can bear.

The same passion for directing and regulating appeared in every part of the King's policy. Every lad of a certain station in life was forced to go to certain schools within the Prussian dominions. If a young Prussian repaired, though but for a few weeks, to Leyden or Gottingen for the purpose of study, the offence was punished with civil disabilities, and sometimes with confiscation of property. Nobody was to travel without the royal permission. If the permission were granted, the pocket-money of the tourist was fixed by royal ordinance. A merchant might take with him two hundred and fifty rixdollars in gold, a noble was allowed to take four hundred; for it may be observed, in passing, that Frederic studiously kept up the old distinction between the nobles and the community. In speculation, he was a French philosopher; but in action, a German prince. He talked and wrote about the privileges of blood in the style of Siêyes; but in practice no chapter in the empire looked with a keener eye to genealogies and quarterings.

Such was Frederic the Ruler. But there was another Frederic, the Frederic of Rheinsberg, the fiddler and flute-player, the poetaster and metaphysician. Amidst the cares of state the King had retained his passion for music, for reading, for writing, for

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literary society. To these amusements he devoted all the time he could snatch from the business of war and government; and perhaps more light is thrown on his character by what passed during his hours of relaxation, than by his battles or his laws.

It was the just boast of Schiller, that in his country no Augustus, no Lorenzo, had watched over the infancy of art. The rich and energetic language of Luther, driven by the Latin from the schools of pedants, and by the French from the palaces of kings, had taken refuge among the people. Of the powers of that language Frederic had no notion. He generally spoke of it, and of those who used it, with the contempt of ignorance. His library consisted of French books; at his table nothing was heard but French conversation.

The associates of his hours of relaxation were, for the most part, foreigners. Britain furnished to the royal circle two distinguished men, born in the highest rank, and driven by civil dissensions from the land to which, under happier circumstances, their talents and virtues might have been a source of strength and glory. George Keith, Earl Marischal of Scotland, had taken arms for the house of Stuart in 1715, and his younger brother James, then only seventeen years old, had fought gallantly by his side. When all was lost they retired together to the Continent, roved from country to country, served under many standards, and so bore themselves as to win the respect and good-will of many who had no love for the Jacobite cause. Their long wanderings terminated at Potsdam; nor had Frederic any associates who deserved or obtained so large a share of his esteem. They were not only accomplished men, but nobles and warriors, capable of serving him in war and diplomacy, as well as of amusing him at supper. Alone of all his companions they appear never to have had reason to complain of his demeanour towards them. Some of those who knew the palace best, pronounced that Lord Marischal was the only human being whom Frederic ever really loved.

Italy sent to the parties at Potsdam the ingenious and amiable Algarotti, and Bastiani, the most crafty, cautious, and servile of Abbés. But the greater part of the society which Frederic had assembled round him, was drawn from France. Maupertuis had acquired some celebrity by the journey which he made to Lapland, for the purpose of ascertaining, by actual measurement, the shape of our planet. He was placed in the Chair of the Academy of Berlin, a humble imitation of the renowned academy of Paris. Baculard D'Arnaud, a young poet, who was thought to have given promise of great things, had been induced to quit his country, and to reside at the Prussian Court. The Marquess D'Ar-

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gens was among the King's favourite companions, on account, as it should seem, of the strong opposition between their characters. The parts of D'Argens were good, and his manners those of a finished French gentleman; but his whole soul was dissolved in sloth, timidity, and self-indulgence. His was one of that abject class of minds which are superstitious without being religious. Hating Christianity with a rancour which made him incapable of rational enquiry; unable to see in the harmony and beauty of the universe the traces of divine power and wisdom, he was the slave of dreams and omens;—would not sit down to table with thirteen in company; turned pale if the salt fell towards him; begged his guests not to cross their knives and forks on their plates; and would not for the world commence a journey on Friday. His health was a subject of constant anxiety to him. Whenever his head ached, or his pulse beat quick, his dastardly fears and effeminate precautions were the jest of all Berlin. All this suited the King's purpose admirably. He wanted somebody by whom he might be amused, and whom he might despise. When he wished to pass half an hour in easy polished conversation, D'Argens was an excellent companion; when he wanted to vent his spleen and contempt, D'Argens was an excellent butt.

With these associates, and others of the same class, Frederic loved to spend the time which he could steal from public cares. He wished his supper-parties to be gay and easy; and invited his guests to lay aside all restraint, and to forget that he was at the head of a hundred and sixty thousand soldiers, and was absolute master of the life and liberty of all who sat at meat with him. There was, therefore, at these meetings the outward show of ease. The wit and learning of the company were ostentatiously displayed. The discussions on history and literature were often highly interesting. But the absurdity of all the religions known among men was the chief topic of conversation; and the audacity with which doctrines and names venerated throughout Christendom were treated on these occasions, startled even persons accustomed to the society of French and English free-thinkers. But real liberty, or real affection, was in this brilliant society not to be found. Absolute kings seldom have friends: and Frederic's faults were such as, even where perfect equality exists, make friendship exceedingly precarious. He had indeed many qualities, which, on a first acquaintance, were captivating. His conversation was lively; his manners to those whom he desired to please were even caressing. No man could flatter with more delicacy. No man succeeded more completely in inspiring those who approached him with vague hopes of some great advantage from his kindness. But under this fair exterior he was a tyrant—

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suspicious, disdainful, and malevolent. He had one taste which may be pardoned in a boy, but which, when habitually and deliberately indulged by a man of mature age and strong understanding, is almost invariably the sign of a bad heart—a taste for severe practical jokes. If a friend of the king was fond of dress, oil was flung over his richest suit. If he was fond of money, some prank was invented to make him disburse more than he could spare. If he was hypochondriacal, he was made to believe that he had the dropsy. If he had particularly set his heart on visiting a place, a letter was forged to frighten him from going thither. These things, it may be said, are trifles. They are so; but they are indications, not to be mistaken, of a nature to which the sight of human suffering and human degradation is an agreeable excitement.

Frederic had a keen eye for the foibles of others, and loved to communicate his discoveries. He had some talent for sarcasm, and considerable skill in detecting the sore places where sarcasm would be most acutely felt. His vanity, as well as his malignity, found gratification in the vexation and confusion of those who smarted under his caustic jests. Yet in truth his success on these occasions belonged quite as much to the king as to the wit. We read that Commodus descended, sword in hand, into the arena against a wretched gladiator, armed only with a foil of lead, and, after shedding the blood of the helpless victim, struck medals to commemorate the inglorious victory. The triumphs of Frederic in the war of repartee, were of much the same kind. How to deal with him was the most puzzling of questions. To appear constrained in his presence was to disobey his commands, and to spoil his amusement. Yet if his associates were enticed by his graciousness to indulge in the familiarity of a cordial intimacy, he was certain to make them repent of their presumption by some cruel humiliation. To resent his affronts was perilous; yet not to resent them was to deserve and to invite them. In his view, those who mutinied were insolent and ungrateful; those who submitted, were curs made to receive bones and kickings with the same fawning patience. It is, indeed, difficult to conceive how any thing short of the rage of hunger should have induced men to bear the misery of being the associates of the Great King. It was no lucrative post. His Majesty was as severe and economical in his friendships as in the other charges of his establishment, and as unlikely to give a rixdollar too much for his guests as for his dinners. The sum which he allowed to a poet or a philosopher, was the very smallest sum for which such poet or philosopher could be induced to sell himself into slavery; and the bondsman might think himself fortunate, if what had

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been so grudgingly given was not, after years of suffering, rudely and arbitrarily withdrawn.

Potsdam was, in truth, what it was called by one of its most illustrious inmates, the Palace of Alcina. At the first glance it seemed to be a delightful spot, where every intellectual and physical enjoyment awaited the happy adventurer. Every new comer was received with eager hospitality, intoxicated with flattery, encouraged to expect prosperity and greatness. It was in vain that a long succession of favourites who had entered that abode with delight and hope, and who, after a short term of delusive happiness, had been doomed to expiate their folly by years of wretchedness and degradation, raised their voices to warn the aspirant who approached the charmed threshold. Some had wisdom enough to discover the truth early, and spirit enough to fly without looking back; others lingered on to a cheerless and unhonoured old age. We have no hesitation in saying that the poorest author of that time in London, sleeping on a bulk, dining in a cellar, with a cravat of paper, and a skewer for a shirt-pin, was a happier man than any of the literary inmates of Frederic's Court.

But of all who entered the enchanted garden in the inebriation of delight, and quitted it in agonies of rage and shame, the most remarkable was Voltaire. Many circumstances had made him desirous of finding a home at a distance from his country. His fame had raised him up enemies. His sensibility gave them a formidable advantage over him. They were, indeed, contemptible assailants. Of all that they wrote against him, nothing has survived except what he has himself preserved. But the constitution of his mind resembled the constitution of those bodies in which the slightest scratch of a bramble, or the bite of a gnat, never fails to fester. Though his reputation was rather raised than lowered by the abuse of such writers as Fréron and Desfontaines—though the vengeance which he took on Fréron and Desfontaines was such, that scourging, branding, pillorying, would have been a trifle to it—there is reason to believe that they gave him far more pain than he ever gave them. Though he enjoyed during his own lifetime the reputation of a classic—though he was extolled by his contemporaries above all poets, philosophers, and historians—though his works were read with as much delight and admiration at Moscow and Westminster, at Florence and Stockholm, as at Paris itself, he was yet tormented by that restless jealousy which should seem to belong only to minds burning with the desire of fame, and yet conscious of impotence. To men of letters who could by no possibility be his rivals, he was, if they behaved well to him, not

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merely just, not merely courteous, but often a hearty friend and a munificent benefactor. But to every writer who rose to a celebrity approaching his own, he became either a disguised or an avowed enemy. He slily depreciated Montesquieu and Buffon. He publicly, and with violent outrage, made war on Jean Jaques. Nor had he the art of hiding his feelings under the semblance of good-humour or of contempt. With all his great talents, and all his long experience of the world, he had no more self-command than a petted child or a hysterical woman. Whenever he was mortified, he exhausted the whole rhetoric of anger and sorrow to express his mortification. His torrents of bitter words—his stamping and cursing—his grimaces and his tears of rage—were a rich feast to those abject natures, whose delight is in the agonies of powerful spirits and in the abasement of immortal names. These creatures had now found out a way of galling him to the very quick. In one walk, at least, it had been admitted by envy itself that he was without a living competitor. Since Racine had been laid among the great men whose dust made the holy precinct of Port-Royal holier, no tragic poet had appeared who could contest the palm with the author of *Zaire*, of *Alzire*, and of *Merope*. At length a rival was announced. Old Crébillon, who, many years before, had obtained some theatrical success, and who had long been forgotten, came forth from his garret in one of the meanest lanes near the Rue St Antoine, and was welcomed by the acclamations of envious men of letters, and of a capricious populace. A thing called *Catiline*, which he had written in his retirement, was acted with boundless applause. Of this execrable piece it is sufficient to say, that the plot turns on a love affair, carried on in all the forms of Scudery, between Catiline, whose confidant is the Prætor Lentulus, and Tullia, the daughter of Cicero. The theatre resounded with acclamations. The king pensioned the successful poet; and the coffee-houses pronounced that Voltaire was a clever man, but that the real tragic inspiration, the celestial fire which glowed in Corneille and Racine, was to be found in Crébillon alone.

The blow went to Voltaire's heart. Had his wisdom and fortitude been in proportion to the fertility of his intellect, and to the brilliancy of his wit, he would have seen that it was out of the power of all the puffers and detractors in Europe to put *Catiline* above *Zaire;* but he had none of the magnanimous patience with which Milton and Bentley left their claims to the unerring judgment of time. He eagerly engaged in an undignified competition with Crébillon, and produced a series of plays on the same subjects which his rival had treated. These pieces

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were coolly received. Angry with the court, angry with the capital, Voltaire began to find pleasure in the prospect of exile. His attachment for Madame du Châtelet long prevented him from executing his purpose. Her death set him at liberty; and he determined to take refuge at Berlin.

To Berlin he was invited by a series of letters, couched in terms of the most enthusiastic friendship and admiration. For once the rigid parsimony of Frederic seemed to have relaxed. Orders, honourable offices, a liberal pension, a well-served table, stately apartments under a royal roof, were offered in return for the pleasure and honour which were expected from the society of the first wit of the age. A thousand louis were remitted for the charges of the journey. No ambassador setting out from Berlin for a court of the first rank, had ever been more amply supplied. But Voltaire was not satisfied. At a later period, when he possessed an ample fortune, he was one of the most liberal of men; but till his means had become equal to his wishes, his greediness for lucre was unrestrained either by justice or by shame. He had the effrontery to ask for a thousand louis more, in order to enable him to bring his niece, Madame Denis, the ugliest of coquettes, in his company. The indelicate rapacity of the poet produced its natural effect on the severe and frugal king. The answer was a dry refusal. 'I did not,' said his Majesty, 'solicit 'the honour of the lady's society.' On this, Voltaire went off into a paroxysm of childish rage. 'Was there ever such avarice? 'He has hundreds of tubs full of dollars in his vaults, and 'haggles with me about a poor thousand louis.' It seemed that the negotiation would be broken off; but Frederic, with great dexterity, affected indifference, and seemed inclined to transfer his idolatry to Baculard d'Arnaud. His Majesty even wrote some bad verses, of which the sense was, that Voltaire was a setting sun, and that Arnaud was rising. Good-natured friends soon carried the lines to Voltaire. He was in his bed. He jumped out in his shirt, danced about the room with rage, and sent for his passport and his post-horses. It was not difficult to foresee the end of a connexion which had such a beginning.

It was in the year 1750 that Voltaire left the great capital, which he was not to see again till, after the lapse of near thirty years, he returned, bowed down by extreme old age, to die in the midst of a splendid and ghastly triumph. His reception in Prussia was such as might well have elated a less vain and excitable mind. He wrote to his friends at Paris, that the kindness and the attention with which he had been welcomed surpassed description—that the king was the most amiable of men—that Potsdam was the paradise of philosophers. He was created

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chamberlain, and received, together with his gold key, the cross of an order, and a patent ensuring to him a pension of eight hundred pounds sterling a-year for life. A hundred and sixty pounds a year were promised to his niece if she survived him. The royal cooks and coachmen were put at his disposal. He was lodged in the same apartments in which Saxe had lived, when, at the height of power and glory, he visited Prussia. Frederic, indeed, stooped for a time even to use the language of adulation. He pressed to his lips the meagre hand of the little grinning skeleton, whom he regarded as the dispenser of immortal renown. He would add, he said, to the titles which he owed to his ancestors and his sword, another title, derived from his last and proudest acquisition. His style should run thus:—Frederic, King of Prussia, Margrave of Brandenburg, Sovereign Duke of Silesia, Possessor of Voltaire. But even amidst the delights of the honey-moon, Voltaire's sensitive vanity began to take alarm. A few days after his arrival, he could not help telling his niece that the amiable King had a trick of giving a sly scratch with one hand, while patting and stroking with the other. Soon came hints not the less alarming, because mysterious. 'The 'supper parties are delicious. The king is the life of the com-'pany. But—I have operas and comedies, reviews and con-'certs, my studies and books. But—but—Berlin is fine, the 'princesses charming, the maids of honour handsome. But'——

This eccentric friendship was fast cooling. Never had there met two persons so exquisitely fitted to plague each other. Each of them had exactly the fault of which the other was most impatient; and they were, in different ways, the most impatient of mankind. Frederic was frugal, almost niggardly. When he had secured his plaything, he began to think that he had bought it too dear. Voltaire, on the other hand, was greedy, even to the extent of impudence and knavery; and conceived that the favourite of a monarch who had barrels full of gold and silver laid up in cellars, ought to make a fortune which a receiver-general might envy. They soon discovered each other's feelings. Both were angry, and a war began, in which Frederic stooped to the part of Harpagon, and Voltaire to that of Scapin. It is humiliating to relate, that the great warrior and statesman gave orders that his guest's allowance of sugar and chocolate should be curtailed. It is, if possible, a still more humiliating fact, that Voltaire indemnified himself by pocketing the wax-candles in the royal antechamber. Disputes about money, however, were not the most serious disputes of these extraordinary associates. The sarcasms of the king soon galled the sensitive temper of the poet. D'Arnaud and D'Argens, Guichard and La Métrie,

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might, for the sake of a morsel of bread, be willing to bear the insolence of a master; but Voltaire was of another order. He knew that he was a potentate as well as Frederic; that his European reputation, and his incomparable power of covering whatever he hated with ridicule, made him an object of dread even to the leaders of armies and the rulers of nations. In truth, of all the intellectual weapons which have ever been wielded by man, the most terrible was the mockery of Voltaire. Bigots and tyrants, who had never been moved by the wailing and cursing of millions, turned pale at his name. Principles unassailable by reason, principles which had withstood the fiercest attacks of power, the most valuable truths, the most generous sentiments, the noblest and most graceful images, the purest reputations, the most august institutions, began to look mean and loathsome as soon as that withering smile was turned upon them. To every opponent, however strong in his cause and his talents, in his station and his character, who ventured to encounter the great scoffer, might be addressed the caution which was given of old to the Archangel:—

> 'I forewarn thee, shun
> His deadly arrow; neither vainly hope
> To be invulnerable in those bright arms,
> Though temper'd heavenly; for that fatal dint,
> Save Him who reigns above, none can resist.'

We cannot pause to recount how often that rare talent was exercised against rivals worthy of esteem—how often it was used to crush and torture enemies worthy only of silent disdain—how often it was perverted to the more noxious purpose of destroying the last solace of earthly misery, and the last restraint on earthly power. Neither can we pause to tell how often it was used to vindicate justice, humanity, and toleration—the principles of sound philosophy, the principles of free government. This is not the place for a full character of Voltaire.

Causes of quarrel multiplied fast. Voltaire, who, partly from love of money, and partly from love of excitement, was always fond of stockjobbing, became implicated in transactions of at least a dubious character. The King was delighted at having such an opportunity to humble his guest; and bitter reproaches and complaints were exchanged. Voltaire, too, was soon at war with the other men of letters who surrounded the King; and this irritated Frederic, who, however, had himself chiefly to blame: for, from that love of tormenting which was in him a ruling passion, he perpetually lavished extravagant praises on small men and bad books, merely in order that he might enjoy the mortification and rage which on such occasions Voltaire took no pains to conceal. His majesty, however, soon had reason to

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regret the pains which he had taken to kindle jealousy among the members of his household. The whole palace was in a ferment with literary intrigues and cabals. It was to no purpose that the imperial voice, which kept a hundred and sixty thousand soldiers in order, was raised to quiet the contention of the exasperated wits. It was far easier to stir up such a storm than to lull it. Nor was Frederic, in his capacity of wit, by any means without his own share of vexations. He had sent a large quantity of verses to Voltaire, and requested that they might be returned, with remarks and corrections. 'See,' exclaimed Voltaire, 'what a quantity of his dirty linen the King has sent me to 'wash!' Talebearers were not wanting to carry the sarcasm to the royal ear; and Frederic was as much incensed as a Grub Street writer who had found his name in the 'Dunciad.'

This could not last. A circumstance which, when the mutual regard of the friends was in its first glow, would merely have been matter for laughter, produced a violent explosion. Maupertuis enjoyed as much of Frederic's good-will as any man of letters. He was President of the Academy of Berlin; and he stood second to Voltaire, though at an immense distance, in the literary society which had been assembled at the Prussian court. Frederic had, by playing for his own amusement on the feelings of the two jealous and vainglorious Frenchmen, succeeded in producing a bitter enmity between them. Voltaire resolved to set his mark, a mark never to be effaced, on the forehead of Maupertuis; and wrote the exquisitely ludicrous diatribe of *Doctor Akakia.* He showed this little piece to Frederic, who had too much taste and too much malice not to relish such delicious pleasantry. In truth, even at this time of day, it is not easy for any person who has the least perception of the ridiculous to read the jokes on the Latin city, the Patagonians, and the hole to the centre of the earth, without laughing till he cries. But though Frederic was diverted by this charming pasquinade, he was unwilling that it should get abroad. His self-love was interested. He had selected Maupertuis to fill the Chair of his Academy. If all Europe were taught to laugh at Maupertuis, would not the reputation of the Academy, would not even the dignity of its royal patron, be in some degree compromised? The King, therefore, begged Voltaire to suppress his performance. Voltaire promised to do so, and broke his word. The diatribe was published, and received with shouts of merriment and applause by all who could read the French language. The King stormed. Voltaire, with his usual disregard of truth, protested his innocence, and made up some lie about a printer or an amanuensis. The King was not to be so imposed upon. He ordered the pamphlet to be burned by the

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common hangman, and insisted upon having an apology from Voltaire, couched in the most abject terms. Voltaire sent back to the King his cross, his key, and the patent of his pension. After this burst of rage, the strange pair began to be ashamed of their violence, and went through the forms of reconciliation. But the breach was irreparable; and Voltaire took his leave of Frederic for ever. They parted with cold civility; but their hearts were big with resentment. Voltaire had in his keeping a volume of the King's poetry, and forgot to return it. This was, we believe, merely one of the oversights which men setting out upon a journey often commit. That Voltaire could have meditated plagiarism is quite incredible. He would not, we are confident, for the half of Frederic's kingdom, have consented to father Frederic's verses. The King, however, who rated his own writings much above their value, and who was inclined to see all Voltaire's actions in the worst light, was enraged to think that his favourite compositions were in the hands of an enemy, as thievish as a daw and as mischievous as a monkey. In the anger excited by this thought, he lost sight of reason and decency, and determined on committing an outrage at once odious and ridiculous.

Voltaire had reached Frankfort. His niece, Madame Denis, came thither to meet him. He conceived himself secure from the power of his late master, when he was arrested by order of the Prussian resident. The precious volume was delivered up. But the Prussian agents had, no doubt, been instructed not to let Voltaire escape without some gross indignity. He was confined twelve days in a wretched hovel. Sentinels with fixed bayonets kept guard over him. His niece was dragged through the mire by the soldiers. Sixteen hundred dollars were extorted from him by his insolent jailers. It is absurd to say that this outrage is not to be attributed to the King. Was any body punished for it? Was any body called in question for it? Was it not consistent with Frederic's character? Was it not of a piece with his conduct on other similar occasions? Is it not notorious that he repeatedly gave private directions to his officers to pillage and demolish the houses of persons against whom he had a grudge—charging them at the same time to take their measures in such a way that his name might not be compromised? He acted thus towards Count Buhl in the Seven Years' War. Why should we believe that he would have been more scrupulous with regard to Voltaire?

When at length the illustrious prisoner regained his liberty, the prospect before him was but dreary. He was an exile both from the country of his birth and from the country of his adop-

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tion. The French government had taken offence at his journey to Prussia, and would not permit him to return to Paris; and in the vicinity of Prussia it was not safe for him to remain.

He took refuge on the beautiful shores of Lake Leman. There, loosed from every tie which had hitherto restrained him, and having little to hope or to fear from courts and churches, he began his long war against all that, whether for good or evil, had authority over man; for what Burke said of the Constituent Assembly, was eminently true of this its great forerunner. He could not build—he could only pull down—he was the very Vitruvius of ruin. He has bequeathed to us not a single doctrine to be called by his name—not a single addition to the stock of our positive knowledge. But no human teacher ever left behind him so vast and terrible a wreck of truths and falsehoods—of things noble and things base—of things useful and things pernicious. From the time when his sojourn beneath the Alps commenced, the dramatist, the wit, the historian, was merged in a more important character. He was now the patriarch, the founder of a sect, the chief of a conspiracy, the prince of a wide intellectual commonwealth. He often enjoyed a pleasure dear to the better part of his nature, the pleasure of vindicating innocence which had no other helper—of repairing cruel wrongs—of punishing tyranny in high places. He had also the satisfaction, not less acceptable to his ravenous vanity, of hearing terrified Capuchins call him the Antichrist. But whether employed in works of benevolence, or in works of mischief, he never forgot Potsdam and Frankfort; and he listened anxiously to every murmur which indicated that a tempest was gathering in Europe, and that his vengeance was at hand.

He soon had his wish. Maria Theresa had never for a moment forgotten the great wrong which she had received at the hand of Frederic. Young and delicate, just left an orphan, just about to be a mother, she had been compelled to fly from the ancient capital of her race; she had seen her fair inheritance dismembered by robbers, and of those robbers he had been the foremost. Without a pretext, without a provocation, in defiance of the most sacred engagements, he had attacked the helpless ally whom he was bound to defend. The Empress-Queen had the faults as well as the virtues which are connected with quick sensibility and a high spirit. There was no peril which she was not ready to brave, no calamity which she was not ready to bring on her subjects, or on the whole human race, if only she might once taste the sweetness of a complete revenge. Revenge, too, presented itself, to her narrow and superstitious mind, in the guise of duty. Silesia had been wrested not only from the House of

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Austria, but from the Church of Rome. The conqueror had indeed permitted his new subjects to worship God after their own fashion; but this was not enough. To bigotry it seemed an intolerable hardship that the Catholic Church, having long enjoyed ascendency, should be compelled to content itself with equality. Nor was this the only circumstance which led Maria Theresa to regard her enemy as the enemy of God. The profaneness of Frederic's writings and conversation, and the frightful rumours which were circulated respecting the immorality of his private life, naturally shocked a woman who believed with the firmest faith all that her confessor told her; and who, though surrounded by temptations, though young and beautiful, though ardent in all her passions, though possessed of absolute power, had preserved her fame unsullied even by the breath of slander.

To recover Silesia, to humble the dynasty of Hohenzollern to the dust, was the great object of her life. She toiled during many years for this end, with zeal as indefatigable as that which the poet ascribes to the stately goddess who tired out her immortal horses in the work of raising the nations against Troy, and who offered to give up to destruction her darling Sparta and Mycenæ, if only she might once see the smoke going up from the palace of Priam. With even such a spirit did the proud Austrian Juno strive to array against her foe a coalition such as Europe had never seen. Nothing would content her but that the whole civilized world, from the White Sea to the Adriatic, from the Bay of Biscay to the pastures of the wild horses of Tanais, should be combined in arms against one petty state.

She early succeeded by various arts in obtaining the adhesion of Russia. An ample share of spoil was promised to the King of Poland; and that prince, governed by his favourite, Count Buhl, readily promised the assistance of the Saxon forces. The great difficulty was with France. That the Houses of Bourbon and of Hapsburg should ever cordially co-operate in any great scheme of European policy, had long been thought, to use the strong expression of Frederic, just as impossible as that fire and water should amalgamate. The whole history of the Continent, during two centuries and a half, had been the history of the mutual jealousies and enmities of France and Austria. Since the administration of Richelieu, above all, it had been considered as the plain policy of the Most Christian King to thwart on all occasions the Court of Vienna; and to protect every member of the Germanic body who stood up against the dictation of the Cæsars. Common sentiments of religion had been unable to mitigate this strong antipathy. The rulers of France, even while

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clothed in the Roman purple, even while persecuting the heretics of Rochelle and Auvergne, had still looked with favour on the Lutheran and Calvinistic princes who were struggling against the chief of the empire. If the French ministers paid any respect to the traditional rules handed down to them through many generations, they would have acted towards Frederic as the greatest of their predecessors acted towards Gustavus Adolphus. That there was deadly enmity between Prussia and Austria, was of itself a sufficient reason for close friendship between Prussia and France. With France, Frederic could never have any serious controversy. His territories were so situated, that his ambition, greedy and unscrupulous as it was, could never impel him to attack her of his own accord. He was more than half a Frenchman. He wrote, spoke, read nothing but French; he delighted in French society. The admiration of the French he proposed to himself as the best reward of all his exploits. It seemed incredible that any French government, however notorious for levity or stupidity, could spurn away such an ally.

The Court of Vienna, however, did not despair. The Austrian diplomatists propounded a new scheme of politics, which, it must be owned, was not altogether without plausibility. The great powers, according to this theory, had long been under a delusion. They had looked on each other as natural enemies, while in truth they were natural allies. A succession of cruel wars had devastated Europe, had thinned the population, had exhausted the public resources, had loaded governments with an immense burden of debt; and when, after two hundred years of murderous hostility or of hollow truce, the illustrious Houses whose enmity had distracted the world sat down to count their gains, to what did the real advantage on either side amount? Simply to this, that they had kept each other from thriving. It was not the King of France, it was not the Emperor, who had reaped the fruits of the Thirty Years' War, of the War of the Grand Alliance, of the War of the Pragmatic Sanction. Those fruits had been pilfered by states of the second and third rank, which, secured against jealousy by their insignificance, had dexterously aggrandized themselves while pretending to serve the animosity of the great chiefs of Christendom. While the lion and tiger were tearing each other, the jackal had run off into the jungle with the prey. The real gainer by the Thirty Years' War had been neither France nor Austria, but Sweden. The real gainer by the war of the Grand Alliance had been neither France nor Austria, but Savoy. The real gainer by the war of the Pragmatic Sanction had been neither France nor Austria, but the upstart of Brandenburg. Of all these instances, the last

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was the most striking: France had made great efforts, had added largely to her military glory, and largely to her public burdens; and for what end? Merely that Frederic might rule Silesia. For this and this alone one French army, wasted by sword and famine, had perished in Bohemia; and another had purchased, with floods of the noblest blood, the barren glory of Fontenoy. And this prince, for whom France had suffered so much, was he a grateful, was he even an honest ally? Had he not been as false to the Court of Versailles as to the Court of Vienna? Had he not played, on a large scale, the same part which, in private life, is played by the vile agent of chicane who sets his neighbours quarrelling, involves them in costly and interminable litigation, and betrays them to each other all round, certain that, whoever may be ruined, he shall be enriched? Surely the true wisdom of the great powers was to attack, not each other, but this common barrator, who, by inflaming the passions of both, by pretending to serve both, and by deserting both, had raised himself above the station to which he was born. The great object of Austria was to regain Silesia; the great object of France was to obtain an accession of territory on the side of Flanders. If they took opposite sides, the result would probably be that, after a war of many years, after the slaughter of many thousands of brave men, after the waste of many millions of crowns, they would lay down their arms without having achieved either object; but, if they came to an understanding, there would be no risk, and no difficulty. Austria would willingly make in Belgium such cessions as France could not expect to obtain by ten pitched battles. Silesia would easily be annexed to the monarchy of which it had long been a part. The union of two such powerful governments would at once overawe the King of Prussia. If he resisted, one short campaign would settle his fate. France and Austria, long accustomed to rise from the game of war both losers, would, for the first time, both be gainers. There could be no room for jealousy between them. The power of both would be increased at once; the equilibrium between them would be preserved; and the only sufferer would be a mischievous and unprincipled buccanier, who deserved no tenderness from either.

These doctrines, attractive from their novelty and ingenuity, soon became fashionable at the supper-parties and in the coffee-houses of Paris, and were espoused by every gay marquis and every facetious abbé who was admitted to see Madame de Pompadour's hair curled and powdered. It was not, however, to any political theory that the strange coalition between France and Austria owed its origin. The real motive which induced the great continental powers to forget their old animosities and

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their old state maxims, was personal aversion to the King of Prussia. This feeling was strongest in Maria Theresa; but it was by no means confined to her. Frederic, in some respects a good master, was emphatically a bad neighbour. That he was hard in all dealings, and quick to take all advantages, was not his most odious fault. His bitter and scoffing speech had inflicted keener wounds than his ambition. In his character of wit he was under less restraint than even in his character of ruler. Satirical verses against all the princes and ministers of Europe were ascribed to his pen. In his letters and conversation he alluded to the greatest potentates of the age in terms which would have better suited Collé, in a war of repartee with young Crébillon at Pelletier's table, than a great sovereign speaking of great sovereigns. About women he was in the habit of expressing himself in a manner which it was impossible for the meekest of women to forgive; and, unfortunately for him, almost the whole Continent was then governed by women who were by no means conspicuous for meekness. Maria Theresa herself had not escaped his scurrilous jests; the Empress Elizabeth of Russia knew that her gallantries afforded him a favourite theme for ribaldry and invective; Madame de Pompadour, who was really the head of the French government, had been even more keenly galled. She had attempted, by the most delicate flattery, to propitiate the King of Prussia, but her messages had drawn from him only dry and sarcastic replies. The Empress-Queen took a very different course. Though the haughtiest of princesses, though the most austere of matrons, she forgot in her thirst for revenge both the dignity of her race and the purity of her character, and condescended to flatter the low-born and low-minded concubine, who, having acquired influence by prostituting herself, retained it by prostituting others. Maria Theresa actually wrote with her own hand a note, full of expressions of esteem and friendship, to her dear cousin, the daughter of the butcher Poisson, the wife of the publican D'Etioles, the kidnapper of young girls for the *Parc-aux-cerfs*—a strange cousin for the descendent of so many Emperors of the West! The mistress was completely gained over, and easily carried her point with Louis, who had, indeed, wrongs of his own to resent. His feelings were not quick; but contempt, says the eastern proverb, pierces even through the shell of the tortoise; and neither prudence nor decorum had ever restrained Frederic from expressing his measureless contempt for the sloth, the imbecility, and the baseness of Louis. France was thus induced to join the coalition; and the example of France determined the conduct of Sweden, then completely subject to French influence.

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The enemies of Frederic were surely strong enough to attack him openly; but they were desirous to add to all their other advantages the advantage of a surprise. He was not, however, a man to be taken off his guard. He had tools in every court; and he now received from Vienna, from Dresden, and from Paris, accounts so circumstantial and so consistent, that he could not doubt of his danger. He learnt that he was to be assailed at once by France, Austria, Russia, Saxony, Sweden, and the Germanic body; that the greater part of his dominions was to be portioned out among his enemies; that France, which from her geographical position could not directly share in his spoils, was to receive an equivalent in the Netherlands; that Austria was to have Silesia, and the Czarina East Prussia; that Augustus of Saxony expected Magdeburg; and that Sweden would be rewarded with part of Pomerania. If these designs succeeded, the house of Brandenburg would at once sink in the European system to a place lower than that of the Duke of Wurtemburg or the Margrave of Baden.

And what hope was there that these designs would fail? No such union of the continental powers had been seen for ages. A less formidable confederacy had in a week conquered all the provinces of Venice, when Venice was at the height of power, wealth, and glory. A less formidable confederacy had compelled Louis the Fourteenth to bow down his haughty head to the very earth. A less formidable confederacy has, within our own memory, subjugated a still mightier empire, and abased a still prouder name. Such odds had never been heard of in war. The people whom Frederic ruled were not five millions. The population of the countries which were leagued against him amounted to a hundred millions. The disproportion in wealth was at least equally great. Small communities, actuated by strong sentiments of patriotism or loyalty, have sometimes made head against great monarchies weakened by factions and discontents. But small as was Frederic's kingdom, it probably contained a greater number of disaffected subjects than were to be found in all the states of his enemies. Silesia formed a fourth part of his dominions; and from the Silesians, born under Austrian princes, the utmost that he could expect was apathy. From the Silesian Catholics he could hardly expect any thing but resistance.

Some states have been enabled, by their geographical position, to defend themselves with advantage against immense forces. The sea has repeatedly protected England against the fury of the whole Continent. The Venetian government, driven from its possessions on the land, could still bid defiance to the con-

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federates of Cambray from the Arsenal amidst the lagoons. More than one great and well-appointed army, which regarded the shepherds of Switzerland as an easy prey, has perished in the passes of the Alps. Frederic had no such advantage. The form of his states, their situation, the nature of the ground, all were against him. His long, scattered, straggling territory, seemed to have been shaped with an express view to the convenience of invaders, and was protected by no sea, by no chain of hills. Scarcely any corner of it was a week's march from the territory of the enemy. The capital itself, in the event of war, would be constantly exposed to insult. In truth, there was hardly a politician or a soldier in Europe who doubted that the conflict would be terminated in a very few days by the prostration of the house of Brandenburg.

Nor was Frederic's own opinion very different. He anticipated nothing short of his own ruin, and of the ruin of his family. Yet there was still a chance, a slender chance, of escape. His states had at least the advantage of a central position; his enemies were widely separated from each other, and could not conveniently unite their overwhelming forces on one point. They inhabited different climates, and it was probable that the season of the year which would be best suited to the military operations of one portion of the league, would be unfavourable to those of another portion. The Prussian monarchy, too, was free from some infirmities which were found in empires far more extensive and magnificent. Its effective strength for a desperate struggle was not to be measured merely by the number of square miles or the number of people. In that spare but well-knit and well-exercised body, there was nothing but sinew, and muscle, and bone. No public creditors looked for dividends. No distant colonies required defence. No court, filled with flatterers and mistresses, devoured the pay of fifty battalions. The Prussian army, though far inferior in number to the troops which were about to be opposed to it, was yet strong out of all proportion to the extent of the Prussian dominions. It was also admirably trained and admirably officered, accustomed to obey and accustomed to conquer. The revenue was not only unincumbered by debt, but exceeded the ordinary outlay in time of peace. Alone of all the European princes, Frederic had a treasure laid up for a day of difficulty. Above all, he was one, and his enemies were many. In their camps would certainly be found the jealousy, the dissension, the slackness inseparable from coalitions; on his side was the energy, the unity, the secresy of a strong dictatorship. To a certain extent the deficiency of military means might be supplied by the resources of military art. Small as the king's

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army was, when compared with the six hundred thousand men whom the confederates could bring into the field, celerity of movement might in some degree compensate for deficiency of bulk. It was thus just possible that genius, judgment, resolution, and good-luck united, might protract the struggle during a campaign or two; and to gain even a month was of importance. It could not be long before the vices which are found in all extensive confederacies would begin to show themselves. Every member of the league would think his own share of the war too large, and his own share of the spoils too small. Complaints and recriminations would abound. The Turk might stir on the Danube; the statesmen of France might discover the error which they had committed in abandoning the fundamental principles of their national policy. Above all, death might rid Prussia of its most formidable enemies. The war was the effect of the personal aversion with which three or four sovereigns regarded Frederic; and the decease of any one of those sovereigns might produce a complete revolution in the state of Europe.

In the midst of a horizon generally dark and stormy, Frederic could discern one bright spot. The peace which had been concluded between England and France in 1748, had been in Europe no more than an armistice; and had not even been an armistice in the other quarters of the globe. In India the sovereignty of the Carnatic was disputed between two great Mussulman houses; Fort Saint George had taken the one side, Pondicherry the other; and in a series of battles and sieges the troops of Lawrence and Clive had been opposed to those of Dupleix. A struggle less important in its consequences, but not less likely to produce immediate irritation, was carried on between those French and English adventurers, who kidnapped negroes and collected gold dust on the coast of Guinea. But it was in North America that the emulation and mutual aversion of the two nations were most conspicuous. The French attempted to hem in the English colonists by a chain of military posts, extending from the Great Lakes to the mouth of the Mississippi. The English took arms. The wild aboriginal tribes appeared on each side mingled with the 'Pale Faces.' Battles were fought: forts were stormed; and hideous stories about stakes, scalpings, and death-songs reached Europe, and inflamed that national animosity which the rivalry of ages had produced. The disputes between France and England came to a crisis at the very time when the tempest which had been gathering was about to burst on Prussia. The tastes and interests of Frederic would have led him, if he had been allowed an option, to side with the house of Bourbon. But the folly of the Court of Versailles left him no choice.

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France became the tool of Austria, and Frederic was forced to become the ally of England. He could not, indeed, expect that a power which covered the sea with its fleets, and which had to make war at once on the Ohio and the Ganges, would be able to spare a large number of troops for operations in Germany. But England, though poor compared with the England of our time, was far richer than any country on the Continent. The amount of her revenue, and the resources which she found in her credit, though they may be thought small by a generation which has seen her raise a hundred and thirty millions in a single year, appeared miraculous to the politicians of that age. A very moderate portion of her wealth, expended by an able and economical prince, in a country where prices were low, would be sufficient to equip and maintain a formidable army.

Such was the situation in which Frederic found himself. He saw the whole extent of his peril. He saw that there was still a faint possibility of escape; and, with prudent temerity, he determined to strike the first blow. It was in the month of August 1756, that the great war of the Seven Years commenced. The king demanded of the Empress-Queen a distinct explanation of her intentions, and plainly told her that he should consider a refusal as a declaration of war. 'I want,' he said, 'no answer in 'the style of an oracle.' He received an answer at once haughty and evasive. In an instant the rich electorate of Saxony was overflowed by sixty thousand Prussian troops. Augustus with his army occupied a strong position at Pirna. The Queen of Poland was at Dresden. In a few days Pirna was blockaded and Dresden was taken. The first object of Frederic was to obtain possession of the Saxon State Papers; for those papers, he well knew, contained ample proofs that, though apparently an aggressor, he was really acting in self-defence. The Queen of Poland, as well acquainted as Frederic with the importance of those documents, had packed them up, had concealed them in her bed-chamber, and was about to send them off to Warsaw, when a Prussian officer made his appearance. In the hope that no soldier would venture to outrage a lady, a queen, the daughter of an emperor, the mother-in-law of a dauphin, she placed herself before the trunk, and at length sat down on it. But all resistance was vain. The papers were carried to Frederic, who found in them, as he expected, abundant evidence of the designs of the coalition. The most important documents were instantly published, and the effect of the publication was great. It was clear that, of whatever sins the king of Prussia might formerly have been guilty, he was now the injured party, and had merely anticipated a blow intended to destroy him.

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The Saxon camp at Pirna was in the mean time closely invested; but the besieged were not without hopes of succour. A great Austrian army under Marshal Brown was about to pour through the passes which separate Bohemia from Saxony. Frederic left at Pirna a force sufficient to deal with the Saxons, hastened into Bohemia, encountered Brown at Lowositz, and defeated him. This battle decided the fate of Saxony. Augustus and his favourite, Buhl, fled to Poland. The whole army of the electorate capitulated. From that time till the end of the war, Frederic treated Saxony as a part of his dominions, or, rather, he acted towards the Saxons in a manner which may serve to illustrate the whole meaning of that tremendous sentence—*subjectos tanquam suos, viles tanquam alienos.* Saxony was as much in his power as Brandenburg; and he had no such interest in the welfare of Saxony as he had in the welfare of Brandenburg. He accordingly levied troops and exacted contributions throughout the enslaved province, with far more rigour than in any part of his own dominions. Seventeen thousand men who had been in the camp at Pirna were half compelled, half persuaded to enlist under their conqueror. Thus, within a few weeks from the commencement of hostilities, one of the confederates had been disarmed, and his weapons pointed against the rest.

The winter put a stop to military operations. All had hitherto gone well. But the real tug of war was still to come. It was easy to foresee that the year 1757 would be a memorable era in the history of Europe.

The scheme for the campaign was simple, bold, and judicious. The Duke of Cumberland with an English and Hanoverian army was in Western Germany, and might be able to prevent the French troops from attacking Prussia. The Russians, confined by their snows, would probably not stir till the spring was far advanced. Saxony was prostrated. Sweden could do nothing very important. During a few months Frederic would have to deal with Austria alone. Even thus the odds were against him. But ability and courage have often triumphed against odds still more formidable.

Early in 1757 the Prussian army in Saxony began to move. Through four defiles in the mountains they came pouring into Bohemia. Prague was his first mark; but the ulterior object was probably Vienna. At Prague lay Marshal Brown with one great army. Daun, the most cautious and fortunate of the Austrian captains, was advancing with another. Frederic determined to overwhelm Brown before Daun should arrive. On the sixth of May was fought, under those walls which, a hun-

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dred and thirty years before, had witnessed the victory of the Catholic league and the flight of the unhappy Palatine, a battle more bloody than any which Europe saw during the long interval between Malplaquet and Eylau. The King and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick were distinguished on that day by their valour and exertions. But the chief glory was with Schwerin. When the Prussian infantry wavered, the stout old marshal snatched the colours from an ensign, and, waving them in the air, led back his regiment to the charge. Thus at seventy-two years of age he fell in the thickest battle, still grasping the standard which bears the black eagle on the field argent. The victory remained with the King. But it had been dearly purchased. Whole columns of his bravest warriors had fallen. He admitted that he had lost eighteen thousand men. Of the enemy, twenty-four thousand had been killed, wounded, or taken.

Part of the defeated army was shut up in Prague. Part fled to join the troops which, under the command of Daun, were now close at hand. Frederic determined to play over the same game which had succeeded at Lowositz. He left a large force to besiege Prague, and at the head of thirty thousand men he marched against Daun. The cautious Marshal, though he had a great superiority in numbers, would risk nothing. He occupied at Kolin a position almost impregnable, and awaited the attack of the King.

It was the 18th of June—a day which, if the Greek superstition still retained its influence, would be held sacred to Nemesis —a day on which the two greatest princes and soldiers of modern times were taught, by a terrible experience, that neither skill nor valour can fix the inconstancy of fortune. The battle began before noon; and part of the Prussian army maintained the contest till after the midsummer sun had gone down. But at length the King found that his troops, having been repeatedly driven back with frightful carnage, could no longer be led to the charge. He was with difficulty persuaded to quit the field. The officers of his personal staff were under the necessity of expostulating with him, and one of them took the liberty to say, 'Does your 'Majesty mean to storm the batteries alone?' Thirteen thousand of his bravest followers had perished. Nothing remained for him but to retreat in good order, to raise the siege of Prague, and to hurry his army by different routes out of Bohemia.

This stroke seemed to be final. Frederic's situation had at best been such, that only an uninterrupted run of good-luck could save him, as it seemed, from ruin. And now, almost in the outset of the contest, he had met with a check which, even in a war between equal powers, would have been felt as serious.

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He had owed much to the opinion which all Europe entertained of his army. Since his accession, his soldiers had in many successive battles been victorious over the Austrians. But the glory had departed from his arms. All whom his malevolent sarcasms had wounded, made haste to avenge themselves by scoffing at the scoffer. His soldiers had ceased to confide in his star. In every part of his camp his dispositions were severely criticised. Even in his own family he had detractors. His next brother, William, heir-presumptive, or rather, in truth, heir-apparent to the throne, and great-grandfather of the present king, could not refrain from lamenting his own fate and that of the house of Hohenzollern, once so great and so prosperous, but now, by the rash ambition of its chief, made a by-word to all nations. These complaints, and some blunders which William committed during the retreat from Bohemia, called forth the bitter displeasure of the inexorable king. The prince's heart was broken by the cutting reproaches of his brother; he quitted the army, retired to a country seat, and in a short time died of shame and vexation.

It seemed that the king's distress could hardly be increased. Yet at this moment another blow not less terrible than that of Kolin fell upon him. The French under Marshal D'Estrées had invaded Germany. The Duke of Cumberland had given them battle at Hastembeck, and had been defeated. In order to save the Electorate of Hanover from entire subjugation, he had made, at Closter Severn, an arrangement with the French Generals, which left them at liberty to turn their arms against the Prussian dominions.

That nothing might be wanting to Frederic's distress, he lost his mother just at this time; and he appears to have felt the loss more than was to be expected from the hardness and severity of his character. In truth, his misfortunes had now cut to the quick. The mocker, the tyrant, the most rigorous, the most imperious, the most cynical of men, was very unhappy. His face was so haggard and his form so thin, that when on his return from Bohemia he passed through Leipsic, the people hardly knew him again. His sleep was broken; the tears, in spite of himself, often started into his eyes; and the grave began to present itself to his agitated mind as the best refuge from misery and dishonour. His resolution was fixed never to be taken alive, and never to make peace on condition of descending from his place among the powers of Europe. He saw nothing left for him except to die; and he deliberately chose his mode of death. He always carried about with him a sure and speedy poison in a small glass case; and to the few in whom he placed confidence, he made no mystery of his resolution.

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But we should very imperfectly describe the state of Frederic's mind, if we left out of view the laughable peculiarities which contrasted so singularly with the gravity, energy, and harshness of his character. It is difficult to say whether the tragic or the comic predominated in the strange scene which was then acted. In the midst of all the great king's calamities, his passion for writing indifferent poetry grew stronger and stronger. Enemies all round him, despair in his heart, pills of corrosive sublimate hidden in his clothes, he poured forth hundreds upon hundreds of lines, hateful to gods and men—the insipid dregs of Voltaire's Hippocrene—the faint echo of the lyre of Chaulieu. It is amusing to compare what he did during the last months of 1757, with what he wrote during the same time. It may be doubted whether any equal portion of the life of Hannibal, of Cæsar, or of Napoleon, will bear a comparison with that short period, the most brilliant in the history of Prussia and of Frederic. Yet at this very time the scanty leisure of the illustrious warrior was employed in producing odes and epistles, a little better than Cibber's, and a little worse than Hayley's. Here and there a manly sentiment which deserves to be in prose, makes its appearance in company with Prometheus and Orpheus, Elysium and Acheron, the plaintive Philomel, the poppies of Morpheus, and all the other frippery which, like a robe tossed by a proud beauty to her waiting-woman, has long been contemptuously abandoned by genius to mediocrity. We hardly know any instance of the strength and weakness of human nature so striking, and so grotesque, as the character of this haughty, vigilant, resolute, sagacious blue-stocking, half Mithridates and half Trissotin, bearing up against a world in arms, with an ounce of poison in one pocket and a quire of bad verses in the other!

Frederic had some time before made advances towards a reconciliation with Voltaire; and some civil letters had passed between them. After the battle of Kolin their epistolary intercourse became, at least in seeming, friendly and confidential. We do not know any collection of Letters which throw so much light on the darkest and most intricate parts of human nature, as the correspondence of these strange beings after they had exchanged forgiveness. Both felt that the quarrel had lowered them in the public estimation. They admired each other. They stood in need of each other. The great King wished to be handed down to posterity by the great Writer. The great Writer felt himself exalted by the homage of the great King. Yet the wounds which they had inflicted on each other were too deep to be effaced, or even perfectly healed. Not only did the scars

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remain; the sore places often festered and bled afresh. The letters consisted for the most part of compliments, thanks, offers of service, assurances of attachment. But if any thing brought back to Frederic's recollection the cunning and mischievous pranks by which Voltaire had provoked him, some expression of contempt and displeasure broke forth in the midst of eulogy. It was much worse when any thing recalled to the mind of Voltaire the outrages which he and his kinswoman had suffered at Frankfort. All at once his flowing panegyric is turned into invective. 'Remember how you behaved to me. For your 'sake I have lost the favour of my king. For your sake I am 'an exile from my country. I loved you. I trusted myself to 'you. I had no wish but to end my life in your service. And 'what was my reward? Stripped of all you had bestowed on 'me, the key, the order, the pension, I was forced to fly from 'your territories. I was hunted as if I had been a deserter from 'your grenadiers. I was arrested, insulted, plundered. My 'niece was dragged in the mud of Frankfort by your soldiers, 'as if she had been some wretched follower of your camp. You 'have great talents. You have good qualities. But you have 'one odious vice. You delight in the abasement of your fellow-'creatures. You have brought disgrace on the name of philoso-'pher. You have given some colour to the slanders of the bigots, 'who say that no confidence can be placed in the justice or hu-'manity of those who reject the Christian faith.' Then the King answers, with less heat but equal severity—'You know that you 'behaved shamefully in Prussia. It was well for you that you had 'to deal with a man so indulgent to the infirmities of genius as I 'am. You richly deserved to see the inside of a dungeon. Your 'talents are not more widely known than your faithlessness and 'your malevolence. The grave itself is no asylum from your 'spite. Maupertuis is dead; but you still go on calumniating 'and deriding him, as if you had not made him miserable enough 'while he was living. Let us have no more of this. And, above 'all, let me hear no more of your niece. I am sick to death of 'her name. I can bear with your faults for the sake of your 'merits; but she has not written *Mahomet* or *Merope*.'

An explosion of this kind, it might be supposed, would necessarily put an end to all amicable communication. But it was not so. After every outbreak of ill-humour this extraordinary pair became more loving than before, and exchanged compliments and assurances of mutual regard with a wonderful air of sincerity.

It may well be supposed that men who wrote thus to each other, were not very guarded in what they said to each other. The English ambassador, Mitchell, who knew that the King of

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Prussia was constantly writing to Voltaire, with the greatest freedom on the most important subjects, was amazed to hear his majesty designate this highly favoured correspondent as a bad-hearted fellow, the greatest rascal on the face of the earth. And the language which the poet held about the king was not much more respectful.

It would probably have puzzled Voltaire himself to say what was his real feeling towards Frederic. It was compounded of all sentiments, from enmity to friendship, and from scorn to admiration; and the proportions in which these elements were mixed, changed every moment. The old patriarch resembled the spoiled child who screams, stamps, cuffs, laughs, kisses, and cuddles within one quarter of an hour. His resentment was not extinguished; yet he was not without sympathy for his old friend. As a Frenchman, he wished success to the arms of his country. As a philosopher, he was anxious for the stability of a throne on which a philosopher sat. He longed both to save and to humble Frederic. There was one way, and only one, in which all his conflicting feelings could at once be gratified. If Frederic were preserved by the interference of France, if it were known that for that interference he was indebted to the mediation of Voltaire, this would indeed be delicious revenge; this would indeed be to heap coals of fire on that haughty head. Nor did the vain and restless poet think it impossible that he might, from his hermitage near the Alps, dictate peace to Europe. D'Estrées had quitted Hanover, and the command of the French army had been entrusted to the Duke of Richelieu, a man whose chief distinction was derived from his success in gallantry. Richelieu was in truth the most eminent of that race of seducers by profession, who furnished Crébillon the younger and La Clos with models for their heroes. In his earlier days the royal house itself had not been secure from his presumptuous love. He was believed to have carried his conquests into the family of Orleans; and some suspected that he was not unconcerned in the mysterious remorse which embittered the last hours of the charming mother of Louis the Fifteenth. But the Duke was now fifty years old. With a heart deeply corrupted by vice, a head long accustomed to think only on trifles, an impaired constitution, an impaired fortune, and, worst of all, a very red nose, he was entering on a dull, frivolous, and unrespected old age. Without one qualification for military command, except that personal courage which was common between him and the whole nobility of France, he had been placed at the head of the army of Hanover; and in that situation he did his best to repair, by extortion and corrup-

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tion, the injury which he had done to his property by a life of dissolute profusion.

The Duke of Richelieu to the end of his life hated the philosophers as a sect—not for those parts of their system which a good and wise man would have condemned—but for their virtues, for their spirit of free enquiry, and for their hatred of those social abuses of which he was himself the personification. But he, like many of those who thought with him, excepted Voltaire from the list of proscribed writers. He frequently sent flattering letters to Ferney. He did the patriarch the honour to borrow money of him, and even carried his condescending friendship so far as to forget to pay interest. Voltaire thought that it might be in his power to bring the Duke and the King of Prussia into communication with each other. He wrote earnestly to both; and he so far succeeded that a correspondence between them was commenced.

But it was to very different means that Frederic was to owe his deliverance. At the beginning of November, the net seemed to have closed completely round him. The Russians were in the field, and were spreading devastation through his eastern provinces. Silesia was overrun by the Austrians. A great French army was advancing from the west under the command of Marshal Soubise, a prince of the great Armorican house of Rohan. Berlin itself had been taken and plundered by the Croatians. Such was the situation from which Frederic extricated himself, with dazzling glory, in the short space of thirty days.

He marched first against Soubise. On the fifth of November the armies met at Rosbach. The French were two to one; but they were ill-disciplined, and their general was a dunce. The tactics of Frederic, and the well-regulated valour of the Prussian troops, obtained a complete victory. Seven thousand of the invaders were made prisoners. Their guns, their colours, their baggage, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Those who escaped fled as confusedly as a mob scattered by cavalry. Victorious in the West, the king turned his arms towards Silesia. In that quarter every thing seemed to be lost. Breslau had fallen; and Charles of Loraine, with a mighty power, held the whole province. On the fifth of December, exactly one month after the battle of Rosbach, Frederic, with forty thousand men, and Prince Charles, at the head of not less than sixty thousand, met at Leuthen, hard by Breslau. The King, who was, in general, perhaps too much inclined to consider the common soldier as a mere machine, resorted, on this great day, to means resembling those which Bonaparte afterwards employed with such signal success for the purpose of stimulating military enthusiasm. The princi-

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pal officers were convoked. Frederic addressed them with great force and pathos; and directed them to speak to their men as he had spoken to them. When the armies were set in battle array, the Prussian troops were in a state of fierce excitement; but their excitement showed itself after the fashion of a grave people. The columns advanced to the attack chanting, to the sound of drums and fifes, the rude hymns of the old Saxon Herrhoids. They had never fought so well; nor had the genius of their chief ever been so conspicuous. 'That battle,' said Napoleon, 'was a masterpiece. Of itself it is sufficient to entitle Frederic 'to a place in the first rank among generals.' The victory was complete. Twenty-seven thousand Austrians were killed, wounded, or taken; fifty stand of colours, a hundred guns, four thousand waggons, fell into the hands of the Prussians. Breslau opened its gates; Silesia was reconquered; Charles of Loraine retired to hide his shame and sorrow at Brussels; and Frederic allowed his troops to take some repose in winter quarters, after a campaign, to the vicissitudes of which it will be difficult to find any parallel in ancient or modern history.

The King's fame filled all the world. He had, during the last year, maintained a contest, on terms of advantage, against three powers, the weakest of which had more than three times his resources. He had fought four great pitched battles against superior forces. Three of these battles he had gained; and the defeat of Kolin, repaired as it had been, rather raised than lowered his military renown. The victory of Leuthen is, to this day, the proudest on the roll of Prussian fame. Leipsic indeed, and Waterloo, produced consequences more important to mankind. But the glory of Leipsic must be shared by the Prussians with the Austrians and Russians; and at Waterloo the British infantry bore the burden and heat of the day. The victory of Rosbach was, in a military point of view, less honourable than that of Leuthen; for it was gained over an incapable general and a disorganized army. But the moral effect which it produced was immense. All the preceding triumphs of Frederic had been triumphs over Germans, and could excite no emotions of national pride among the German people. It was impossible that a Hessian or a Hanoverian could feel any patriotic exultation at hearing that Pomeranians slaughtered Moravians, or that Saxon banners had been hung in the churches of Berlin. Indeed, though the military character of the Germans justly stood high throughout the world, they could boast of no great day which belonged to them as a people;—of no Agincourt, of no Bannockburn. Most of their victories had been gained over each other; and their most splendid exploits against foreigners had been achieved

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under the command of Eugene, who was himself a foreigner. The news of the battle of Rosbach stirred the blood of the whole of the mighty population from the Alps to the Baltic, and from the borders of Courland to those of Loraine. Westphalia and Lower Saxony had been deluged by a great host of strangers, whose speech was unintelligible, and whose petulant and licentious manners had excited the strongest feelings of disgust and hatred. That great host had been put to flight by a small band of German warriors, led by a prince of German blood on the side of father and mother, and marked by the fair hair and the clear blue eye of Germany. Never since the dissolution of the empire of Charlemagne, had the Teutonic race won such a field against the French. The tidings called forth a general burst of delight and pride from the whole of the great family which spoke the various dialects of the ancient language of Arminius. The fame of Frederic began to supply, in some degree, the place of a common government and of a common capital. It became a rallying point for all true Germans—a subject of mutual congratulation to the Bavarian and the Westphalian, to the citizen of Frankfort and the citizen of Nuremburg. Then first it was manifest that the Germans were truly a nation. Then first was discernible that patriotic spirit which, in 1813, achieved the great deliverance of central Europe, and which still guards, and long will guard, against foreign ambition the old freedom of the Rhine.

Nor were the effects produced by that celebrated day merely political. The greatest masters of German poetry and eloquence have admitted that, though the great King neither valued nor understood his native language, though he looked on France as the only seat of taste and philosophy; yet, in his own despite, he did much to emancipate the genius of his countrymen from the foreign yoke; and that, in the act of vanquishing Soubise, he was, unintentionally, rousing the spirit which soon began to question the literary precedence of Boileau and Voltaire. So strangely do events confound all the plans of man. A prince who read only French, who wrote only French, who ranked as a French classic, became, quite unconsciously, the means of liberating half the Continent from the dominion of that French criticism, of which he was himself, to the end of his life, a slave. Yet even the enthusiasm of Germany in favour of Frederic, hardly equalled the enthusiasm of England. The birth-day of our ally was celebrated with as much enthusiasm as that of our own sovereign; and at night the streets of London were in a blaze with illuminations. Portraits of the Hero of Rosbach, with his cocked hat and long pigtail, were in every house. An attentive observer will, at this day, find in the parlours of old-fashioned inns, and in the portfolios

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of print-sellers, twenty portraits of Frederic for one of George II. The sign-painters were every where employed in touching up Admiral Vernon into the King of Prussia. Some young Englishmen of rank proposed to visit Germany as volunteers, for the purpose of learning the art of war under the greatest of commanders. This last proof of British attachment and admiration, Frederic politely but firmly declined. His camp was no place for amateur students of military science. The Prussian discipline was rigorous even to cruelty. The officers, while in the field, were expected to practice an abstemiousness and self-denial such as was hardly surpassed by the most rigid monastic orders. However noble their birth, however high their rank in the service, they were not permitted to eat from any thing better than pewter. It was a high crime even in a count and field-marshal to have a single silver spoon among his baggage. Gay young Englishmen of twenty thousand a-year, accustomed to liberty and to luxury, would not easily submit to these Spartan restraints. The King could not venture to keep them in order as he kept his own subjects in order. Situated as he was with respect to England, he could not well imprison or shoot refractory Howards and Cavendishes. On the other hand, the example of a few fine gentlemen, attended by chariots and livery servants, eating in plate, and drinking champagne and tokay, was enough to corrupt his whole army. He thought it best to make a stand at first, and civilly refused to admit such dangerous companions among his troops.

The help of England was bestowed in a manner far more useful and more acceptable. An annual subsidy of near seven hundred thousand pounds enabled the King to add probably more than fifty thousand men to his army. Pitt, now at the height of power and popularity, undertook the task of defending Western Germany against France, and asked Frederic only for the loan of a general. The general selected was Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, who had attained high distinction in the Prussian service. He was put at the head of an army, partly English, partly Hanoverian, partly composed of mercenaries hired from the petty princes of the empire. He soon vindicated the choice of the two allied courts, and proved himself the second general of the age.

Frederic passed the winter at Breslau, in reading, writing, and preparing for the next campaign. The havoc which the war had made among his troops was rapidly repaired; and in the spring of 1758 he was again ready for the conflict. Prince Ferdinand kept the French in check. The King in the mean time, after attempting against the Austrians some operations which led to no very important result, marched to encounter the Russians, who,

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slaying, burning, and wasting wherever they turned, had penetrated into the heart of his realm. He gave them battle at Zorndorf, near Frankfort on the Oder. The fight was long and bloody. Quarter was neither given nor taken; for the Germans and Scythians regarded each other with bitter aversion, and the sight of the ravages committed by the half savage invaders had incensed the king and his army. The Russians were overthrown with great slaughter, and for a few months no further danger was to be apprehended from the east.

A day of thanksgiving was proclaimed by the King, and was celebrated with pride and delight by his people. The rejoicings in England were not less enthusiastic or less sincere. This may be selected as the point of time at which the military glory of Frederic reached the zenith. In the short space of three quarters of a year he had won three great battles over the armies of three mighty and warlike monarchies—France, Austria, and Russia.

But it was decreed that the temper of that strong mind should be tried by both extremes of fortune in rapid succession. Close upon this bright series of triumphs came a series of disasters, such as would have blighted the fame and broken the heart of almost any other commander. Yet Frederic, in the midst of his calamities, was still an object of admiration to his subjects, his allies, and his enemies. Overwhelmed by adversity, sick of life, he still maintained the contest—greater in defeat, in flight, and in what seemed hopeless ruin, than on the fields of his proudest victories.

Having vanquished the Russians, he hastened into Saxony to oppose the troops of the Empress-Queen, commanded by Daun, the most cautious, and Laudohn, the most inventive and enterprising of her generals. These two celebrated commanders agreed on a scheme, in which the prudence of the one and the vigour of the other seem to have been happily combined. At dead of night they surprised the king in his camp at Hochkirchen. His presence of mind saved his troops from destruction; but nothing could save them from defeat and severe loss. Marshal Keith was among the slain. The first roar of the guns roused the noble exile from his rest, and he was instantly in the front of the battle. He received a dangerous wound, but refused to quit the field, and was in the act of rallying his broken troops, when an Austrian bullet terminated his chequered and eventful life.

The misfortune was serious. But of all generals Frederic understood best how to repair defeat, and Daun understood least how to improve victory. In a few days the Prussian army was as formidable as before the battle. The prospect was, however,

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gloomy. An Austrian army under General Harsch had invaded Silesia, and invested the fortress of Neisse. Daun, after his success at Hochkirchen, had written to Harsch in very confident terms :—'Go on with your operations against Neisse. Be quite 'at ease as to the King. I will give a good account of him.' In truth, the position of the Prussians was full of difficulties. Between them and Silesia lay the victorious army of Daun. It was not easy for them to reach Silesia at all. If they did reach it, they left Saxony exposed to the Austrians. But the vigour and activity of Frederic surmounted every obstacle. He made a circuitous march of extraordinary rapidity, passed Daun, hastened into Silesia, raised the siege of Neisse, and drove Harsch into Bohemia. Daun availed himself of the King's absence to attack Dresden. The Prussians defended it desperately. The inhabitants of that wealthy and polished capital begged in vain for mercy from the garrison within, and from the besiegers without. The beautiful suburbs were burned to the ground. It was clear that the town, if won at all, would be won street by street by the bayonet. At this conjuncture came news, that Frederic, having cleared Silesia of his enemies, was returning by forced marches into Saxony. Daun retired from before Dresden, and fell back into the Austrian territories. The King, over heaps of ruins, made his triumphant entry into the unhappy metropolis, which had so cruelly expiated the weak and perfidious policy of its sovereign. It was now the 20th of November. The cold weather suspended military operations; and the King again took up his winter quarters at Breslau.

The third of the seven terrible years was over; and Frederic still stood his ground. He had been recently tried by domestic as well as by military disasters. On the 14th of October, the day on which he was defeated at Hochkirchen, the day on the anniversary of which, forty-eight years later, a defeat far more tremendous laid the Prussian monarchy in the dust, died Wilhelmina, Margravine of Bareuth. From the portraits which we have of her, by her own hand, and by the hands of the most discerning of her contemporaries, we should pronounce her to have been coarse, indelicate, and a good hater, but not destitute of kind and generous feelings. Her mind, naturally strong and observant, had been highly cultivated; and she was, and deserved to be, Frederic's favourite sister. He felt the loss as much as it was in his iron nature to feel the loss of any thing but a province or a battle.

At Breslau, during the winter, he was indefatigable in his poetical labours. The most spirited lines, perhaps, that he ever wrote, are to be found in a bitter lampoon on Louis and Madame

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de Pompadour, which he composed at this time, and sent to Voltaire. The verses were, indeed, so good, that Voltaire was afraid that he might himself be suspected of having written them, or at least of having corrected them; and partly from fright—partly, we fear, from love of mischief—sent them to the Duke of Choiseul, then prime minister of France. Choiseul very wisely determined to encounter Frederic at Frederic's own weapons, and applied for assistance to Palissot, who had some skill as a versifier, and who, though he had not yet made himself famous by bringing Rousseau and Helvetius on the stage, was known to possess some little talent for satire. Palissot produced some very stinging lines on the moral and literary character of Frederic, and these lines the duke sent to Voltaire. This war of couplets, following close on the carnage of Zorndorf and the conflagration of Dresden, illustrates well the strangely compounded character of the King of Prussia.

At this moment he was assailed by a new enemy. Benedict XIV., the best and wisest of the two hundred and fifty successors of St Peter, was no more. During the short interval between his reign and that of his disciple Ganganelli, the chief seat in the Church of Rome was filled by Rezzonico, who took the name of Clement XIII. This absurd priest determined to try what the weight of his authority could effect in favour of the orthodox Maria Theresa against a heretic king. At the high mass on Christmas-day, a sword with a rich belt and scabbard, a hat of crimson velvet lined with ermine, and a dove of pearls, the mystic symbol of the Divine Comforter, were solemnly blessed by the supreme pontiff, and were sent with great ceremony to Marshal Daun, the conqueror of Kolin and Hochkirchen. This mark of favour had more than once been bestowed by the Popes on the great champions of the faith. Similar honours had been paid, more than six centuries earlier, by Urban II. to Godfrey of Bouillon. Similar honours had been conferred on Alba for destroying the liberties of the Low Countries, and on John Sobiesky after the deliverance of Vienna. But the presents which were received with profound reverence by the Baron of the Holy Sepulchre in the eleventh century, and which had not wholly lost their value even in the seventeenth century, appeared inexpressibly ridiculous to a generation which read Montesquieu and Voltaire. Frederic wrote sarcastic verses on the gifts, the giver, and the receiver. But the public wanted no prompter; and an universal roar of laughter from Petersburg to Lisbon, reminded the Vatican that the age of crusades was over.

The fourth campaign, the most disastrous of all the campaigns

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of this fearful war, had now opened. The Austrians filled Saxony, and menaced Berlin. The Russians defeated the King's generals on the Oder, threatened Silesia, effected a junction with Laudohn, and intrenched themselves strongly at Kunersdorf. Frederic hastened to attack them. A great battle was fought. During the earlier part of the day every thing yielded to the impetuosity of the Prussians, and to the skill of their chief. The lines were forced. Half the Russian guns were taken. The king sent off a courier to Berlin with two lines, announcing a complete victory. But, in the mean time, the stubborn Russians, defeated yet unbroken, had taken up their stand in an almost impregnable position, on an eminence where the Jews of Frankfort were wont to bury their dead. Here the battle recommenced. The Prussian infantry, exhausted by six hours of hard fighting under a sun which equalled the tropical heat, were yet brought up repeatedly to the attack, but in vain. The King led three charges in person. Two horses were killed under him. The officers of his staff fell all round him. His coat was pierced by several bullets. All was in vain. His infantry was driven back with frightful slaughter. Terror began to spread fast from man to man. At that moment, the fiery cavalry of Laudohn, still fresh, rushed on the wavering ranks. Then followed an universal rout. Frederic himself was on the point of falling into the hands of the conquerors, and was with difficulty saved by a gallant officer, who, at the head of a handful of Hussars, made good a diversion of a few minutes. Shattered in body, shattered in mind, the king reached that night a village which the Cossacks had plundered; and there, in a ruined and deserted farm-house, flung himself on a heap of straw. He had sent to Berlin a second despatch very different from his first: —'Let the 'royal family leave Berlin. Send the archives to Potsdam. The 'town may make terms with the enemy.'

The defeat was, in truth, overwhelming. Of fifty thousand men, who had that morning marched under the black eagles, not three thousand remained together. The king bethought him again of his corrosive sublimate, and wrote to bid adieu to his friends, and to give directions as to the measures to be taken in the event of his death:—'I have no resource left'—such is the language of one of his letters—'all is lost. I will not survive 'the ruin of my country. Farewell for ever.'

But the mutual jealousies of the confederates prevented them from following up their victory. They lost a few days in loitering and squabbling; and a few days, improved by Frederic, were worth more than the years of other men. On the morning after the battle, he had got together eighteen thousand of

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his troops. Very soon his force amounted to thirty thousand. Guns were procured from the neighbouring fortresses; and there was again an army. Berlin was for the present safe; but calamities came pouring on the King in uninterrupted succession. One of his generals, with a large body of troops, was taken at Maxen; another was defeated at Meissen; and when at length the campaign of 1759 closed, in the midst of a rigorous winter, the situation of Prussia appeared desperate. The only consoling circumstance was, that, in the West, Ferdinand of Brunswick had been more fortunate than his master; and by a series of exploits, of which the battle of Minden was the most glorious, had removed all apprehension of danger on the side of France.

The fifth year was now about to commence. It seemed impossible that the Prussian territories, repeatedly devastated by hundreds of thousands of invaders, could longer support the contest. But the King carried on war as no European power has ever carried on war, except the Committee of Public Safety during the great agony of the French Revolution. He governed his kingdom as he would have governed a besieged town, not caring to what extent property was destroyed, or the pursuits of civil life suspended, so that he did but make head against the enemy. As long as there was a man left in Prussia, that man might carry a musket—as long as there was a horse left, that horse might draw artillery. The coin was debased, the civil functionaries were left unpaid; in some provinces civil government altogether ceased to exist. But there were still rye-bread and potatoes; there were still lead and gunpowder; and, while the means of sustaining and destroying life remained, Frederic was determined to fight it out to the very last.

The earlier part of the campaign of 1760 was unfavourable to him. Berlin was again occupied by the enemy. Great contributions were levied on the inhabitants, and the royal palace was plundered. But at length, after two years of calamity, victory came back to his arms. At Lignitz he gained a great battle over Laudohn; at Torgau, after a day of horrible carnage, he triumphed over Daun. The fifth year closed, and still the event was in suspense. In the countries where the war had raged, the misery and exhaustion were more appalling than ever; but still there were left men and beasts, arms and food, and still Frederic fought on. In truth he had now been baited into savageness. His heart was ulcerated with hatred. The implacable resentment with which his enemies persecuted him, though originally provoked by his own unprincipled ambition, excited in him a thirst for vengeance which he did not even attempt to conceal.

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'It is hard,' he says in one of his letters, 'for man to bear what 'I bear. I begin to feel that, as the Italians say, revenge is a 'pleasure for the gods. My philosophy is worn out by suffer- 'ing. I am no saint, like those of whom we read in the legends; 'and I will own that I should die content if only I could first 'inflict a portion of the misery which I endure.'

Borne up by such feelings, he struggled with various success, but constant glory, through the campaign of 1761. On the whole, the result of this campaign was disastrous to Prussia. No great battle was gained by the enemy; but, in spite of the desperate bounds of the hunted tiger, the circle of pursuers was fast closing round him. Laudohn had surprised the important fortress of Schweidnitz. With that fortress, half of Silesia, and the command of the most important defiles through the mountains, had been transferred to the Austrians. The Russians had overpowered the King's generals in Pomerania. The country was so completely desolated that he began, by his own confession, to look round him with blank despair, unable to imagine where recruits, horses, or provisions were to be found.

Just at this time two great events brought on a complete change in the relations of almost all the powers of Europe. One of those events was the retirement of Mr Pitt from office; the other was the death of the Empress Elizabeth of Russia.

The retirement of Pitt seemed to be an omen of utter ruin to the House of Brandenburg. His proud and vehement nature was incapable of any thing that looked like either fear or treachery. He had often declared that, while he was in power, England should never make a peace of Utrecht;—should never, for any selfish object, abandon an ally even in the last extremity of distress. The Continental war was his own war. He had been bold enough—he who in former times had attacked, with irresistible powers of oratory, the Hanoverian policy of Carteret, and the German subsidies of Newcastle—to declare that Hanover ought to be as dear to us as Hampshire, and that he would conquer America in Germany. He had fallen; and the power which he had exercised, not always with discretion, but always with vigour and genius, had devolved on a favourite who was the representative of the Tory party—of the party which had thwarted William, which had persecuted Marlborough, and which had given up the Catalans to the vengeance of Philip of Anjou. To make peace with France—to shake off with all, or more than all, the speed compatible with decency, every Continental connexion, these were among the chief objects of the new Minister. The policy then followed inspired Frederic with an unjust, but deep and bitter aversion to the English name; and

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produced effects which are still felt throughout the civilized world. To that policy it was owing that, some years later, England could not find on the whole Continent a single ally to stand by her, in her extreme need, against the House of Bourbon. To that policy it was owing that Frederic, alienated from England, was compelled to connect himself closely, during his later years, with Russia; and was induced reluctantly to assist in that great crime, the fruitful parent of other great crimes—the first partition of Poland.

Scarcely had the retreat of Mr Pitt deprived Prussia of her only friend, when the death of Elizabeth produced an entire revolution in the politics of the North. The Grand Duke Peter, her nephew, who now ascended the Russian throne, was not merely free from the prejudices which his aunt had entertained against Frederic, but was a worshipper, a servile imitator, a Boswell, of the great king. The days of the new Czar's government were few and evil, but sufficient to produce a change in the whole state of Christendom. He set the Prussian prisoners at liberty, fitted them out decently, and sent them back to their master; he withdrew his troops from the provinces which Elizabeth had decided on incorporating with her dominions, and absolved all those Prussian subjects, who had been compelled to swear fealty to Russia, from their engagements.

Not content with concluding peace on terms favourable to Prussia, he solicited rank in the Prussian service, dressed himself in a Prussian uniform, wore the Black Eagle of Prussia on his breast, made preparations for visiting Prussia, in order to have an interview with the object of his idolatry, and actually sent fifteen thousand excellent troops to reinforce the shattered army of Frederic. Thus strengthened, the King speedily repaired the losses of the preceding year, reconquered Silesia, defeated Daun at Buckersdorf, invested and retook Schweidnitz, and, at the close of the year, presented to the forces of Maria Theresa a front as formidable as before the great reverses of 1759. Before the end of the campaign, his friend the Emperor Peter having, by a series of absurd insults to the institutions, manners, and feelings of his people, united them in hostility to his person and government, was deposed and murdered. The Empress, who, under the title of Catherine the Second, now assumed the supreme power, was, at the commencement of her administration, by no means partial to Frederic, and refused to permit her troops to remain under his command. But she observed the peace made by her husband; and Prussia was no longer threatened by danger from the East.

England and France at the same time paired off together.

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They concluded a treaty, by which they bound themselves to observe neutrality with respect to the German war. Thus the coalitions on both sides were dissolved; and the original enemies, Austria and Prussia, remained alone confronting each other.

Austria had undoubtedly by far greater means than Prussia, and was less exhausted by hostilities; yet it seemed hardly possible that Austria could effect alone what she had in vain attempted to effect when supported by France on the one side, and by Russia on the other. Danger also began to menace the Imperial house from another quarter. The Ottoman Porte held threatening language, and a hundred thousand Turks were mustered on the frontiers of Hungary. The proud and revengeful spirit of the Empress-Queen at length gave way; and, in February 1763, the peace of Hubertsburg put an end to the conflict which had, during seven years, devastated Germany. The King ceded nothing. The whole Continent in arms had proved unable to tear Silesia from that iron grasp.

The war was over. Frederic was safe. His glory was beyond the reach of envy. If he had not made conquests as vast as those of Alexander, of Cæsar, and of Napoleon—if he had not, on field of battle, enjoyed the constant success of Marlborough and Wellington—he had yet given an example unrivalled in history of what capacity and resolution can effect against the greatest superiority of power and the utmost spite of fortune. He entered Berlin in triumph, after an absence of more than six years. The streets were brilliantly lighted up; and, as he passed along in an open carriage, with Ferdinand of Brunswick at his side, the multitude saluted him with loud praises and blessings. He was moved by those marks of attachment, and repeatedly exclaimed—'Long live my dear people!—Long live my children!' Yet, even in the midst of that gay spectacle, he could not but perceive every where the traces of destruction and decay. The city had been more than once plundered. The population had considerably diminished. Berlin, however, had suffered little when compared with most parts of the kingdom. The ruin of private fortunes, the distress of all ranks, was such as might appal the firmest mind. Almost every province had been the seat of war, and of war conducted with merciless ferocity. Clouds of Croatians had descended on Silesia. Tens of thousands of Cossacks had been let loose on Pomerania and Brandenburg. The mere contributions levied by the invaders amounted, it was said, to more than a hundred millions of dollars; and the value of what they extorted was probably much less than the value of what they destroyed. The fields lay uncultivated. The very seed-corn had been devoured in the madness of hunger. Famine,

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and contagious maladies the effect of famine, had swept away the herds and flocks; and there was reason to fear that a great pestilence among the human race was likely to follow in the train of that tremendous war. Near fifteen thousand houses had been burned to the ground. The population of the kingdom had in seven years decreased to the frightful extent of ten per cent. A sixth of the males capable of bearing arms had actually perished on the field of battle. In some districts, no labourers, except women, were seen in the fields at harvest-time. In others, the traveller passed shuddering through a succession of silent villages, in which not a single inhabitant remained. The currency had been debased; the authority of laws and magistrates had been suspended; the whole social system was deranged. For, during that convulsive struggle, every thing that was not military violence was anarchy. Even the army was disorganized. Some great generals, and a crowd of excellent officers, had fallen, and it had been impossible to supply their place. The difficulty of finding recruits had, towards the close of the war, been so great, that selection and rejection were impossible. Whole battalions were composed of deserters or of prisoners. It was hardly to be hoped that thirty years of repose and industry would repair the ruin produced by seven years of havoc. One consolatory circumstance, indeed, there was. No debt had been incurred. The burdens of the war had been terrible, almost insupportable; but no arrear was left to embarrass the finances in time of peace.

Here, for the present, we must pause. We have accompanied Frederic to the close of his career as a warrior. Possibly, when these Memoirs are completed, we may resume the consideration of his character, and give some account of his domestic and foreign policy, and of his private habits, during the many years of tranquillity which followed the Seven Years' War.

Number CLII. will be Published in July.

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NOTE to the Article on the Pictorial History of England.

In a note to our account of this work, contained in the preceding Number, we stated that it was 'set on foot by the 'Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge;' but being since informed that we were mistaken in saying so, we think it right to acknowledge the error. Having, in alluding to that Society, taken the opportunity of announcing our intention to review the series of treatises on Monarchical Governments lately published by it—forming part of a more extended series on Governments of all denominations—we, in like manner, avail ourselves of the present occasion, to express our regret at having been unable to overtake that task in this Number. We regret this the more, that it would have afforded us a better opportunity than the present, to enter our protest against a doctrine promulgated in respectable quarters, in some notices of these treatises, that all jealousy of the monarchical branch of our Government may be now laid aside; and that we may henceforward look with indifference upon those principles and safeguards which it was the grand object of the Revolution of 1688 permanently to uphold. Other dangers to liberty and good government there doubtless are, and we are very far from being insensible to them; but surely it is neither wise nor seemly that liberal-minded men should enjoin the people to view with indifference, if not with scorn, that great settlement to which they owe their continued existence as freemen. We shall resume the subject when we come to view in detail these useful treatises; and we, in the meanwhile, express the hope, that the Society will proceed steadily with the Course of instruction in Politics and Political Economy which they have so auspiciously commenced; for, if prosecuted in the same calm and dispassionate manner, with the same adherence to sound principle, the same extent of information, and the same unambitious, but clear and apt style, they will put the people in possession of a stock of knowledge that may, in the most empha-

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tic sense, be pronounced ‘ useful ;’ because it will be knowledge employed about subjects of vital importance to their comforts, their respectability, and their prosperity—to the stability of law and government, and to the general well-being of the community.

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

JULY, 1842.

No. CLII.

ART. I.—*Exercitia Spiritualia S. P. Ignatii Loyolæ, cum Versione literali ex Autographo Hispanico. Præmittuntur* R. P. JOANNIS ROOTHMEN, *Præpositi Generalis Societatis Jesu, Literæ Encycliæ ad Patres et Fratres ejusdem Societatis, de Spiritualium Exercitiorum S. P. N. Studio et Usu.* Londini, typis C. Richards. 1837.

On the dawn of the day on which, in the year 1534, the Church of Rome celebrated the feast of the Assumption of Our Blessed Lady, a little company of men, whose vestments bespoke their religious character, emerged in solemn procession from the deep shadows cast by the towers of Notre Dame over the silent city below them. In a silence not less profound, except when broken by the chant of the matins appropriate to that sacred season, they climbed the Hill of Martyrs, and descended into the Crypt which then ascertained the spot where the Apostle of France had won the crown of martyrdom. With a stately though halting gait, as one accustomed to military command, marched at their head a man of swarthy complexion, bald-headed and of middle stature, who had passed the meridian of life; his deep-set eyes glowing as with a perennial fire, from beneath brows which, had phrenology then been born, she might have portrayed in her loftiest style, but which, without her aid, announced a commission from on high to subjugate and to rule mankind. So majestic, indeed, was the aspect of Ignatius Loyola, that, during the

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sixteenth century, few if any of the books of his order appeared without the impress of that imperial countenance. Beside him in the chapel of St Denys knelt another worshipper, whose manly bearing, buoyant step, clear blue eye, and finely-chiseled features, contrasted strangely with the solemnities in which he was engaged. Then in early manhood, Francis Xavier united in his person the dignity befitting his birth as a grandee of Spain, and the grace which should adorn a page of the Queen of Castile and Arragon. Not less incongruous with the scene in which they bore their parts, were the slight forms of the boy Alphonso Salmeron, and of his bosom friend Jago Laynez, the destined successor of Ignatius in his spiritual dynasty. With them Nicholas Alphonso Bobadilla, and Simon Rodriguez—the first a teacher, the second a student of philosophy—prostrated themselves before the altar, where ministered Peter Faber, once a shepherd in the mountains of Savoy, but now a priest in holy orders. By his hands was distributed to his associates the seeming bread, over which he had uttered words of more than miraculous efficacy; and then were lifted up their united voices, uttering, in low but distinct articulation, an oath, at the deep significance of which the nations might have trembled or rejoiced. Never did human lips pronounce a vow more religiously observed, or pregnant with results more momentous.

Descended from an illustrious family, Ignatius had in his youth been a courtier and a cavalier, and if not a poet at least a cultivator of poetry. At the siege of Pampeluna his leg was broken, and, after the failure of mere vulgar leeches, was set by a touch from the hand of the Prince of Apostles. Yet St Peter's therapeutic skill was less perfect than might have been expected from so exalted a chirurgeon; for a splinter still protruded through the skin, and the limb was shrunk and shortened. To regain his fair proportions, Ignatius had himself literally stretched on the rack; and expiated, by a long confinement to his couch, this singular experiment to reduce his refractory bones and sinews. Books of knight-errantry relieved the lassitude of sickness, and, when these were exhausted, he betook himself to a series of still more marvellous romances. In the legends of the Saints the disabled soldier discovered a new field of emulation and of glory. Compared with their self-conquests and their high rewards, the achievements and the renown of Roland and of Amadis waxed dim. Compared with the peerless damsels for whose smiles Palaqins had fought and died, how transcendently glorious the image of feminine loveliness and angelic purity which had irradiated the hermit's cell and the path of the wayworn pilgrim! Far as the heavens are above the earth would be the plighted fealty of the knight of the Virgin Mother beyond the noblest

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devotion of mere human chivalry. In her service he would cast his shield over the church which ascribed to her more than celestial dignities; and bathe in the blood of her enemies the sword once desecrated to the mean ends of worldly ambition. Nor were these vows unheeded by her to whom they were addressed. Environed in light, and clasping her infant to her bosom, she revealed herself to the adoring gaze of her champion. At that heavenly vision, all fantasies of worldly and sensual delight, like exorcised demons, fled from his soul into an eternal exile. He rose, suspended at her shrine his secular weapons, performed there his nocturnal vigils, and with returning day retired to consecrate his future life to the glory of the *Virgo Deipara*.

To these erotic dreams succeeded stern realities; convulsive agonies of prayer, wailings of remorse, and self-inflicted bodily torments. Exchanging dresses with a beggar, he lined his gaberdine with prickly thorns, fasted to the verge of starvation, assumed the demeanour of an idiot, became too loathsome for human contact, and then, plunging into a gloomy cavern, surrendered himself up to such wrestlings with the Evil Spirit, and to such vicissitudes of rapture and despair, that in the storm of turbid passions his reason had nearly given way. Friendly hands dragged him from his hiding-place; and hands, in intention at least, not less friendly, recorded his feverish ravings. At one time he conversed with voices audible to no ear but his; at another, he sought to propitiate Him before whom he trembled, by expiations which would have been more fitly offered to Moloch. Spiritual Doctors ministered to his relief, but they prescribed in vain. Too simple for their subtilized perception was the simple truth, that in revealing himself to mankind in the character of a Father, that awful Being has claimed as peculiarly his own the gentlest, the kindest, and the most confiding affections of our nature.

At the verge of madness Ignatius paused. That noble intellect was not to be whelmed beneath the tempests in which so many have sunk, nor was his deliverance to be accomplished by any vulgar methods. Standing on the steps of a Dominican church he recited the office of Our Lady, when suddenly heaven itself was laid open to the eye of the worshipper. That ineffable mystery, which the author of the Athanasian creed has laboured to enunciate in words, was disclosed to him as an object not of faith but of actual sight. The past ages of the world were rolled back in his presence, and he beheld the material fabric of things rising into being, and perceived the motives which had prompted the exercise of the creative energy. To his spiritualized sense was disclosed the actual process by which the Host is transubstantiated; and the other Christian verities which it is permitted to common men to receive but as exercises of their belief, now

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became to him the objects of immediate inspection and of direct consciousness. For eight successive days his body reposed in an unbroken trance; while his spirit thus imbibed disclosures for which the tongues of men have no appropriate language. In a volume of fourscore leaves he attempted indeed to impart them; but, dark with excess of light, his words held the learned and the ignorant alike in speechless wonder.

Ignatius returned to this sublunary scene with a mission not unmeet for an envoy from the empyrean world, of which he had thus become a temporary denizen. He returned to establish on earth a theocracy of which he should himself be the first administrator, and to which every tribe and kindred of men should be subject. He returned no longer a sordid half-distracted anchorite, but, strange to tell, a man distinguished not more by the gigantic magnitude of his designs, than by the clear good sense, the profound sagacity, the calm perseverance, and the flexible address with which he was to pursue them. History affords no more perfect illustration how readily delirious enthusiasm and the shrewdness of the exchange may combine and harmonize in minds of the heroic order. A Swedenborg-Franklin, reconciling in himself these antagonist propensities, is no monster of the fancy.

On his restoration to human society, Ignatius reappeared in the garb, and addressed himself to the occupations of other religious men. The first fruits of his labours was the book of which we have transcribed the titlepage. It was originally written in Spanish, and appeared in an inaccurate Latin version. By the order of the present Pope, Loyola's manuscript, still remaining in the Vatican, has been again translated. In this new form the book is commended to the devout study of the faithful by a bull of Pope Paul III., and by an Encyclical Epistle from the present General of the order of Jesus. To so august a sanction, slight indeed is the aid which can be given by the suffrage of northern heretics. Yet on this subject the chair of Knox, if now filled by himself, would not be very widely at variance with the throne of St Peter. The 'Spiritual Exercises' form a manual of what may be called 'the act of conversion.' It proposes a scheme of self-discipline by which, in the course of four weeks, that mighty work is to be accomplished. In the first, the penitent is conducted through a series of dark retrospects to abase, and of gloomy prospects to alarm him. These ends obtained, he is during the next seven days to enrol himself—such is the military style of the book—in the army of the faithful, studying the sacred biography of the Divine Leader of that elect host, and choosing with extreme caution the plan of life, religious or secular, in which he may be best able to tread in his steps, and to bear the standard emblematic at once of suffering and of con-

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quest. To sustain the soldier of the cross in this protracted warfare, his spiritual eye is, during the third of his solitary weeks, to be fixed in a reverential scrutiny into that unfathomable abyss of woe, into which a descent was once made to rescue the race of Adam from the grasp of their mortal enemies; and then seven suns are to rise and set while the still secluded but now disenthralled spirit is to chant triumphant hallelujahs, elevating her desires heavenward, contemplating glories hitherto unimaginable, and mysteries never before revealed; till the sacred exercises close with an absolute surrender of all the joys and interests of this sublunary state, as an holocaust, to be consumed by the undying flame of divine love on the altar of the regenerate heart.

He must have been deeply read in the nature of man, who should have predicted such first fruits as these from the restored health of the distracted visionary, who had alternately sounded the base strings of humility on earth, and the living chords which vibrate with spontaneous harmonies along the seventh heavens. A closer survey of the book will but enhance the wonder. To transmute profligates into converts, by a process of which, during any one of her revolutions round our planet, the moon is to witness the commencement and the close, might perhaps seem like a plagiarism from the academies of Laputa. But in his great, and indeed his only extant work, Ignatius Loyola is no dreamer. By force of an instinct with which such minds as his alone are gifted, he could assume the character to which the shrewd, the practical, and the worldly-wise aspire, even when abandoning himself to ecstasies which they are alike unable to comprehend or to endure. His mind resembled the body of his great disciple, Francis Xavier, which, as he preached or baptized, rose majestically towards the skies, while his feet (the pious curiosity of his hearers ascertained the fact) retained their firm hold on the earth below. If the spiritual exercises were designed to excite, they were not less intended to control and to regulate, religious sensibilities. To exalt the spirit above terrestrial objects was scarcely more his aim, than to disenchant mankind of the self-deceits by which that exaltation is usually attempted. The book, it is true, indicates a tone of feeling utterly removed from that which animates the gay and the busy scenes of life; but it could not have been written except by one accustomed to observe those scenes with the keenest scrutiny, and to study the actors in them with the most profound discernment. To this commendation must be added the praise (to borrow terms but too familiar) of evangelical orthodoxy. A Protestant synod might indeed have extracted from the pages of Ignatius many propositions to anathematize; but they could also have drawn from them much to confirm the doctrines to which

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their confessions had given such emphatic prominency. If he yielded to the demigods of Rome what we must regard as an idolatrous homage, it would be mere prejudice to deny that his supreme adoration was reserved for that awful Being to whom alone it was due. If he ascribed to merely ritual expiations a value of which we believe them to be altogether destitute, yet were all his mighty powers held in the most earnest and submissive affiance in the Divine Nature, as revealed under the veil of human infirmity and of more than human suffering. After the lapse of two centuries, Philip Doddridge, than whom no man ever breathed more freely on earth the atmosphere of heaven, produced a work of which the Spiritual Exercises might have afforded the model—so many are still the points of contact between those who, ranging themselves round the great object of Christianity as their common centre, occupy the most opposite positions in that expanded circle.

From the publication of the 'Spiritual Exercises' to the Vow of Montmartre, nine years elapsed. They wore away in pilgrimages, in feats of asceticism, in the working of miracles, and in escapes all but miraculous, from dangers which the martial spirit of the saint, no less than his piety, impelled him to incur. In the caverns of Monreza he had vowed to scale the heights of "*perfection*," and it therefore behoved him thus to climb that obstinate eminence, in the path already trodden by all the canonized and beatified heroes of the church. But he had also vowed to conduct his fellow-pilgrims from the city of destruction to the land of Beulah. In prison and in shipwreck, fainting with hunger or wasted with disease, his inflexible spirit still brooded over that bright, though as yet shapeless vision; until at length it assumed a coherent form as he knelt on the Mount of Olives, and traced the last indelible foot-print of the ascending Redeemer of mankind. At that hallowed spot had ended the weary way of Him who had bowed the heavens, and came down to execute on earth a mission of unutterable love and matchless self-denial; and there was revealed to the prophetic gaze of the future founder of the order of Jesus, (no seerlike genius kindled by high resolves,) the long line of missionaries who, animated by his example and guided by his instructions, should proclaim that holy name from the rising to the setting sun. It was indeed a futurity perceptible only to the telescopic eye of faith. At the mature age of thirty, possessing no language but his own, no science but that of the camp, and no literature beyond the biographies of Paladins and of Saints, he became the self-destined teacher of the future teachers of the world. Hoping against hope, he returned to Barcelona, and there, as the class-fellow of little children, commenced the study of the first rudiments of the Latin tongue.

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Among the established *facetiæ* of the stage, are the distractions of dramatic Eloisas under the tutorship of their Abelards, in the attempt to conjugate *Amo*. Few playwrights, probably, have been aware that the jest had its type, if not its origin, in the scholastic experiences of Ignatius Loyola. At the same critical point, and in the same manner, a malignant spirit arrested his advance in the grammar. On each successive inflection of the verb, corresponding elevations heavenwards were excited in his soul by the demon, who, assuming the garb of an angel of light, thus succeeded in disturbing his memory. To baffle his insidious enemy, the harassed scholar implored the pedagogue to make liberal use of that discipline of which who can ever forget the efficacy or the pain? The exorcism was complete. *Amo*, in all her affectionate moods, and changeful tenses, became familiar as household words. Thus Thomas à Kempis was made to speak intelligibly. Erasmus also revealed his hidden treasures of learning and wit, though ultimately exiled from the future schools of the Jesuits, for the same offence of having disturbed the thoughts of his devout reader. Energy won her accustomed triumphs, and, in the year 1528, he became a student of the Humanities, and of what was then called Philosophy, at the University of Paris.

Of the seven decades of human life, the brightest and the best, in which other men achieve or contend for distinction, was devoted by Ignatius to the studies preparatory to his great undertaking. Grave professors examined him on their prælections, and, when these were over, he sought the means of subsistence by traversing the Netherlands and England as a beggar. Unheeded and despised as he sat at the feet of the learned, or solicited alms of the rich, he was still maturing in the recesses of his bosom designs more lofty than the highest to which the monarchs of the houses of Valois or of Tudor had ever dared to aspire. In the University of Paris he at length found the means of carrying into effect the cherished purposes of so many years. It was the heroic age of Spain, and the countrymen of Gonsalvo and Cortes lent a willing ear to counsels of daring on any field of adventure, whether secular or spiritual. His companions in study thus became his disciples in religion. Nor were his the common-place methods of making converts. To the contemplative and the timid, he enjoined hardy exercises of active virtue. To the gay and ardent, he appealed in a spirit still more buoyant than their own. To a debauchee, whom nothing else could move, he presented himself neck-deep in a pool of frozen water, to teach the more impressively the duty of subduing the carnal appetites. To an obdurate priest, he made a general confession of his own sins, with such agonies of remorse and shame, as

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to break up, by force of sympathy, the fountains of penitence in the bosom of the confessor. Nay, he even engaged at billiards with a joyous lover of the game, on condition that the defeated player should serve his antagonist for a month; and the victorious saint enforced the penalty by consigning his adversary to a month of secluded devotion. Others yielded at once and without a struggle to the united influence of his sanctity and genius; and it is remarkable that, from these more docile converts, he selected, with but two exceptions, the original members of his infant order. Having performed the initiatory rite of the Spiritual Exercises, they all swore on the consecrated Host in the Crypt of St Denys, to accompany their spiritual father on a mission to Palestine; or, if that should be impracticable, to submit themselves to the vicar of Christ, to be disposed of as missionaries at his pleasure.

Impetuous as had been the temper of Ignatius in early life, he had learned to be patient of the slow growth of great designs. Leaving his disciples to complete their studies at Paris under the care of Peter Faber, he returned to Spain to recruit their number, to mature his plans, and, perhaps, to escape from a too familiar intercourse with his future subjects. In the winter of 1536 they commenced their pilgrimage to the eternal city. Xavier was their leader. Accomplished in all courtly exercises, he prepared for his journey by binding tight cords round his arms and legs, in holy revenge for the pleasure which their graceful agility had once afforded him; and pursued his way with Spartan constancy, till the corroded flesh closed obstinately over the ligatures. Miracle, the prompt handmaid of energies like his, burst the bands which no surgeon could extricate; and her presence was attested by the toils which his loosened limbs immediately endured in the menial service of his fellow travellers. At Venice they rejoined their leader, and there employed themselves in ministering to the patients in the hospitals. Foremost in every act of intrepid self-mortification, Xavier here signalized his zeal by exploits, the mere recital of which would derange the stomachs of ordinary men. While courting all the physical tortures of purgatory, his soul, however, inhaled the anticipated raptures of Paradise. Twice these penances and raptures brought him to the gates of death; and, in his last extremity, he caused himself to be borne to places of public resort, that his ghastly aspect might teach the awful lessons which his tongue was no longer able to pronounce.

Such prodigies, whether enacted by the saints of Rome or by those of Benares, exhibit a sovereignty of the spiritual over the animal nature, which can hardly be contemplated without some feelings akin to reverence. But, on the whole, the hooked Faqueer

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spinning round his gibbet is the more respectable suicide of the two; for his homage is, at least, meet for the deity he worships. He whose name had been assumed by Ignatius and his followers, equally victorious over the stoical illusions and the lower affections of our nature, had been accustomed to seek repose among the domestic charities of life, and to accept such blameless solaces as life has to offer to the weary and the heavy-laden; nor could services less in harmony with his serene self-reverence have been presented to him, than the vehement emotions, the squalid filth, and the lacerated frames of the first members of the society of Jesus. Loyola himself tolerated, encouraged, and shared these extravagances. His countenance was as haggard, his flagellations as cruel, and his couch and diet as sordid as the rest. They who will conquer crowns, whether ghostly or secular, must needs tread in slippery places. He saw his comrades faint and die with the extremity of their sufferings, and assuming the character of an inspired prophet, promoted, by predicting, their recovery. One of the gentlest and most patient of them, Rodriguez, flying for relief to a solitary hermitage, found his retreat obstructed by a man of terrible aspect and gigantic stature, armed with a naked sword and breathing menaces. Hosez, another of his associates, happening to die at the moment when Ignatius, prostrate before the altar, was reciting from the *Confiteor* the words, "et omnibus sanctis," that countless host was revealed to the eye of the saint; and among them, resplendent in glory, appeared his deceased friend, to sustain and animate the hopes of his surviving brethren. As he journeyed with Laynez, he saw a still more awful vision. It exhibited that Being whom no eye hath seen, and whom no tongue may lightly name, and with him the Eternal Son, bearing a heavy cross, and uttering the welcome assurance, "I will be propitious to you at Rome."

These, however, were but the auxiliary and occasional arts (if so they must be termed) by which the sovereignty of Ignatius was established. It behoved him to acquire the unhesitating submission of noble minds, ignited by a zeal as intense and as enduring as his own; and it was on a far loftier basis than that of bodily penances or ecstatic dreams, that for ten successive years their initiatory discipline had been conducted. Wildly as their leader may have described his survey of the celestial regions, and of their triumphant inmates, he had anxiously weighed the state of the world in which he dwelt, and the nature of his fellow sojourners there. He was intimately aware of the effects on human character of self-acquaintance, of action, and of suffering. He therefore required his disciples to scrutinize the recesses and the workings of their own hearts, till the aching sense found relief rather than excitement, in turning from the wonders and

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the shame within, to the mysteries and the glories of the world of unembodied spirits. He trained them to ceaseless activity, until the transmutation of means into ends was complete; and efforts, at first the most irksome, had become spontaneous and even grateful exercises. He accustomed them to every form of privation and voluntary pain, until fortitude, matured into habit, had been the source of enjoyments, as real as to the luxurious they are incomprehensible. He rendered them stoics, mystics, enthusiasts, and then combined them all into an institute, than which no human association was ever more emphatically practical, or more to the purpose and the time.

Of all the occupations to which man can devote the earlier years of life, none probably leaves on the character an impress so deep and indelible as the profession of arms. In no other calling are the whole range of our sympathetic affections, whether kindly or the reverse, called into such habitual and active exercise; nor does any other stimulate the mere intellectual powers with a force so irresistible, when once they are effectually aroused from their accustomed torpor. Loyola was a soldier to the last breath he drew, a General whose authority none might question, a comrade on whose cordiality all might rely, sustaining all the dangers and hardships he exacted of his followers, and in his religious campaigns a Strategist of consummate skill and most comprehensive survey. It was his maxim that war ought to be aggressive, and that even an inadequate force might be wisely weakened by detachments on a distant service, if the prospect of success was such, that the vague and perhaps exaggerated rumour of it would strike terror into nearer foes, and animate the hopes of irresolute allies. To conquer Lutheranism, by converting to the faith of Rome the barbarous or half-civilized nations of the earth, was, therefore, among the earliest of his projects; and his searching eye had scanned the spirits of his lieutenants to discover which of them was best adapted for enterprizes so replete with difficulty and hazard. It was necessary that he should select men superior, not only to all the allurements of appetite, and the common infirmities of our race, but superior, also, to those temptations to which an inquisitive mind and abilities of a high order expose their possessor. His missionaries must be men prepared to do and to dare, but not much disposed to speculate. They must burn with a zeal which no sufferings or disappointment could extinguish; but must not feel those impulses which might prompt men of large capacity to convert a subordinate into an independent command. Long he weighed, and most sagaciously did he decide this perplexing choice. It fell on many who well fulfilled these conditions, but on none in whom all the requisites for such a service met so marvellously as on him who had borne him-

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self so bravely in the chapel of St Denys, and with such strange mortifications of the flesh in the pilgrimage to Rome.

It was in the year 1506 that Francis Xavier, the youngest child of a numerous family, was born in the castle of his ancestors in the Pyrenees. Robust and active, of a gay humour and ardent spirit, the young mountaineer listened with a throbbing heart to the military legends of his House, and to the inward voice which spoke of days to come, when his illustrious lineage should derive new splendour from his own achievements. But the hearts of his parents yearned over the son of their old age; and the enthusiasm which would have borne him to the pursuit of glory in the camp, was diverted by their counsels to the less hazardous contest for literary eminence at the university of Paris. From the embrace of Aristotle and his commentators, he would, however, have been prematurely withdrawn by the failure of his resources, (for the Lords of Xavier were not wealthy,) if a domestic prophetess (his elder sister) had not been inspired to reveal his marvellous career and immortal recompense. For a child destined to have altars raised to his name throughout the Catholic Church, and masses chanted in his honour till time should be no longer, every sacrifice was wisely made; and he was thus enabled to struggle on at the College of St Barbara, till he had become qualified to earn his own maintenance as a public teacher of Philosophy. His Chair was crowded by the studious, and his society courted by the gay, the noble, and the rich. It was courted, also, by one who stood aloof from the thronging multitude; among them, but not of them. Sordid in dress but of lofty bearing, at once unimpassioned and intensely earnest, abstemious of speech, yet occasionally uttering, in deep and most melodious tones, words of strange significance, Ignatius Loyola was gradually working over the mind of his young companion a spell which no difference of taste, of habits, or of age, was of power to subdue. Potent as it was, the charm was long resisted. Hilarity was the native and indispensable element of Francis Xavier, and in his grave monitor he found an exhaustless topic of mirth and raillery. Armed with satire, which was not always playful, the light heart of youth contended, as best it might, against the solemn impressions which he could neither welcome nor avoid. Whether he partook of the frivolities in which he delighted, or in the disquisitions in which he excelled, or traced the windings of the Seine through the forest which then lined its banks, Ignatius was still at hand to discuss with him the charms of society, of learning, or of nature; but, whatever had been the theme, it was still closed by the same awful enquiry, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" The

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world which Xavier had sought to gain, was indeed already exhibiting to him its accustomed treachery. It had given him amusement and applause; but with his self-government had stolen from him his pupils and his emoluments. Ignatius recruited both. He became the eulogist of the genius and the eloquence of his friend, and, as he presented to him the scholars attracted by these panegyrics, would repeat them in the presence of the delighted teacher; and then, as his kindling eye attested the sense of conscious and acknowledged merit, would check the rising exultation by the ever-recurring question, "What shall it profit?" Improvidence squandered these new resources; but nothing could damp the zeal of Ignatius. There he was again, though himself the poorest of the poor, ministering to the wants of Xavier, from a purse filled by the alms he had solicited; but there again was also the same unvarying demand, urged in the same rich though solemn cadence, "What shall it profit?" In the unrelaxing grasp of the strong man—at once forgiven and assisted, rebuked and beloved by his stern associate—Xavier gradually yielded to the fascination. He became, like his master, impassive, at least in appearance, to all sublunary pains and pleasures; and having performed the initiatory rite of the Spiritual Exercises, excelled all his brethren of the society of Jesus in the fervour of his devotion and the austerity of his self-discipline.

Whatever might have been his reward in another life, his name would have probaby left no trace in this world's records, if John III. of Portugal, resolving to plant the Christian faith on the Indian territories which had become subject to the dominion or influence of his crown, had not petitioned the Pope to select some fit leader in this peaceful cursade. On the advice of Ignatius, the choice of the Holy Father fell on Francis Xavier. A happier selection could not have been made, nor was a summons to toil, to suffering, and to death, ever so joyously received. In the visions of the night he had often groaned under the incumbent weight of a wild Indian, of ebon hue and gigantic stature, seated on his shoulders; and he had often traversed tempestuous seas, enduring shipwreck and famine, persecution and danger, in all their most ghastly forms; and as each peril was encountered, his panting soul had invoked, in still greater abundance, the means of making such glorious sacrifices for the conversion of mankind. When the clearer sense and the approaching accomplishment of these dark intimations were disclosed to him, passionate sobs attested the rapture which his tongue could not speak. Light of heart, and joyful in discourse, he conducted his fellow pilgrims from Rome to Lisbon, across the Pyrenees. As he descended their southern slopes, there rose to his sight the towers where he had enjoyed the sports

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of childhood, and woven the day-dreams of youth; where still lived the mother, who for eighteen years had daily watched and blessed him, and the saintly sister whose inspired voice had foretold his high vocation. It was all too high for the momentary intrusion of the holiest of merely human feelings. He was on his way with tidings of mercy to a fallen world, and he had not one hour to waste, nor one parting tear to bestow on those whom he best loved and most revered, and whom, in this life, he could never hope to meet again.

We are not left to conjecture in what light his conduct was regarded. 'I care little, most illustrious doctor, for the judgment 'of men, and least of all for their judgment who decide before they 'hear and before they understand,' was his half-sportive, half-indignant answer to the remonstrances of a grave and well beneficed kinsman, (a shrewd, thriving, hospitable, much-respected man, no unlikely candidate for the mitre, and a candidate too, in his own drowsy way, for amaranthine crowns and celestial blessedness,) who very plausibly believed his nephew mad. Mad or sober he was at least impelled by a force, at the first shock of which the united common sense and respectability of mankind must needs fall to pieces—the force of will concentrated on one great end, and elevated above the misty regions of doubt, into that unclouded atmosphere where, attended by her handmaids, hope and courage, joy and fortitude, Faith converts the future into the present, and casts the brightest hues over objects the most repulsive to human sense, and the most painful to our feeble nature.

As the vessel in which Xavier embarked for India fell down the Tagus and shook out her reefs to the wind, many an eye was dimned with unwonted tears; for she bore a regiment of a thousand men to reinforce the garrison of Goa; nor could the bravest of that gallant host gaze on the receding land without foreboding that he might never see again those dark chestnut forests and rich orange groves, with the peaceful convents and the long-loved homes reposing in their bosom. The countenance of Xavier alone beamed with delight. He knew that he should never tread his native mountains more; but he was not an exile. He was to depend for food and raiment on the bounty of his fellow passengers; but no thought for the morrow troubled him. He was going to convert nations, of which he knew neither the language nor even the names; but he felt no misgivings. Worn by incessant sea-sickness, with the refuse food of the lowest seamen for his diet, and the cordage of the ship for his couch, he rendered to the diseased services too revolting to be described; and lived among the dying and the profligate the unwearied minister of consolation and of peace. In the midst of that float-

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ing throng, he knew how to create for himself a sacred solitude, and how to mix in all their pursuits in the free spirit of a man of the world, a gentleman, and a scholar. With the viceroy and his officers he talked, as pleased them best, of war or trade, of politics or navigation; and to restrain the common soldiers from gambling, would invent for their amusement less dangerous pastimes, or even hold the stakes for which they played, that by his presence and his gay discourse he might at least check the excesses which he could not prevent.

Five weary months (weary to all but him) brought the ship to Mozambique, where an endemic fever threatened a premature grave to the apostle of the Indies. But his was not a spirit to be quenched or allayed by the fiercest paroxysms of disease. At each remission of his malady, he crawled to the beds of his fellow sufferers to soothe their terrors or assuage their pains. To the eye of any casual observer the most wretched of mankind, in the esteem of his companions the happiest and the most holy, he reached Goa just thirteen months after his departure from Lisbon.

At Goa, Xavier was shocked, and had fear been an element in his nature, would have been dismayed, by the almost universal depravity of the inhabitants. It exhibited itself in those offensive forms which characterise the crimes of civilized men when settled among a feebler race, and released from even the conventional decencies of civilization. Swinging in his hand a large bell, he traversed the streets of the city, and implored the astonished crowd to send their children to him, to be instructed in the religion which they still at least professed. Though he had never been addressed by the soul-stirring name of father, he knew that in the hardest and the most dissolute heart which had once felt the parental instinct, there is one chord which can never be wholly out of tune. A crowd of little ones were quickly placed under his charge. He lived among them as the most laborious of teachers, and the gentlest and the gayest of friends; and then returned them to their homes, that by their more hallowed example they might there impart, with all the unconscious eloquence of filial love, the lessons of wisdom and of piety they had been taught. No cry of human misery reached him in vain. He became an inmate of the hospitals, selecting that of the leprous as the object of his peculiar care. Even in the haunts of debauchery, and at the tables of the profligate, he was to be seen an honoured and a welcome guest; delighting that most unmeet audience with the vivacity of his discourse, and sparing neither pungent jests to render vice ridiculous, nor sportive flatteries to allure the fallen back to the still distasteful paths of soberness and virtue. Strong in purity of purpose, and stronger still in one sacred remembrance, he was content to be called the friend

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of publicans and sinners. He had in truth long since deserted the standard of prudence, the offspring of forethought, for the banners of wisdom, the child of love, and followed them through perils not to be hazarded under any less triumphant leader.

Rugged were the ways along which he was thus conducted. In those times, as in our own, there was on the Malabar coast a pearl fishery, and then, as now, the pearl-divers formed a separate and a degraded caste. It was not till after a residence of twelve months at Goa, that Xavier heard of these people. He heard that they were ignorant and miserable, and he enquired no further. On that burning shore his bell once more rang out an invitation of mercy, and again were gathered around him troops of inquisitive and docile children. For fifteen months he lived among these abject fishermen, his only food their rice and water, reposing in their huts, and allowing himself but three hours' sleep in the four-and-twenty. He became at once their physician, the arbiter in their disputes, and their advocate for the remission of their annual tribute with the government at Goa. The bishop of that city had assisted him with two interpreters; but his impassioned spirit struggled, and not in vain, for some more direct intercourse with the objects of his care. Committing to memory translations, at the time unintelligible to himself, of the creeds and other symbols of his faith, he recited them with tones and gestures, which spoke at once to the senses and to the hearts of his disciples. All obstacles yielded to his restless zeal. He soon learned to converse, to preach, and to write in their language. Many an humble cottage was surmounted by a crucifix, the mark of its consecration; and many a rude countenance reflected the sorrows and the hopes which they had been taught to associate with that sacred emblem. "I have nothing to add," (the quotation is from one of the letters which at this time he wrote to Loyola,) "but that they who came forth to labour for the salvation of idolaters, receive from on high such consolations, that if there be on earth such a thing as happiness, it is theirs."

If there be such a thing, it is but as the checkered sunshine of a vernal day. A hostile inroad from Madura overwhelmed the poor fishermen who had learned to call Xavier their father, threw down their simple chapels, and drove them for refuge to the barren rocks and sand-banks which line the western shores of the strait of Manar. But their father was at hand to share their affliction, to procure for them from the viceroy at Goa relief and food, and to direct their confidence to a still more powerful Father, whose presence and goodness they might adore even amidst the wreck of all their earthly treasures.

It was a lesson not unmeet for those on whom such treasures had been bestowed in the most ample abundance; and Xavier

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advanced to Travancore, to teach it there to the Rajah and his courtiers. No facts resting on remote human testimony can be more exempt from doubt than the general outline of the tale which follows. A solitary, poor, and unprotected stranger, he burst through the barriers which separate men of different tongues and races; and with an ease little less than miraculous, established for himself the means of interchanging thoughts with the people of the east. They may have ill gathered his meaning, but by some mysterious force of sympathy they soon caught his ardour. Idol temples fell by the hands of their former worshippers. Christian churches rose at his bidding; and the kingdom of Travancore was agitated with new ideas and unwonted controversies. The Brahmins argued—as the Church by law established has not seldom argued—with fire and sword, and the interdict of earth and water to the enemies of their repose. A foreign invader threw a still heavier sword into the trembling scales. From the southward appeared on the borders of Travancore the same force which had swept away the poor fishermen of Malabar. Some embers of Spanish chivalry still glowed in the bosom of Xavier. He flew to the scene of the approaching combat, and there, placing himself in the van of the protecting army, poured forth a passionate prayer to the Lord of Hosts, raised on high his crucifix, and with kindling eyes, and far-resounding voice, delivered the behests of Heaven to the impious invaders. So runs the tale, and ends (it is almost superfluous to add) in the rout of the astounded foe. It is a matter of less animated, and perhaps of more authentic history, that for his services in this war Xavier was rewarded by the unbounded gratitude of the Rajah, was honoured with the title of his Great Father, and rescued from all further Brahminical persecution.

Power and courtly influence form an intoxicating draught even when raised to the lips of an ascetic and a saint. Holy as he was, the Great Father of the Rajah of Travancore seems not entirely to have escaped this feverish thirst. Don Alphonso de Souza, a weak though amiable man, was at that time the Viceroy of Portuguese India, and Xavier (such was now his authority) dispatched a messenger to Lisbon to demand, rather than to advise his recall. Within the limits of his high commission, (and what subject is wholly foreign to it?) the ambassador of the King of Kings may owe respect, but hardly deference, to any mere earthly monarch. So argued Francis, so judged King John, and so fell Alphonso de Souza, as many a greater statesman has fallen, and may yet fall, under the weight of sacerdotal displeasure. This weakness, however, was not his only recorded fault. Towards the northern extremity of Ceylon lies the Island of Manar, a dependency, in Xavier's day, of the adjacent kingdom of Jaffna,

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where then reigned a sort of oriental Philip II. The islanders had become converts to the Christian faith, and expiated their apostasy by their lives. Six hundred men, women, and children, fell in one royal massacre; and the tragedy was closed by the murder of the eldest son of the King of Jaffna, by his father's orders. Deposition in case of misgovernment, and the transfer to the deposing Power of the dominions of the offender, was no invention of Hastings, or of Clive. It is one of the most ancient constitutional maxims of the European dynasties in India. It may even boast the venerable suffrage of St Francis Xavier. At his instance, De Souza equipped an armament to hurl the guilty ruler of Jaffna from his throne, and to subjugate his territories to the most faithful King. In the invading fleet the indignant saint led the way, with promises of triumphs, both temporal and eternal. But the expedition failed. Cowardice or treachery defeated the design. De Souza paid the usual penalties of ill success. Xavier sailed away to discover other fields of spiritual warfare.

On the Coromandel coast, near the city of Meliapor, might be seen in those times the oratory and the tomb of St Thomas, the first teacher of Christianity in India. It was in a cool and sequestered grotto that the apostle had been wont to pray; and there yet appeared on the living rock, in bold relief, the cross at which he knelt, with a crystal fountain of medicinal waters gushing from the base of it. On the neighbouring height, a church with a marble altar, stained, after the lapse of fifteen centuries, with the blood of the martyr, ascertained the sacred spot at which his bones had been committed to the dust. To this venerable shrine Xavier retired, to learn the will of Heaven concerning him. If we may believe the oath of one of his fellow-pilgrims, he maintained, on this occasion, for seven successive days an unbroken fast and silence—no unfit preparation for his approaching conflicts. Even round the tomb of the apostle malignant demons prowl by night; and, though strong in the guidance of the Virgin, Xavier not only found himself in their obscene grasp, but received from them blows, such as no weapons in human hands could have inflicted, and which had nearly brought to a close his labours and his life. Baffled by a superior power, the fiends opposed a still more subtle hindrance to his designs against their kingdom. In the garb, and in the outward semblance of a band of choristers, they disturbed his devotions by such soul-subduing strains, that the very harmonies of heaven might seem to have been awakened to divert the Christian warrior from his heavenward path. All in vain their fury and their guile. He found the direction he implored, and

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the first bark which sailed from the Coromandel shore to the city of Malacca, bore the obedient missionary to that great emporium of eastern commerce.

Thirty years before the arrival of Xavier, Malacca had been conquered by Alphonso Albuquerque. It was a place abandoned to every form of sensual and enervating indulgence. Through her crowded streets a strange and solemn visiter passed along, pealing his faithful bell, and earnestly imploring the prayers of the faithful for that guilty people. Curiosity and alarm soon gave way to ridicule; but Xavier's panoply was complete. The messenger of divine wrath judged this an unfit occasion for courting aversion or contempt. He became the gayest of the gay, and, in address at least, the very model of an accomplished cavalier. Foiled at their own weapons, his dissolute countrymen acknowledged the irresistible authority of a self-devotion so awful, relieved and embellished as it was by every social grace. Thus the work of reformation prospered, or seemed to prosper. Altars rose in the open streets, the confessional was thronged by penitents, translations of devout books were multiplied; and the saint, foremost in every toil, applied himself with all the activity of his spirit to study the structure and the graceful pronunciation of the Malayar tongue. But the plague was not thus to be stayed. A relapse into all their former habits filled up the measure of their crimes. With prophetic voice Xavier announced the impending chastisements of Heaven; and, shaking off from his feet the dust of the obdurate city, pursued his indefatigable way to Amboyna.

That island, then a part of the vast dominions of Portugal in the east, had scarcely witnessed the commencement of Xavier's exertions, when a fleet of Spanish vessels appeared in hostile array on the shores. They were invaders, and even corsairs; for their expedition had been disavowed by Charles V. Pestilence, however, was raging among them; and Xavier was equally ready to hazard his life in the cause of Portugal, or in the service of her afflicted enemies. Day and night he lived in the infected ships, soothing every spiritual distress, and exerting all the magical influence of his name to procure for the sick whatever might contribute to their recovery or soothe their pains. The coals of fire, thus heaped on the heads of the pirates, melted hearts otherwise steeled to pity; and to Xavier belonged the rare, perhaps the unrivalled, glory of repelling an invasion by no weapons but those of self-denial and love.

But glory, the praise of men or their gratitude, what were these to him? As the Spaniards retired peacefully from Amboyna, he, too, quitted the half-adoring multitude, whom he had

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rescued from the horrors of a pirates' war, and, spurning all the timid counsel which would have stayed his course, proceeded, as the herald of good tidings, to the half barbarous islands of the neighbouring Archipelago. 'If those lands,' such was his indignant exclamation, 'had scented woods and mines of gold, 'Christians would find courage to go there; nor would all the 'perils of the world prevent them. They are dastardly and 'alarmed, because there is nothing to be gained there but the 'souls of men, and shall love be less hardy and less generous than 'avarice? They will destroy me, you say, by poison. It 'is an honour to which such a sinner as I am may not aspire; 'but this I dare to say, that whatever form of torture or of death 'awaits me, I am ready to suffer it ten thousand times for the 'salvation of a single soul.' Nor was this the language of a man insensible to the sorrows of life, or really unaffected by the dangers he had to incur. 'Believe me, my beloved brethren,' (we quote from a letter written by him at this time to the Society at Rome,) 'it is in general easy to understand the evangelical 'maxim, that he who will lose his life shall find it. But 'when the moment of action has come, and when the sacrifice of 'life for God is to be really made, oh then, clear as at other 'times the meaning is, it becomes deeply obscure! so dark, 'indeed, that he alone can comprehend it, to whom, in his mercy, 'God himself interprets it. Then it is we know how weak and 'frail we are.'

Weak and frail he may have been; but from the days of Paul of Tarsus to our own, the annals of mankind exhibit no other example of a soul borne onward so triumphantly through distress and danger, in all their most appalling aspects. He battled with hunger, and thirst, and nakedness, and assassination, and pursued his mission of love, with even increasing ardour, amidst the wildest war of the contending elements. At the island of Moro (one of the group of the Moluccas) he took his stand at the foot of a volcano; and as the pillar of fire threw up its wreaths to heaven, and the earth tottered beneath him, and the firmament was rent by falling rocks and peals of uninterrmitting thunder, he pointed to the fierce lightnings, and the river of molten lava, and called on the agitated crowd which clung to him for safety, to repent, and to obey the truth; but he also taught them that the sounds which racked their ears were the groans of the infernal world, and the sights which blasted their eyes, an outbreak from the atmosphere of the place of torment. Repairing for the celebration of mass to some edifice which he had consecrated for the purpose, an earthquake shook the building to its base. The terrified worshippers fled; but Xavier, standing in

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meek composure before the rocking altar, deliberately completed that mysterious sacrifice, with a faith at least in this instance enviable, in the real presence; rejoicing, as he states in his description of the scene, to perceive that the demons of the island thus attested their flight before the archangel's sword, from the place where they had so long exercised their foul dominion. There is no schoolboy of our days who could not teach much, unsuspected by Francis Xavier, of the laws which govern the material and the spiritual worlds; nor have we many doctors who know as much as he did of the nature of Him by whom the worlds of matter and of spirit were created; for he studied in the school of protracted martyrdom and active philanthropy, where are divulged secrets unknown and unimagined by the wisest and the most learned of ordinary men. Imparting every where such knowledge as he possessed, he ranged over no small part of the Indian archipelago, and at length retraced his steps to Malacca, if even yet his exhortations and his prayers might avert her threatened doom.

It appeared to be drawing nigh. Alaradin, a Mohamedan chief of Sumatra, had laid siege to the place at the head of a powerful fleet and army. Ill provided for defence by land, the Portuguese garrison was still more unprepared for a naval resistance. Seven shattered barks, unfit for service, formed their whole maritime strength. Universal alarm overspread the city, and the governor himself at once partook and heightened the general panic. Already, thoughts of capitulation had become familiar to the besieged, and European chivalry had bowed in abject silence to the insulting taunts and haughty menaces of the Moslem. At this moment, in his slight and weatherbeaten pinnace, the messenger of peace on earth effected an entrance into the beleaguered harbour. But he came with a loud and indignant summons to the war; for Xavier was still a Spanish cavalier, and he 'thought it foul scorn' that gentlemen, subjects of the most faithful King, should thus be bearded by Barbaric enemies, and the worshippers of Christ defied by the disciples of the Arabian impostor. He assumed the direction of the defence. By his advice the seven dismantled ships were promptly equipped for sea. He assigned to each a commander; and having animated the crews with promises of both temporal and eternal triumphs, dispatched them to meet and conquer the hostile fleet. As they sailed from the harbour the admiral's vessel ran aground and instantly became a wreck. Returning hope and exultation as promptly gave way to terror; and Xavier, the idol of the preceding hour, was now the object of popular fury. He alone retained his serenity. He upbraided the cowardice of the gover-

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nor, revived the spirits of the troops, and encouraged the multitude with prophecies of success. Again the flotilla sailed, and a sudden tempest drove it to sea. Day after day passed without intelligence of its safety: once more the hearts of the besieged failed them. Rumours of defeat were rife; the Mohamedans had effected a landing within six leagues of the city, and Xavier's name was repeated from mouth to mouth with cries of vengeance. He knelt before the altar, the menacing people scarcely restrained by the sanctity of the place from immolating him there as a victim to his own disastrous counsels. On a sudden his bosom was seen to heave as with some deep emotion; he raised aloft his crucifix, and with a glowing eye, and in tones like one possessed, breathed a short yet passionate prayer for victory. A solemn pause ensued; the dullest eye could see that within that now fainting, pallid, agitated frame, some power more than human was in communion with the weak spirit of man. What might be the ineffable sense thus conveyed from mind to mind, without the aid of symbols or of words! One half hour of deep and agonizing silence held the awe-stricken assembly in breathless expectation—when, bounding on his feet, his countenance radiant with joy, and his voice clear and ringing as with the swelling notes of the trumpet, he exclaimed, 'Christ has conquered for 'us! At this very moment his soldiers are charging our 'defeated enemies; they have made a great slaughter—we have 'lost only four of our defenders. On Friday next the intelli-'gence will be here, and we shall then see our fleet again.' The catastrophe of such a tale need not be told. Malacca followed her deliverer, and the troops of the victorious squadron, in solemn procession to the church, where, amidst the roar of cannon, the peeling of anthems, and hymns of adoring gratitude, his inward sense heard and reverenced that inarticulate voice which still reminded him, that for him the hour of repose and triumph might never come, till he should reach that state where sin would no longer demand his rebuke, nor grief his sympathy. He turned from the half-idolatrous shouts of an admiring people, and retraced his toilsome way to the shores of Coromandel.

He returned to Goa a poor and solitary, but no longer an obscure man. From the Indus to the Yellow Sea, had gone forth a vague and marvellous rumour of him. The tale bore that a stranger had appeared in the semblance of a wayworn, abject beggar, who, by some magic influence, and for some inscrutable ends, had bowed the nations to his despotic will, while spurning the wealth, the pleasures, and the homage which they offered to their conqueror. Many were the wonders which travellers had to tell of his progress, and without number the inge-

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nious theories afloat for the solution of them. He possessed the gift of ubiquity, could at the same moment speak in twenty different tongues on as many dissimilar subjects, was impassive to heat, cold, hunger, and fatigue, held hourly intercourse with invisible beings, the guides or ministers of his designs, raised the dead to life, and could float, when so it pleased him, across the boiling ocean on the wings of the typhoon. Among the listeners to these prodigies had been Auger, a native and inhabitant of Japan. His conscience was burdened with the memory of great crimes, and he had sought relief in vain from many an expiatory rite, and from the tumults of dissipation. In search of the peace he could not find at home, he sailed to Malacca, there to consult with the mysterious person of whose *avatur* he had heard. But Xavier was absent, and the victim of remorse was retracing his melancholy voyage to Japan, when a friendly tempest arrested his retreat, and once more brought him to Malacca. He was attended by two servants, and with them, by Xavier's directions, he proceeded to Goa. In these three Japanese, his prophetic eye had at once seen the future instruments of the conversion of their native land; and to that end he instructed them to enter on a systematic course of training in a college, which he had established for such purposes, at the seat of Portuguese empire in the east. At that place Xavier, erelong, rejoined his converts. Such had been their proficiency, that soon after his arrival they were admitted not only into the church by baptism, but into the society of Jesus, by the performance of the spiritual exercises.

The history of Xavier now reaches a not unwelcome pause. He pined for solitude and silence. He had been too long in constant intercourse with man, and found that, however high and holy may be the ends for which social life is cultivated, the habit, if unbroken, will impair that inward sense through which alone the soul can gather any true intimations of her nature and her destiny. He retired to commune with himself in a seclusion where the works of God alone were to be seen, and where no voices could be heard but those which, in each varying cadence, raise an unconscious anthem of praise and adoration to their creator. There for a while reposing from labours such as few or any other of the sons of men have undergone, he consumed days and weeks in meditating prospects beyond the reach of any vision unenlarged by the habitual exercise of beneficence and piety. There, too, it may be, (for man must still be human,) he surrendered himself to dreams as baseless, and to ecstasies as devoid of any real meaning, as those which haunt the cell of the maniac. Peace be to the hallucinations, if such they were, by which the giant refreshed his slumbering powers, and from which

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he roused himself to a conflict never again to be remitted till his frame, yielding to the ceaseless pressure, should sink into a premature but hallowed grave.

Scarcely four years had elapsed from the first discovery of Japan by the Portuguese, when Xavier, attended by Auger and his two servants, sailed from Goa to convert the islanders to the Christian faith. Much good advice had been, as usual, wasted on him by his friends. To Loyola alone he confided the secret of his confidence. 'I cannot express to you' (such are his words) 'the joy with which I undertake this long voyage; for 'it is full of extreme perils, and we consider a fleet sailing to 'Japan as eminently prosperous in which one ship out of four is 'saved. Though the risk far exceeds any which I have hitherto encountered, I shall not decline it; for our Lord has imparted to me an interior revelation of the rich harvest which 'will one day be gathered from the cross when once planted 'there.' Whatever may be thought of these voices from within, it is at least clear, that nothing magnanimous or sublime has ever yet proceeded from those who have listened only to the voices from without. But, as if resolved to show that a man may at once act on motives incomprehensible to his fellow mortals, and possess the deepest insight into the motives by which they are habitually governed, Xavier left behind him a code of instructions for his brother missionaries, illuminated in almost every page by that profound sagacity which results from the union of extensive knowledge with acute observation, mellowed by the intuitive wisdom of a compassionate and lowly heart. The science of self-conquest, with a view to conquer the stubborn will of others, the act of winning admission for painful truth, and the duties of fidelity and reverence in the attempt to heal the diseases of the human spirit, were never taught by uninspired man with an eloquence more gentle, or an authority more impressive. A long voyage, pursued through every disaster which the malevolence of man and demons could oppose to his progress, (for he was constrained to sail in a piratical ship, with idols on her deck and whirlwinds in her path,) brought him, in the year 1549, to Japan, there to practise his own lessons, and to give a new example of heroic perseverance.

His arrival had been preceded by what he regarded as fortunate auguries. Certain Portuguese merchants, who had been allowed to reside at the principal seaport, inhabited there a house haunted by spectres. Their presence was usually announced by the din of discordant and agonizing screams; but when revealed to the eye, presented forms resembling those which may be seen in pictures of the infernal state. Now the merchants, secular men

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though they were, had exorcised these fiends by carrying the cross in solemn procession through the house; and anxious curiosity pervaded the city for some explanation of the virtue of this new and potent charm. There were also legends current through the country which might be turned to good account. Xaca, the son of Amida, the *Virgo Deipara* of Japan, had passed a life of extreme austerity to expiate the sins of men, and had inculcated a doctrine in which even Christians must recognise a large admixture of sacred truth. Temples in honour of the mother and child overspread the land, and suicidal sacrifices were daily offered in them. The Father of Lies had further propped up his kingdom in Japan by a profane parody on the institutions of the Catholic church. Under the name of the Saco, there reigned in sacerdotal supremacy a counterpart of the holy father at Rome, who consecrated the Fundi or Bishops of this Japanese hierarchy, and regulated at his infallible will whatever related to the rites and ceremonies of public worship. Subordinate to the Fundi were the Bonzes or Priests in holy orders, who, to complete the resemblance, taught, and at least professed to practise, an ascetic discipline. But here the similitude ceases; for, adds the Chronicle, they were great knaves and sad hypocrites.

With these foundations on which to build, the ideas which Xavier had to introduce into the Japanese mind, might not very widely jar with those by which they were preoccupied. Auger, now called Paul of the Holy Faith, was dispatched to his former friend and sovereign, with a picture of the Virgin and the infant Jesus, and the monarch and his courtiers admired, kissed, and worshipped the sacred symbols. Xavier himself (to use his own words) stood by, a mere mute statue; but there was promethean fire within, and the marble soon found a voice. Of all his philological miracles, this was the most stupendous. He who, in the decline of life, bethinks him of all that he once endured to unlock the sense of Æschylus, and is conscious how stammering has been the speech with which, in later days, he has been wont to mutilate the tongues of Pascal and of Tasso, may think it a fable that in a few brief weeks Xavier could converse and teach intelligibly in the involved and ever-shifting dialects of Japan. Perhaps, had the sceptic ever studied to converse with living men under the impulse of some passion which had absorbed every faculty of his soul, he might relax his incredulity; but, whatever be the solution, the fact is attested on evidence which it would be folly to discredit—that within a very short time Xavier began to open to the Japanese, in their own language and to their perfect understanding, the commission with which he was charged. Such, indeed,

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was his facility of speech, that he challenged the Bonzes to controversies on all the mysterious points of their and his conflicting creeds. The arbiters of the dispute listened as men are apt to listen to the war of words, and many a long-tailed Japanese head was shaken, as if in the hope that the jumbling thoughts within would find their level by the oft-repeated oscillation. It became necessary to resort to other means of winning their assent; and in exploits of asceticism, Xavier had nothing to fear from the rivalry of Bonzes, of Fundi, or of the great Saco himself. Cangoxima acknowledged, as most other luxurious cities would perhaps acknowledge, that he who had such a mastery of his own appetites and passions, must be animated by some power wholly exempt from that debasing influence. To fortify this salutary though not very sound conclusion, Xavier betook himself, (if we may believe his historian,) to the working of miracles. He compelled the fish to fill the nets of the fishermen, and to frequent the bay of Cangoxima, though previously indisposed to do so. He cured the leprous, and he raised the dead. Two Bonzes became the first, and indeed the only fruits of his labours. The hearts of their brethren grew harder as the light of truth glowed with increasing but ineffectual brightness around them. The King also withdrew his favour, and Xavier, with two companions, carried the rejected messages of mercy to the neighbouring states of the Japanese empire.

Carrying on his back his only viaticum, the vessels requisite for performing the sacrifice of the mass, he advanced to Firando, at once the seaport and the capital of the kingdom of that name. Some Portuguese ships, riding at anchor there, announced his arrival in all the forms of nautical triumph—flags of every hue floating from the masts, seamen clustering on the yards, cannon roaring from beneath, and trumpets braying from above. Firando was agitated with debate and wonder; all asked, but none could afford, an explanation of the homage rendered by the wealthy traders to the meanest of their countrymen. It was given by the humble pilgrim himself, surrounded in the royal presence by all the pomp which the Europeans could display in his honour. Great was the effect of these auxiliaries to the work of an evangelist; and the modern, like the ancient Apostle, ready to become all things to all men, would no longer decline the abasement of assuming for a moment the world's grandeur, when he found that such puerile acts might allure the children of the world to listen to the voice of wisdom. At Meaco, then the seat of empire in Japan, the discovery might be reduced to practice with still more important success, and thitherwards his steps were promptly directed.

Unfamiliar to the ears of us barbarians of the North-Western

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Ocean are the very names of the seats of Japanese civilization through which his journey lay. At Amanguchi, the capital of Nagoto, he found the hearts of men hardened by sensuality, and his exhortations to repentance were repaid by showers of stones and insults. 'A pleasant sort of Bonze, indeed, who would 'allow us but one God and one woman!' was the summary remark with which the luxurious Amanguchians disposed of the teacher and his doctrine. They drove him forth half naked, with no provision but a bag of parched rice, and accompanied only by three of his converts, prepared to share his danger and his reproach.

It was in the depth of winter, dense forests, steep mountains, half-frozen streams, and wastes of untrodden snow, lay in his path to Meaco. An entire month was consumed in traversing the wilderness, and the cruelty and scorn of man not seldom adding bitterness to the rigours of nature. On one occasion the wanderers were overtaken in a thick jungle by a horseman bearing a heavy package. Xavier offered to carry the load, if the rider would requite the service by pointing out his way. The offer was accepted, but hour after hour the horse was urged on at such a pace, and so rapidly sped the panting missionary after him, that his tortured feet and excoriated body sank in seeming death under the protracted effort. In the extremity of his distress no repining word was ever heard to fall from him. He performed this dreadful pilgrimage in silent communion with Him for whom he rejoiced to suffer the loss of all things; or spoke only to sustain the hope and courage of his associates. At length the walls of Meaco were seen, promising a repose not ungrateful even to his adamantine frame and fiery spirit. But repose was no more to visit him. He found the city in all the tumult and horrors of a siege. It was impossible to gain attention to his doctrines amidst the din of arms; for even the Saco or Pope of Japan could give heed to none but military topics. Chanting from the Psalmist—'When Israel went out of Egypt and the house of Jacob from a 'strange people,' the Saint again plunged into the desert, and retraced his steps to Amanguchi.

Xavier describes the Japanese very much as a Roman might have depicted the Greeks in the age of Augustus, as at once intellectual and sensual voluptuaries; on the best possible terms with themselves, a good-humoured but faithless race, equally acute and frivolous, talkative and disputatious—'Their inquisi-'tiveness,' he says, 'is incredible, especially in their intercourse 'with strangers, for whom they have not the slightest respect, 'but make incessant sport of them.' Surrounded at Amanguchi by a crowd of these babblers, he was plyed with innumerable

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questions about the immortality of the soul, the movement of the planets, eclipses, the rainbow—sin, grace, paradise, and hell. He heard and answered. A single response solved all these problems. Astronomers, meteorologists, metaphysicians, and divines, all heard the same sound; but to each it came with a different and an appropriate meaning. So wrote from the very spot Father Anthony Quadros four years after the event; and so the fact may be read in the process of Xavier's canonization. Possessed of so admirable a gift, his progress in the conversion of these once contemptuous people is the less surprising. Their city became the principal seat of learning in Japan, and of course, therefore, the great theatre of controversial debate. Of these polemics there remains a record of no doubtful authenticity, from which disputants of higher name than those of Amanguchi might take some useful lessons in the dialectic act. Thrusts, better made or more skilfully parried, are seldom to be witnessed in the schools of Oxford or of Cambridge.

In the midst of controversies with men, Xavier again heard that inward voice to which he never answered but by instant and unhesitating submission. It summoned him to Fucheo, the capital of the kingdom of Bungo; a city near the sea, and having for its port a place called Figer, where a rich Portuguese merchant ship was then lying. At the approach of the Saint (for such he was now universally esteemed) the vessel thundered from all her guns such loud and repeated discharges, that the startled sovereign dispatched messengers from Fucheo to ascertain the cause of so universal an uproar. Nothing could exceed the astonishment with which they received the explanation. It was impossible to convey to the monarch's ear so extravagant a tale. A royal salute for the most abject of lazars—for a man, to use their own energetic language—'so abhorred of the earth, 'that the very vermin which crawled over him loathed their 'wretched fare.' If mortal man ever rose or sunk so far as to discover, without pain, that his person was the object of disgust to others, then is there one form of self-dominion in which Francis Xavier has been surpassed. Yielding with no perceptible reluctance to the arguments of his countrymen, and availing himself of the resources at their command, he advanced to Fucheo, preceded by thirty Portuguese clad in rich stuffs, and embellished with chains of gold and precious stones. 'Next came, and next did go,' in their gayest apparel, the servants and slaves of the merchants. Then appeared the apostle of the Indies himself, resplendent in green velvet and golden brocade. Chinese tapestry, and silken flags of every brilliant colour, covered the pinnace and the boats in which they were rowed

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up to the city, and the oars rose and fell to the sound of trumpets, flutes, and hautboys. As the procession drew near to the royal presence, the commander of the ship marched bareheaded, and carrying a wand as the esquire or major-domo of the Father. Five others of her principal officers, each bearing some costly article, stepped along, as proud to do such service; while he, in honour of whom it was rendered, moved onwards with the majestic gait of some feudal chieftain marshalling his retainers, with a rich umbrella held over him. He traversed a double file of six hundred men-at-arms drawn up for his reception, and interchanged complimentary harangues with his royal host, with all the grace and dignity of a man accustomed to shine in courts, and to hold intercourse with Princes.

His Majesty of Bungo seems to have borne some resemblance to our own Henry the Eighth, and to have been meditating a revolt from the Saco and his whole spiritual dynasty. Much he said at the first interview, to which no orthodox Bonze could listen with composure. It drew down even on his royal head the rebuke of the learned Faxiondono. 'How,' exclaimed that 'eminent divine, 'dare you undertake the decision of any article 'of faith without having studied at the university of Fianzima, 'where alone are to be learned the sacred mysteries of the gods! 'If you are ignorant, consult the doctors appointed to teach you. 'Here am I, ready to impart to you all necessary instruction.' Anticipating the slow lapse of three centuries, the very genius of an university of still higher pretensions than that of Fianzima breathed through the lips of the sage Faxiondono. But the great 'Tractarian' of Bungo provoked replies most unlike those by which his modern successors are assailed. Never was King surrounded by a gayer circle than that which then glittered at the court of Fucheo. The more the Bonze lectured on his own sacerdotal authority, the more laughed they. The King himself condescended to aid the general merriment, and congratulated his monitor on the convincing proof he had given of his heavenly mission, by the display of an infernal temper. To Xavier he addressed himself in a far different spirit. On his head the triple crown might have lighted without allaying the thirst of his soul for the conversion of mankind; and the European pomp with which he was for the moment environed, left him still the same living martyr to the faith it was his one object to diffuse. His rich apparel, and the blandishments of the great, served only to present to him, in a new and still more impressive light, the vanity of all sublunary things. He preached, catechised, and disputed, with an ardour and perseverance which threatened his destruction, and alarmed his affectionate followers. 'Care not

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'for me,' was his answer to their expostulation; 'think of me as 'a man dead to bodily comforts. My food, my rest, my life, are 'to rescue, from the granary of Satan, the souls for whom God 'has sent me hither from the ends of the earth.' To such fervour the Bonzes of Fucheo could offer no effectual resistance. One of the most eminent of their number cast away his idols and became a Christian. Five hundred of his disciples immediately followed his example. The King himself, a dissolute unbeliever, was moved so far (and the concessions of the rulers of the earth must be handsomely acknowledged) as to punish the crimes he still practised; and to confess that the very face of the Saint was as a mirror, reflecting by the force of contrast all the hideousness of his own vices. Revolting, indeed, they were, and faithful were the rebukes of the tongue, no less than the countenance of Xavier. A royal convert was about to crown his labours, and the worship of Xaca and Amida seemed waning to its close. It was an occasion which demanded every sacrifice; nor was the demand unanswered.

For thirty years the mysteries of the faith of the Bonzes had been taught in the most celebrated of their colleges, by a Doctor who had fathomed all divine and human lore; and who, except when he came forth to utter the oracular voice of more than earthly wisdom, withdrew from the sight of men into a sacred retirement, there to hold high converse with the immortals. Fucarondono, for so he was called, announced his purpose to visit the city and palace of Fuchee. As when, in the agony of Agamemnon's camp, the son of Thetis at length grasped his massive spear, and the trembling sea-shores resounded at his steps—so advanced to the war of words the great chieftain of Japanese theology, and so rose the cry of anticipated triumph from the rescued Bonzes. Terror seized the licentious King himself, and all foreboded the overthrow of Xavier and Christianity. 'Do 'you know, or rather, do you remember me?' was the enquiry with which this momentous debate was opened. 'I never saw 'you till now,' answered the Saint. 'A man who has dealt with 'me a thousand times, and who pretends never to have seen me, 'will be no difficult conquest,' rejoined the most profound of the Bonzes. 'Have you left any of the goods which I bought of 'you at the port of Frenajona?'—'I was never a merchant,' said the missionary, 'nor was I ever at Frenajona.'—'What a 'wretched memory!' was the contemptuous reply; 'it is pre-'cisely 500 years to-day since you and I met at that celebrated 'mart, when, by the same token, you sold me a hundred pieces 'of silk, and an excellent bargain I had of it.' From the transmigration of the soul the sage proceeded to unfold the other

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dark secrets of nature—such as the eternity of matter, the spontaneous self-formation of all organized beings, and the progressive cleansing of the human spirit in the nobler and holier, until they attain to a perfect memory of the past, and are enabled to retrace their wanderings from one body to another through all preceding ages—looking down from the pinnacles of accumulated wisdom on the grovelling multitude, whose recollections are confined within the narrow limits of their latest corporeal existence. That Xavier refuted these perplexing arguments, we are assured by a Portuguese bystander who witnessed the debate; though unhappily no record of his arguments has come down to us. 'I 'have,' says the historian, 'neither science nor presumption 'enough to detail the subtle and solid reasonings by which the 'Saint destroyed the vain fancies of the Bonze.'

Yet the victory was incomplete. Having recruited his shattered forces, and accompanied by no less than 3000 Bonzes, Fucarondono returned to the attack. On his side, Xavier appeared in the field of controversy attended by the Portuguese officers in their richest apparel. They stood uncovered in his presence, and knelt when they addressed him. Their dispute now turned on many a knotty point;—as, for example, Why did Xavier celebrate masses for the dead, and yet condemn the orthodox Japanese custom of giving to the Bonze bills of exchange payable in their favour? So subtle and difficult were their enquiries, that Xavier and his companion, the reporter of the dispute, were compelled to believe that the spirit of evil had suggested them; and that they were successfully answered is ascribed to the incessant prayers which, during the whole contest, the Christians offered for their champion. Of this second polemical campaign we have a minute and animated account. It may be sufficient to extract the conclusion of the royal Moderator. 'For my own 'part,' he said, 'as far as I can judge, I think that Father 'Xavier speaks rationally, and that the rest of you don't know 'what you are talking about. Men must have clear heads or 'less violence than you have to understand these difficult ques'tions. If you are deficient in faith, at least employ your rea'son, which might teach you not to deny truths so evident; and 'do not bark like so many dogs.' So saying, the King of Fungo dissolved the assembly. Royal and judicious as his award appears to have been, our Portuguese chronicler admits that the disputants on either side returned with opinions unchanged; and that, from that day forward, the work of conversion ceased. He applies himself to find a solution of the problem, why men who had been so egregiously refuted should still cling to their errors, and why they should obstinately adhere to practices so irrefrag-

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ably proved to be alike foolish and criminal. The answer, let us hope, is, that the obstinacy of the people of Fungo was a kind of *lusus naturæ*, a peculiarity exclusively their own; that other religious teachers are more candid than the Bonzes of Japan, and that no Professor of Divinity could elsewhere be found so obstinately wedded to his own doctrines as was the learned Fucarondono.

In such controversies, and in doing the work of an evangelist in every other form, Xavier saw the third year of his residence at Japan gliding away, when tidings of perplexities at the mother church of Goa recalled him thither; across seas so wide and stormy, that even the sacred lust of gold hardly braved them in that infancy of the art of navigation. As his ship drove before the monsoon, dragging after her a smaller bark which she had taken in tow, the connecting ropes were suddenly burst asunder, and in a few minutes the two vessels were no longer in sight. Thrice the sun rose and set on their dark course, the unchained elements roaring as in mad revelry around them, and the ocean seething like a caldron Xavier's shipmates wept over the loss of friends and kindred in the foundered bark, and shuddered at their own approaching doom. He also wept; but his were grateful tears. As the screaming whirlwind swept over the abyss, the present deity was revealed to his faithful worshipper, shedding tranquillity, and peace, and joy over the sanctuary of a devout and confiding heart. 'Mourn not, my friend,' was his gay address to Edward de Gama, as he lamented the loss of his brother in the bark; 'before three days, the daughter will have returned 'to her mother.' They were weary and anxious days; but, as the third drew towards a close, a sail appeared in the horizon. Defying the adverse winds, she made straight towards them, and at last dropped alongside, as calmly as the sea-bird ends her flight, and furls her ruffled plumage on the swelling surge. The cry of miracle burst from every lip; and well it might. There was the lost bark, and not the bark only, but Xavier himself on board her! What though he had ridden out the tempest in the larger vessel, the stay of their drooping spirits, he had at the same time been in the smaller ship, performing there also the same charitable office; and yet, when the two hailed and spoke each other, there was but one Francis Xavier, and he composedly standing by the side of Edward de Gama on the deck of the "Holy Cross." Such was the name of the commodore's vessel. For her services on this occasion, she obtained a sacred charter of immunity from risks of every kind; and as long as her timbers continued sound, bounded merrily across seas in which no other craft could have lived.

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During this wondrous voyage, her deck had often been paced in deep conference by Xavier and Jago de Pereyra, her commander. Though he pursued the calling of a merchant, he had, says the historian, the heart of a prince. Two great objects expanded the thoughts of Pereyra—the one, the conversion of the Chinese empire; the other, his own appointment as ambassador to the celestial court at Pekin. In our puny days, the dreams of traders in the east are of smuggling opium. But in the sixteenth century, no enterprise appeared to them too splendid to contemplate, or too daring to hazard. Before the "Holy Cross" had reached Goa, Pereyra had pledged his whole fortune, Xavier his influence and his life, to this gigantic adventure. In the spring of the following year, the apostle and the ambassador, (for so far the project had in a few months been accomplished,) sailed from Goa in the "Holy Cross," for the then unexplored coasts of China. As they passed Malacca, tidings came to Xavier of the tardy though true fulfilment of one of his predictions. Pestilence, the minister of Divine vengeance, was laying waste that stiffnecked and luxurious people; but the woe he had foretold he was the foremost to alleviate. Heedless of his own safety, he raised the sick in his arms and bore them to the hospitals. He esteemed no time, or place, or office, too sacred to give way to this work of mercy. Ships, colleges, churches, all at his bidding became so many lazarettos. Night and day he lived among the diseased and the dying, or quitted them only to beg food or medicine, from door to door, for their relief. For the moment, even China was forgotten; nor would he advance a step though it were to convert to Christianity a third part of the human race, so long as one victim of the plague demanded his sympathy, or could be directed to an ever-present and still more compassionate Comforter. The career of Xavier (though he knew it not) was now drawing to a close; and with him the time was ripe for practising those deeper lessons of wisdom which he had imbibed from his long and arduous discipline.

With her cables bent lay the "Holy Cross" in the port of Malacca, ready at length to convey the embassage to China, when a difficulty arose, which not even the prophetic spirit of Xavier had foreseen. Don Alvaro d'Alayde, the governor, a grandee of high rank, regarded the envoy and his commission with an evil eye. To represent the crown of Portugal to the greatest of earthly monarchs was, he thought, an honour more meet for a son of the house of Alayde, than for a man who had risen from the very dregs of the people. The expected emoluments also exceeded the decencies of a cupidity less than noble.

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He became of opinion that it was not for the advantage of the service of King John III., that the expedition should advance. Pereyra appeared before him in the humble garb of a suitor, with the offer of 30,000 crowns as a bribe. All who sighed for the conversion, or for the commerce of China, lent the aid of their intercessions. Envoys, saints, and merchants, united their prayers in vain. Brandishing his cane over their heads, Alvaro swore that, so long as he was governor of Malacca and captain-general of the seas of Portugal, the embassy should move no further. Week after week was thus consumed, and the season was fast wearing away, when Xavier at length resolved on a measure to be justified even in his eyes only by extreme necessity. A secret of high significance had been buried in his bosom since his departure from Europe. The time for the disclosure of it had come. He produced a Papal Brief, investing him with the dignity and the powers of apostolical nuncio in the east. One more hindrance to the conversion of China, and the church would clothe her neck with thunders. Alvaro was still unmoved; and sentence of excommunication was solemnly pronounced against him and his abettors. Alvaro answered by sequestrating the 'Holy Cross' herself. Xavier wrote letters of complaint to the king. Alvaro intercepted them. One appeal was still open to the vicar of the vicar of Christ. Prostrate before the altar, he invoked the aid of Heaven; and rose with purposes confirmed, and hopes reanimated. In the service of Alvaro, though no longer bearing the embassy to China, the 'Holy 'Cross' was to be dispatched to Sancian, an island near the mouth of the Canton river, to which the Portuguese were permitted to resort for trade. Xavier resolved to pursue his voyage so far, and thence proceeded to Macao to preach the gospel there. Imprisonment was sure to follow. But he should have Chinese fellow-prisoners. These at least he might convert; and though his life would pay the forfeit, he should leave behind him in these first Christians a band of missionaries who would propagate through their native land the faith he should only be permitted to plant.

It was a compromise as welcome to Alvaro as to Xavier himself. Again the 'Holy Cross' prepared for sea; and the apostle of the Indies, followed by a grateful and admiring people, passed through the gates of Malacca to the beach. Falling on his face on the earth, he poured forth a passionate though silent prayer. His body heaved and shook with the throes of that agonizing hour. What might be the fearful portent none might divine, and none presumed to ask. A contagious terror passed from eye to eye, but every voice was hushed. It was as the calm pre-

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ceding the first thunder peal which is to rend the firmament. Xavier arose, his countenance no longer beaming with its accustomed grace and tenderness, but glowing with a sacred indignation, like that of Isaiah when breathing forth his inspired menaces against the king of Babylon. Standing on a rock amidst the waters, he loosed his shoes from off his feet, smote them against each other with vehement action, and then casting them from him, as still tainted with the dust of that devoted city, he leaped barefooted into the bark, which bore him away for ever from a place from which he had so long and vainly laboured to avert her impending doom.

She bore him, as he had projected, to the island of Sancian. It was a mere commercial factory; and the merchants who passed the trading season there, vehemently opposed his design of penetrating further into China. True he had ventured into the forest, against the tigers which infested it, with no other weapon than a vase of holy water; and the savage beasts, sprinkled with that sacred element, had for ever fled the place: but the Mandarins were fiercer still than they, and would avenge the preaching of the saint on the inmates of the factory—though most guiltless of any design but that of adding to their heap of crowns and moidores. Long years had now passed away since the voice of Loyola had been heard on the banks of the Seine urging the solemn enquiry, 'What shall it profit.' But the words still rung on the ear of Xavier, and were still repeated, though in vain, to his worldly associates at Sancian. They sailed away with their cargoes, leaving behind them only the 'Holy Cross,' in charge of the officers of Alvaro, and depriving Xavier of all means of crossing the channel to Macao. They left him destitute of shelter and of food, but not of hope. He had heard that the King of Siam meditated an embassy to China for the following year; and to Siam he resolved to return in Alvaro's vessel, to join himself, if possible, to the Siamese envoys, and so at length to force his way into the empire.

But his earthly toils and projects were now to cease for ever. The angel of death appeared with a summons, for which, since death first entered our world, no man was ever more triumphantly prepared. It found him on board the vessel on the point of departing for Siam. At his own request he was removed to the shore, that he might meet his end with the greater composure. Stretched on the naked beach, with the cold blasts of a Chinese winter aggravating his pains, he contended alone with the agonies of the fever which wasted his vital power. It was a solitude and an agony for which the happiest of the sons of men might well have exchanged the dearest society and the purest of the joys of

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life. It was an agony in which his still-uplifted crucifix reminded him of a far more awful woe endured for his deliverance; and a solitude thronged by blessed ministers of peace and consolation, visible in all their bright and lovely aspects to the now unclouded eye of faith; and audible to the dying martyr through the yielding bars of his mortal prison-house, in strains of exulting joy till then unheard and unimagined. Tears burst from his fading eyes, tears of an emotion too big for utterance. In the cold collapse of death his features were for a few brief moments irradiated as with the first beams of approaching glory. He raised himself on his crucifix, and exclaiming, *In te, Domine, speravi —non confundar in æternum!* he bowed his head and died.

Why consume many words in delineating a character which can be disposed of in three? Xavier was a Fanatic, a Papist, and a Jesuit. Comprehensive and incontrovertible as the climax is, it yet does not exhaust the censures to which his name is obnoxious. His understanding, that is, the mere cogitative faculty, was deficient in originality, in clearness, and in force. It is difficult to imagine a religious dogma which he would not have embraced, at the command of his teachers, with the same infantine credulity with which he received the creeds and legends they actually imposed upon him. His faith was not victorious over doubt; for doubt never for one passing moment assailed it. Superstition might boast in him one of the most complete as well as one of the most illustrious of her conquests. She led him through a land peopled with visionary forms, and resounding with ideal voices—a land of prodigies and portents, of ineffable discourse and unearthly melodies. She bade him look on this fair world as on some dungeon unvisited by the breath of heaven; and on the glorious face of nature, and the charms of social life, as so many snares and pitfalls for his feet. At her voice he starved and lacerated his body, and rivalled the meanest lazar in filth and wretchedness. Harder still, she sent him forth to establish among half-civilized tribes a worship which to them must have become idolatrous; and to inculcate a morality in which the holier and more arduous virtues were made to yield precedence to ritual forms and outward ceremonies. And yet, never did the polytheism of ancient or of modern Rome assign a seat among the demi-gods to a hero of nobler mould, or of more exalted magnanimity, than Francis Xavier.

He lived among men as if to show how little the grandeur of the human soul depends on mere intellectual power. His it was to demonstrate with what vivific rays a heart imbued with the love of God and man may warm and kindle the nations; dense as may be the exhalations through which the giant pursues his

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course from the one end of heaven to the other. Scholars criticized, wits jested, prudent men admonished, and kings opposed him; but on moved Francis Xavier, borne forward by an impulse which crushed and scattered to the winds all such puny obstacles. In ten short years, a solitary wanderer, destitute of all human aid—as if mercy had lent him wings, and faith an impenetrable armour—he traversed oceans, islands, and continents, through a track equal to more than twice the circumference of our globe; every where preaching, disputing, baptizing, and founding Christian churches. There is at least one well authenticated miracle in Xavier's story. It is, that any mortal man should have sustained such toils as he did; and have sustained them too, not merely with composure, but as if in obedience to some indestructible exigency of his nature. 'The Father 'Master Francis,' (the words are those of his associate, Melchior Nunez,) 'when labouring for the salvation of idolaters, seemed 'to act, not by any acquired power, but as by some natural 'instinct; for he could neither take pleasure nor even exist except 'in such employments. They were his repose; and when he was 'leading men to the knowledge and the love of God, however 'much he exerted himself, he never appeared to be making any 'effort.'

Seven hundred thousand converts (for in these matters Xavier's worshippers are not parsimonious) are numbered as the fruits of his mission; nor is the extravagance so extreme if the word conversion be understood in the sense in which they used it. Kings, Rajahs, and Princes were always, when possible, the first objects of his care. Some such conquests he certainly made; and as the flocks would often follow their shepherds, and as the gate into the Christian fold was not made very strait, it may have been entered by many thousands and tens of thousands. But if Xavier taught the mighty of the earth, it was for the sake of the poor and miserable, and with them he chiefly dwelt. He dwelt with them on terms ill enough corresponding with the vulgar notions of a saint. 'You, my friends,' said he to a band of soldiers who had hidden their cards at his approach, 'belong to 'no religious order, nor can you pass whole days in devotion. 'Amuse yourselves. To you it is not forbidden, if you neither 'cheat, quarrel, nor swear when you play.' Then good-humouredly sitting down in the midst of them, he challenged one of the party to a game at chess; and was found at the board by Don Diego Noragua, whose curiosity had brought him from far to see so holy a man, and to catch some fragments of that solemn discourse which must ever be flowing from his lips. The grandee would have died in the belief that the saint was a hypocrite,

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unless by good fortune he had afterwards chanced to break in on his retirement, and to find him there suspended between earth and heaven in a rapture of devotion, with a halo of celestial glory encircling his head.

Of such miraculous visitations, nor indeed of any other of his supernatural performances, will any mention be found in the letters of Xavier. Such at least is the result of a careful examination of a considerable series of them. He was too humble a man to think it probable that he should be the depositary of so divine a gift; and too honest to advance any such claims to the admiration of mankind. Indeed he seems to have been even amused with the facility with which his friends assented to these prodigies. Two of them repeated to him the tale of his having raised a dead child to life, and pressed him to reveal the truth. 'What!' he replied, 'I raise the dead!' 'Can you really believe such a 'thing of a wretch like me?' Then smiling, he added, 'They did 'indeed place before me a child. They said it was dead, which 'perhaps was not the case. I told him to get up, and he did so. 'Do you call that a miracle?' But in this matter Xavier was not allowed to judge for himself. He was a Thaumaturgus in his own despite; and this very denial is quoted by his admirers as a proof of his profound humility. Could he by some second sight have read the Bull of his own canonization, he would doubtless, in defiance of his senses, have believed (for belief was always at his command) that the church knew much better than he did; and that he had been reversing the laws of nature without perceiving it; for at the distance of rather more than half a century from his death, Pope Urban VIII., with the unanimous assent of all the cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, in sacred conclave assembled, pledged his papal infallibility to the miracles already recorded, and to many more. And who can be so sceptical as to doubt their reality, when he is informed that depositions taken in proof of them were read before that august assembly; and that the apotheosis was opposed there by a learned person, who appeared at their bar in the character and with the title of 'the Devil's advocate.' A scoffer might indeed suggest that the lawyer betrayed the cause of his client if he really laboured to dispel illusions, and that the Father of Lies may have secretly instructed his counsel to make a sham fight of it, in order that one lie the more might be acted in the form of a new idol worship. Without exploring so dark a question, it may be seriously regretted that such old wives' fables have been permitted to sully the genuine history of many a man of whom the world was not worthy, and of none more than Francis Xavier. They have long obscured his real glory, and degraded him to the low level

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of a vulgar hero of ecclesiastical romance. Casting away these puerile embellishments, refused the homage due to genius and to learning, and excluded from the number of those who have aided the progress of speculative truth, he emerges from those lower regions, clad with the mild brilliancy, and resplendent in the matchless beauty which belong to the human nature, when ripening fast into a perfect union with the divine. He had attained to that childlike affiance in the Author of his being, which gives an unrestrained play to every blameless impulse, even when that awful presence is the most habitually felt. His was a sanctity which, at fitting seasons, could even disport itself in jests and trifling. No man, however abject his condition, disgusting his maladies, or hateful his crimes, ever turned to Xavier without learning that there was at least one human heart on which he might repose with all the confidence of a brother's love. To his eye the meanest and the lowest reflected the image of Him whom he followed and adored; nor did he suppose that he could ever serve the Saviour of mankind so acceptably as by ministering to their sorrows, and recalling them into the way of peace. It is easy to smile at his visions, to detect his errors, to ridicule the extravagant austerities of his life; and even to show how much his misguided zeal eventually counteracted his own designs. But with our philosophy, our luxuries, and our wider experience, it is not easy for us to estimate or to comprehend the career of such a man. Between his thoughts and our thoughts there is but little in common. Of our wisdom he knew nothing, and would have despised it if he had. Philanthropy was his passion, reckless daring his delight; and faith glowing in meridian splendour the sunshine in which he walked. He judged or felt (and who shall say that he judged or felt erroneously?) that the church demanded an illustrious sacrifice, and that he was to be the victim; that a voice which had been dumb for fifteen centuries, must at length be raised again, and that to him that voice had been imparted; that a new Apostle must go forth to break up the incrustations of man's long-hardened heart, and that to him that apostolate had been committed. So judging, or so feeling, he obeyed the summons of him whom he esteemed Christ's vicar on earth, and the echoes from no sublunary region which that summons seemed to awaken in his bosom. In holding up to reverential admiration such self-sacrifices as his, slight, indeed, is the danger of stimulating enthusiastic imitators. Enthusiasm! our pulpits distil their bland rhetoric against it; but where is it to be found? Do not our share markets, thronged even by the devout, overlay it—and our rich benefices extinguish it—and our pentecosts, in the dazzling month of May, dissipate it—and our stipen-

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diary missions, and our mitres, decked even in heathen lands with jewels and with lordly titles—do they not, as so many lightning conductors, effectually divert it? There is indeed the lack-adaisical enthusiasm of devotional experiences, and the sentimental enthusiasm of religious bazars, and the oratorical enthusiasm of charitable platforms—and the tractarian enthusiasm of well-beneficed ascetics; but in what, except the name, do they resemble 'the-God-in-us' enthusiasm of Francis Xavier?—of Xavier the magnanimous, the holy, and the gay; the canonized saint, not of Rome only, but of universal Christendom; who, if at this hour there remained not a solitary Christian to claim and to rejoice in his spiritual ancestry, should yet live in hallowed and everlasting remembrance; as the man who has bequeathed to these later ages, at once the clearest proof and the most illustrious example, that even amidst the enervating arts of our modern civilization, the apostolic energy may still burn with all its primeval ardour in the human soul, when animated and directed by a power more than human.

Xavier died in the year 1552, in the forty-seventh of his age, and just ten years and a half from his departure from Europe. During his residence in India, he had maintained a frequent correspondence with the General of his order. On either side their letters breathe the tenderness which is an indispensable element of the heroic character—an intense though grave affection, never degenerating into fondness; but chastened, on the side of Xavier by filial reverence, on that of Ignatius by parental authority. It was as a father, or rather as a patriarch, exercising a supreme command over his family, and making laws for their future government, that Ignatius passed the last twenty years of his life. No longer a wanderer, captivating or overawing the minds of men by marvels addressed to their imagination, he dwelt in the ecclesiastical capital of the West, giving form and substance to the visions which had fallen on him at the Mount of Ascension, and had attended him through every succeeding pilgrimage.

It proved, however, no easy task to obtain the requisite Papal sanction for the establishment of his order. In that age the regular clergy had to contend with an almost universal unpopularity. To their old enemies, the bishops and secular priests, were added the wits, the reformers, and the Vatican itself. The Papal court not unreasonably attributed to their misconduct a large share of the disasters under which the Church of Rome was suffering. On the principle of opposing new defences to new dangers, the Pope had given his confidence and encouragement to the Theatins; and the other isolated preachers who were labouring at once to protect and to purify the fold, by dif-

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fusing among them their own deep and genuine spirit of devotion. It seemed bad policy at such a moment to call into existence another religious order, which must be regarded with equal disfavour by these zealous recruits, and by the ancient supporters of the Papacy. Nor did the almost morbid prescience of the Vatican fail to perceive how dangerous a rival, even to the successors of St Peter, might become the General of a society projected on a plan of such stupendous magnitude.

Three years, therefore, were consumed by Ignatius in useless solicitations. He sought to propitiate, not mere mortal man only, but the Deity himself, by the most lavish promises; and is recorded to have pledged himself on one day to the performance of three thousand masses, if so his prayer might be granted. Earth and Heaven seemed equally deaf to his offers, when the terrors of Paul III. were effectually awakened by the progress of the Reformers in the very bosom of Italy. Ferrara seemed about to fall as Germany, England, and Switzerland, had fallen; and the Consistory became enlightened to see the divine hand in a scheme which they had till then regarded as the workmanship of man, and as wrought with no superhuman purposes. Anxiously and with undisguised reluctance, though, as the event proved, with admirable foresight, Paul III., on the 27th September 1540, affixed the Papal seal to the Bull 'Regimini,' the Magna Charta of the order of Jesus. It affords full internal evidence of the misgivings with which it was issued. 'Quamvis Evangelio 'doceamur, et fide orthodoxâ cognoscamus ac firmiter profitea-'mur, omnes Christi fideles, Romano pontifici tanquam Capiti, 'ac Jesu Christi Vicario, subesse, ad majorem tamen nostræ 'societatis humilitatem, ac perfectam unius cujusque mortifica-'tionem, et voluntatum nostrarum abnegationem, summopere 'conducere judicavimus, singulos nos, ultra illud commune vin-'culum, speciali voto adstringi, ita ut quidquid Romani ponti-'fices, pro tempore existentes, jusserint'—'quantum in nobis 'fuerit exequi teneamur.'

So wrote the Pope in the persons of his new Prætorians; and to elect a General of the band, who should guide them to the performance of this vow, was the first care of Ignatius. Twice the unanimous choice of his companions fell on himself. Twice the honour was refused. At length, yielding to the absolute commands of his confessor, he ascended the throne of which he had been so long laying the foundations. Once seated there, his coyness was at an end, and he wielded the sceptre as best becomes an absolute monarch—magnanimously, and with unfaltering decision; beloved, but permitting no rude familiarity; reverenced, but exciting no servile fear; declining no enterprize

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which high daring might accomplish, and attempting none which headlong ambition might suggest; self-multiplied in the ministers of his will; yielding to them a large and generous confidence, yet trusting no man whom he had not deeply studied; and assigning to none a province beyond the range of his capacity.

Though not in books, yet in the far nobler school of active, and especially of military life, Loyola had learned the great secret of government; at least of his government. It was, that the social affections, if concentrated within a well-defined circle, possess an intensity and endurance, unrivalled by those passions of which self is the immediate object. He had the sagacity to perceive, that emotions like those with which a Spartan or a Jew had yearned over the land and the institutions of their fathers—emotions stronger than appetite, vanity, ambition, avarice, or death itself—might be kindled in the members of his order; if he could detect and grasp those mainsprings of human action of which the Greek and the Hebrew legislators had obtained the mastery. Nor did he seek them in vain.

It is with an audacity approaching to the sublime that Loyola demands the obedience of his subjects—an obedience to be yielded, not in the mere outward act, but by the understanding and the will. 'Non intueamini in persona superioris hominem 'obnoxium erroribus atque miseriis, *sed Christum ipsum.*' 'Superioris vocem ac jussa non secus ac *Christi* vocem excipiti.' 'Ut statuatis vobiscum quidquid superior præcipit *ipsius Dei* 'præceptum esse ac voluntatem.' He who wrote thus had not lightly observed how the spirit of man groans beneath the weight of its own freedom, and exults in bondage if only permitted to think that the chain has been voluntarily assumed. Nor had he less carefully examined the motives which may stimulate the most submissive to revolt, when he granted to his followers the utmost liberty in outward things which could be reconciled with this inward servitude;—no peculiar habit—no routine of prayers and canticles—no prescribed system of austerities—no monastic seclusion. The enslaved soul was not to be rudely reminded of her slavery. Neither must the frivolous or the feeble-minded have a place in his brotherhood; for he well knew how awful is the might of folly in all sublunary affairs. No one could be admitted who had worn, though but for one day, the habit of any other religious order; for Ignatius must be served by virgin souls and by prejudices of his own engrafting. Stern initiatory discipline must probe the spirits of the Professed; for both scandal and danger would attend the faintness of any leader in the host. Gentler probations must suffice for lay or spiritual coadjutors; for

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every host is incomplete without a body of irregular partizans. But the General himself—the centre and animating spirit of the whole spiritual army—he must rule for life; for ambition and cabal will fill up any short intervals of choice, and the reverence due to royalty is readily impaired by the aspect of dethroned sovereigns. He must be absolute; for human authority can on no other terms exhibit itself as the image of the divine. He must reign at a distance and in solitude; for no government is effective in which imagination has not her work to do. He must be the ultimate depositary of the secrets of the conscience of each of his subjects; for irresistible power may inspire dread but not reverence, unless guided by unlimited knowledge. No subject of his may accept any ecclesiastical or civil dignity; for he must be supreme in rank as in dominion. And the ultimate object of all this scheme of government—it must be vast enough to expand the soul of the proselyte to a full sense of her own dignity; and practical enough to provide incessant occupation for his time and thoughts; and must have enough of difficulty to bring his powers into strenuous activity, and of danger to teach the lesson of mutual dependence; and there must be conflicts for the brave, and intrigues for the subtle, and solitary labours for the studious, and offices of mercy for the compassionate; and to all must be offered rewards, both temporal and eternal—in this life, the reward of a sympathy rendered intense by confinement, and stimulating by secrecy; and in the life to come, felicities of which the anxious heart might find the assurance in the promises and in the fellowship of the holy and the wise—of men whose claims to the divine favour it would be folly and impiety to doubt.

If there be in any of our universities a professor of moral philosophy lecturing on the science of human nature, let him study the Constitutions of Ignatius Loyola. They were the fruit of the solitary meditations of many years. The lamp of the retired student threw its rays on nothing but his manuscript, his crucifix, Thomas à Kempis, *De Imitatione Christi*, and the New Testament. Any other presence would have been a profane intrusion; for the work was but a transcript of thoughts imparted to his disembodied spirit when, in early manhood, it had been caught up into the seventh heavens. As he wrote, a lambent flame, in shape like a tongue of fire, hovered about his head; and as may be read in his own hand, in a still extant paper, the hours of composition were passed in tears of devotion, in holy ardour, in raptures, and amidst celestial apparitions.

Some unconscious love of power, a mind bewildered by many gross superstitions, and theoretical errors, and perhaps some tinge of insanity, may be ascribed to Ignatius Loyola; but no dispas-

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sionate reader of his writings; or of his life, will question his integrity; or deny him the praise of a devotion at once sincere, habitual, and profound. It is not to the glory of the reformers to depreciate the name of their greatest antagonist; or to think meanly of him to whom more than any other man it is owing that the Reformation was stayed, and the Church of Rome rescued from her impending doom.

In the language now current amongst us, Ignatius might be described as the leader of the Conservative against the innovating spirit of his times. It was an age, as indeed is every era of great popular revolutions, when the impulsive or centrifugal forces which tend to isolate man, preponderating over the attractive or centripetal forces which tend to congregate him, had destroyed the balance of the social system. From amidst the controversies which then agitated the world had emerged two great truths; of which, after three hundred years' debate, we are yet to find the reconcilement. It was true that the Christian Commonwealth should be one consentient body, united under one supreme head, and bound together by a community of law, of doctrine, and of worship. It was also true that each member of that body must, for himself, on his own responsibility, and at his own peril, render that worship, ascertain that doctrine, study that law, and seek the guidance of that Supreme Ruler. Between these corporate duties, and these individual obligations, there was a seeming contrariety. And yet it must be apparent only, and not real; for all truths must be consistent with each other. Here was a problem for the learned and the wise, for schools, and presses, and pulpits. But it is not by sages, nor in the spirit of philosophy, that such problems receive their practical solution. Wisdom may be the ultimate arbiter, but is seldom the immediate agent in human affairs. It is by antagonist passions, prejudices, and follies, that the equipoise of this most belligerent planet of ours is chiefly preserved; and so it was in the sixteenth century. If Papal Rome had her Brennus, she must also have her Camillus. From the camp of the invaders arose the war-cry of absolute mental independence; from the beleaguered host, the watch-word of absolute spiritual obedience. The German pointed the way to that sacred solitude where, besides the worshipper himself, none may enter; the Spaniard to that innumerable company which, with one accord, still chant the liturgies of remotest generations. Chieftains in the most momentous warfare of which this earth had been the theatre since the subversion of Paganism, each was a rival worthy of the other in capacity, courage, disinterestedness, and the love of truth; and yet how marvellous the contrast!

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Luther took to wife a nun. For thirty years together, Loyola never once looked on the female countenance. To overthrow the houses of the order to which he belonged, was the triumph of the reformer. To establish a new order on indestructible foundations, the glory of the saint. The career of the one was opened in the cell, and concluded amidst the cares of secular government. The course of life of the other, led him from a youth of camps and palaces to an old age of religious abstraction. Demons haunted both; but to the northern visionary they appeared as foul or malignant fiends, with whom he was to agonize in spiritual strife; to the southern dreamer, as angels of light marshalling his way to celestial blessedness. As best became his Teutonic honesty and singleness of heart, Luther aimed at no perfection but such as may consist with the everyday cares, and the common duties, and the innocent delights of our social existence; at once the foremost of heroes, and a very man; now oppressed with melancholy, and defying the powers of darkness, satanic or human; then 'rejoicing in gladness and thankfulness 'of heart for all his abundance;' loving and beloved; communing with the wife of his bosom, prattling with his children; surrendering his overburdened mind to the charms of music, awake to every gentle voice, and to each cheerful aspect of nature or of art; responding alike to every divine impulse and to every human feeling; no chord unstrung in his spiritual or sensitive frame, but all blending together in harmonies as copious as the bounties of Providence, and as changeful as the vicissitudes of life. How remote from the 'perfection' which Loyola proposed to himself, and which (unless we presume to distrust the Bulls by which he was beatified and canonized) we must suppose him to have attained. Drawn by infallible, not less distinctly than by fallible limners, the portrait of the military priest of the Casa Professa possesses the cold dignity, and the grace of sculpture; but is wholly wanting in the mellow tones, the lights and shadows, the rich colouring, and the skilful composition of the sister art. There he stands apart from us mortal men, familiar with visions which he may not communicate, and with joys which he cannot impart. Severe in the midst of raptures, composed in the very agonies of pain; a silent, austere, and solitary man; with a heart formed for tenderness, yet mortifying even his best affections; loving mankind as his brethren, and yet rejecting their sympathy; one while a squalid, care-worn, self-lacerated pauper, tormenting himself that so he might rescue others from sensuality; and then, a monarch reigning in secluded majesty, that so he might become the benefactor of his race, or a legislator exacting, though with no selfish purposes,

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an obedience as submissive and as prompt as is due to the King of Kings.

Heart and soul we are for the Protestant. He who will be wiser than his Maker is but seeming wise. He who will deaden one-half of his nature to invigorate the other half, will become at best a distorted prodigy. Dark as are the pages, and mystic the character in which the truth is inscribed, he who can decipher the roll will read there, that self-adoring pride is the head spring of stoicism, whether heathen or Christian. But there is a roll neither dark nor mystic, in which the simplest and the most ignorant may learn in what the 'perfection' of our humanity really consists. Throughout the glorious profusion of didactic precepts, of pregnant apothegms, of lyric and choral songs, of institutes ecclesiastical and civil, of historical legends and biographies, of homilies and apologues, of prophetic menaces, of epistolary admonitions, and of positive laws, which crowd the inspired Canon, there is still one consentient voice proclaiming to man, that the world within and the world without him were created for each other; that his interior life must be sustained and nourished by intercourse with external things; and that he then most nearly approaches to the perfection of his nature, when most conversant with the joys and sorrows of life, and most affected by them, he is yet the best prepared to renounce the one or to endure the other, in cheerful submission to the will of Heaven.

Unalluring, and on the whole unlovely as it is, the image of Loyola must ever command the homage of the world. No other uninspired man, unaided by military or civil power, and making no appeal to the passions of the multitude, has had the genius to conceive, the courage to attempt, and the success to establish, a polity teeming with results at once so momentous and so distinctly foreseen. Amidst his ascetic follies, and his half crazy visions, and despite all the coarse daubing with which the miracle-mongers of his Church have defaced it, his character is destitute neither of sublimity nor of grace. They were men of no common stamp with whom he lived, and they regarded him with an unbounded reverence. On the anniversary of his death Baronius and Bellarmine met to worship at his tomb; and there, with touching and unpremeditated eloquence, joined to celebrate his virtues. His successor Laynez was so well convinced that Loyola was beloved by the Deity above all other men, as to declare it impossible that any request of his should be refused. Xavier was wont to kneel when he wrote letters to him; to implore the Divine aid through the merits of his 'holy Father Ignatius,' and to carry about his autograph as a sacred relic. In popular estimation, the very house in which he once dwelt had been so hal-

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lowed by his presence, as to shake to the foundation if thoughts unbecoming its purity found entrance into the mind of any inmate. Of his theopathy, as exhibited in his letters, in his recorded discourse, and in his 'Spiritual Exercises,' it is perhaps difficult for the colder imaginations and the Protestant reserve of the North to form a correct estimate. Measured by such a standard, it must be pronounced irreverent and erotic;—a libation on the altar at once too profuse and too little filtered from the dross of human passion. But to his fellow men he was not merely benevolent, but compassionate, tolerant, and candid. However inflexible in exacting from his chosen followers an all-enduring constancy, he was gentle to others, especially to the young and the weak; and would often make an amiable though awkward effort to promote their recreation. He was never heard to mention a fault or a crime, except to suggest an apology for the offender. 'Humbly to conceal humility, and to shun the praise of 'being humble,' was the maxim and the habit of his later life; and on that principle he maintained the unostentatious decencies of his rank as General of his order at the Casa Professa; a convent which had been assigned at Rome for their residence. There he dwelt, conducting a correspondence more extensive and important than any which issued from the cabinets of Paris or Madrid. In sixteen years he had established twelve Jesuit Provinces in Europe, India, Africa, and Brazil; and more than a hundred colleges or houses for the Professed and the Probationers, already amounting to many thousands. His missionaries had traversed every country, the most remote and barbarous, which the enterprize of his age had opened to the merchants of the West. The devout resorted to him for guidance, the miserable for relief, the wise for instruction, and the rulers of the earth for succour. Men felt that there had appeared among them one of those monarchs who reign in right of their own native supremacy; and to whom the feebler wills of others must yield either a ready or a reluctant allegiance. It was a conviction recorded by his disciples on his tomb, in these memorable and significant words: 'Whoever thou 'mayest be who hast portrayed to thine own imagination 'Pompey, or Cæsar, or Alexander, open thine eyes to the truth, 'and let this marble teach thee how much greater a conqueror 'than they was Ignatius.'

Whatever may have been the comparative majesty of the Cæsarian and the Ignatian conquests, it was true of either, that on the death of the conqueror the succession to his diadem hung long in anxious suspense. Our tale descends from the sublime and the heroic to the region of ordinary motives and ordinary men. According to the constitution of the order, the choice of

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the General was to be made in a chapter, of which the fully Professed, and they alone, were members. Of that body Jago Laynez was the eldest and most eminent, and from his dying bed (so at least it was supposed) he summoned his brethren to hold the election at the Casa Professa. The citation was unanswered. A majority of the whole electoral college were detained in Spain by Philip II., who was then engaged in his war with the Papal court; and in this extremity Laynez was nominated to the provisional office of vicar-general. That promotion is a specific in some forms of bodily disease, is as certain as any apothegm in Galen. Full of renovated life, the vicar-general at once assumed all the powers of his great predecessor, and gave prompt evidence that they had fallen into no feeble hands. But neither was that a feeble grasp in which the keys of St Peter were held. Hotheaded and imperious as he was, Paul IV. had quailed in the solemn presence of Loyola; but now, as he believed, had found the time for arresting the advance of a power which he had learned to regard with jealousy. He began (as an Englishman might express it) by putting the vacant generalship into Commission, and assigned to Laynez nothing more than a share in that divided rule. A voyage to Spain, where in his own country and among his own friends his election would be secure, was the next resource of the vicar-general; but a Papal mandate appeared, forbidding any Jesuit to quit the precincts of Rome. Thus thwarted, Laynez resolved on immediately elevating into the class of the Professed as many of his associates as would form a college numerous enough for the choice of a head; but the vigilant old Pontiff detected and prohibited the design. Foiled in every manœuvre, nothing remained to the aspiring vicar but to await the return of peace. It came at length, and with it came from Spain the electors so long and anxiously expected.

Lowly was the chamber in which they were convened; nor did there meet that day within the compass of the Seven Hills a company, in outward semblance, less imposing; and yet, scarcely had the assembled Comitia, to whose shouts those hills had once re-echoed, ever conferred on Prætor or Proconsul a power more real or more extensive than that which those homely men were now about to bestow. But Laynez seemed doomed to yet another disappointment. The chapel doors were thrown open, and the Cardinal Pacheco appearing among them, interdicted, in the name of the Pope, all further proceedings, unless they would consent to choose their General for three years only; and would engage, like other religious men, daily to chant the appointed offices of the Church. What are the limits of unlimited obedience? When, a century and a half ago, our own casuists laboured for an

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answer to that knotty problem, they were but unconscious imitators of Jago Laynez and his companions. Maugre vows, and Pope, and Cardinal, they forthwith elected him General for life; nor was one litany the more sung by the Jesuits for all the Papal bidding.

Yet, the formal decencies of the scene, how well were they maintained? Joyful thanksgivings on the side of the electors; an aspect eloquent with reluctance, grief, and the painful sense of responsibility on the part of the new General. Is it incredible that some motives nobler and more pure than those of mere secular ambition may have animated Laynez on this occasion? Probably not; for there are few of us in whom antagonist principles do not obtain this kind of divided triumph; and the testimonies to his virtues are such and so many as almost to command assent to their substantial truth. Of the twenty-four books of the history of Orlandinus, eight are devoted to his administration of the affairs of the Order. They extort a willing acknowledgment, that he possessed extraordinary abilities; and a half-reluctant admission, that he may have combined with them a more than common degree of genuine piety.

Laynez would seem to have been born to supply the intellectual deficiencies of Ignatius. He was familiar with the whole compass of the theological literature of his age, and with all the moral sciences which a theologian was then required to cultivate. With these stores of knowledge he had made himself necessary to the first General. Loyola consulted, employed, and trusted, but apparently did not like him. It is stated by Orlandinus, that there was no other of his eminent followers whom the great patriarch of the society treated with such habitual rigour, and yet none who rendered him such important services. 'Do you 'not think,' said Ignatius to him, 'that in framing their consti- 'tutions, the founders of the religious orders were inspired?' 'I do,' was the answer, 'so far as the general scheme and out- 'line were concerned.' The inspired saint, therefore, took for his province the compilation of the text, the uninspired scholar, the preparation of the authoritative comment. For himself, the lawgiver claimed the praise of having raised an edifice, of which the plan and the arrangement were divine. To his fellow-labourer he assigned the merit of having supported it by the solid foundation of a learning, which, however excellent, was yet entirely human. An example will best explain this division of labour.

'In theologiâ legetur Vetus et Novum Testamentum, et doc- 'trina scholastica Divi Thomæ'—is the text. 'Prælegetur 'etiam magister sententiarum; sed si videatur temporis decursu, 'alius autor studentibus utilior futurus, ut si aliqua summa, vel

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'liber theologiæ scholasticæ, conficeretur, qui nostris temporibus 'accommodatior videretur'—'prælegi poterit'—is the comment. Ignatius was content that the Divine Thomas should be installed among the Jesuits as the permanent interpreter of the sacred oracles. Laynez, with deeper foresight, perceived that the time was coming when they must discover a teacher 'better suited to 'times.' It was a prediction fulfilled shortly after his death in the person of Molina, who was himself the pupil of the second General of the order.

To Laynez belongs the praise or the reproach of having revived, in modern times, the Molinist or Arminian doctrine. Our latest posterity will debate, as our remotest ancestry have debated, the soundness of that creed; but that it was 'temporibus 'accommodatior,' few will be inclined to dispute. The times evidently required that the great antagonists of Protestantism should inculcate a belief more comprehensive, and more flexible, than that of Augustine or of St Thomas. And if to the adoption of those opinions may be traced much of the danger and disrepute to which the society was afterwards exposed, to the same cause may be ascribed much of the secret of their vitality and their strength.

The doctrines of Molina were hazarded by Laynez, even in the bosom of the Council of Trent; where, though not constitutionally brave, he dared the reproach of heresy and Pelagianism. But, in the noblest theatre for the display of eloquence which the world had seen since the fall of the Roman commonwealth, he exhibited all the hardihood which a conscious superiority in the power of speech will impart to the least courageous. Amidst cries of indignation, he maintained the freedom of the will, and the ultramontane doctrines, the most unwelcome to his audience; and vehemently opposed the demand of more than half of Europe for the admission of the laiety to the cup. He felt that resentment must give way to those feelings on which a great speaker seldom relies in vain. He spoke from a position best befitting an ostentatious humility, and therefore the most remote from the thrones of the Papal legates, and the ambassadors of Christendom. Even those thrones were for a moment abandoned. Cardinals, Bishops, Counts, and Abbots, thronged around his chair; Generals and Doctors obeyed the same impulse; and for two successive hours a circle more illustrious for rank and learning than ever before surrounded the tribune of an orator, rewarded his efforts by their profound and silent admiration. He spoke at Paris, and he preached at Rome, with similar applause; and yet, on examining the only two of his speeches which have been preserved by Orlandinus, it is difficult to detect the charm which

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once seduced the haughtiest Prelates into a passing forgetfulness of their dignity. The eloquence of Laynez would appear to have been neither impassioned nor imaginative, nor of that intense earnestness which seems to despise the very rules by the observance of which it triumphs. Luminous argumentation, clothed in transparent language, and delivered with facility and grace, was probably the praise to which he was entitled—no vulgar praise indeed; for, amidst the triumphs of oratory, few are greater or more welcome than that of infusing order, without fatigue, into the chaotic thoughts of an inquisitive audience.

Ambition clothed in rags, subtlety under the guise of candour, are the offences which the enemies of his order have ascribed to Laynez. But a man who, in the sixteenth century, refused a Cardinal's hat, (his refusal of the Papacy is a more apocryphal story,) can hardly have been the victim of a low desire for worldly honours; and hypocrisy is a charge which every one must bear who has to do with opponents incredulous of virtue superior to their own. For eighteen years the head of a body distrusted and unpopular from its infancy, he had neither hereditary rank to avert the envy which waits on greatness, nor the lofty daring to which the world is ever prompt to yield idolatrous homage. In his hands the weapons of Ignatius or of Xavier would have been impotent; but he wielded his own with address and with admirable effect. To him his society were first indebted for their characteristic doctrine, for the possession and the fame of learning, for many enlargements of their privileges, for a more intimate alliance with the Papacy, and the more pronounced hostility of the Reformers. He first established for them that authority in the Cabinets of Europe, on which, at no distant time, the edifice of their temporal power was to rest; and it was his melancholy distinction to number among his disciples the infamous Catherine of Medici, and her less odious, because feebler, son. He was associated with them at the very time when they were revolving the greatest crime with which the annals of Christendom have been polluted. With the guilt of that massacre his memory is, however, unstained; except so far as the doctrines he inculcated, in his debates at Paris with Beza and Peter Martyr, may have taught the sovereigns to think lightly of any bloodshed which should rid the world of a party abhorred of God, and hateful to the enlightened eye of man.

Gifted with extraordinary talents, profound learning, flexible address, and captivating eloquence, Laynez fell short of that standard at which, alone, men may inscribe their names in the roll sacred to those who have reigned over their fellow mortals by a right divine, because a right inherent and indefeasible.

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Without the genius to devise, or the glowing passion to achieve, great things, none may be associated with those kings of the earth on whose brows nature herself has set the diadem. Far surpassing in mere intellectual resources both Xavier and Ignatius, the fiery element native to their souls was uninhabitable to his. Laynez was the first, if not the most eminent, example of the results of Loyola's discipline; and illustrates the effect of concentrating all the interests of life, and all the affections of the heart, within the narrow circle of one contracted fellowship. It yielded in him, as it has often produced in others, a vigorous but a stunted development of character; a kind of social selfishness and sectional virtue; a subordination of philanthropy to the love of caste; a spirit irreclaimably servile, because exulting in its own servitude; a temper consistent, indeed, with great actions and often contributing to them, but destructive (at least in ordinary minds) of that free and cordial sympathy with man as man;—of those careless graces, and of that majestic repose, which touch and captivate the heart, and to which must, in part at least, be ascribed the sacred fascination exercised over us all by the simple records of the life of Him whose name the society of Jesus had assumed.

On the 2d of July 1565 the Casa Professa, usually the scene of a profound stillness, was agitated by an unwonted excitement. Men of austere demeanour might be seen there clasping each others hands, and voices habitually mute were interchanging hearty congratulations. One alone appeared to take no share in the common joy. As if overpowered by some strange and unwelcome tidings, he seemed by imploring gestures to deprecate a decision against which his paralyzed lips in vain attempted to protest. His age might be nearly fifty, his dress mean and sordid, and toil or suffering had ploughed their furrows in his pallid cheek; but he balanced his tall and still graceful figure with a soldier's freedom, and gazed on his associates with a countenance cast in that mould which ladies love and artists emulate. They called him Father Francis; and on the death of Laynez their almost unanimous suffrage had just hailed him as the third General of the Order of Jesus. The wish for rank and power was never more sincerely disclaimed, for never had they been forced on any one who had a larger experience of their vanity.

In the female line Father Francis was the grandson of Ferdinand of Arragon, and therefore the near kinsman of the Emperor Charles V. Among his paternal ancestry he could boast or lament the names of Alexander VI. and of Cæsar Borgia. Of that house, eminent alike for their wealth, their honours, and their crimes, he was the lineal representative; and had,

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in early manhood, inherited from his father the patrimony and the title of the Dukes of Gandia.

Don Francis Borgia, as if to rescue the name he bore from the infamy of his progenitors, exhaled, even in his childish days, the odour of sanctity. With each returning month, he cast a lot to determine which he should personate of the saints with whose names it was studded on the calendar. In his tenth year, with a virtue unsung and unconceived by the *Musæ Etonienses*, he played at saints so perfectly as to inflict a vigorous chastisement on his own naked person. It is hard to resist the wish that the scourge had been yet more resolutely wielded by the arm of his tutor. So seems to have thought his maternal uncle Don John of Arragon, Archbishop of Saragossa. Taking the charge of his nephew, that high-born prelate compelled him to study alternately the lessons of the riding-master and those of the master of the sentences; and in his nineteenth year sent him to complete his education at the court of his imperial cousin.

Ardent as were still the aspirations of the young courtier for the monastic life, no one in that gallant circle bore himself more bravely in the *menage*, or sheathed his sword with a steadier hand in the throat of the half-maddened bull, or more skilfully disputed with his sovereign the honours of the tournament. As the youthful knight, bowing to the saddle-tree, lowered his spear before the 'Queen of Beauty,' many a full dark eye beamed with a deeper lustre; but his triumph was incomplete and worthless unless it won the approving smile of Eleonora de Castro. That smile was not often refused. But the romance of Don Francis begins where other romances terminate. Foremost in the train of Charles and Isabella, the husband of the fair Eleonora still touched his lute with unrivalled skill in the halls of the Escurial, or followed the quarry across the plains of Castille in advance of the most ardent falconer. Yet that music was universally selected from the offices of the church; and in the very agony of the chase, just as the wheeling hawk paused for his last deadly plunge, (genius of Nimrod, listen!) he would avert his eyes and ride slowly home, the inventor of a matchless effort of penitential self-denial.

With Charles himself for his fellow pupil, Don Francis studied the arts of war and fortification under the once celebrated Sainte Croix, and practised in Africa the lessons he had been taught;—earning the double praise, that in the camp he was the most magnificent, in the field the most adventurous, of all the leaders in that vaunted expedition. At the head of a troop enlisted and maintained by himself, he attended the emperor to the Milanese and Provence; and, in honourable acknowledgment of his ser-

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vices, was selected by Charles to lay a report of the campaign before the empress in person, at Segovia. Towards her he felt an almost filial regard. She had long been the zealous patron and the cordial friend of himself and of Eleonora; and at the public festivals which celebrated the victories of Charles, and the meeting of the States of Castille at Toledo, they shone among the most brilliant of the satellites by which her throne was encircled.

At the moment of triumph the inexorable arm was unbared which so often, as in mockery of human pomp, confounds together the world's bravest pageants and the humiliations of the grave. Dust to dust and ashes to ashes, but, when the imperial fall, not without one last poor assertion of their departed dignity. Isabella might not be laid in the sepulchre of the kings of Spain, until amidst the funeral rites the soldered coffin had been opened, the cerements removed, and some grandee of the highest rank had been enabled to depose, that he had seen within them the very body of the deceased sovereign. Such, in pursuance of an ancient custom, was the duty confided to the zeal of Don Francis Borgia, nor was any one better fitted for such a trust. The eye, now for ever closed, had never turned to him but with maternal kindness, and every lineament of that serene and once eloquent countenance was indelibly engraven on his memory. Amidst the half-uttered prayers which commended her soul to the Divine mercy, and the low dirge of the organ, he advanced with streaming eyes, and reverently raised the covering which concealed the secrets of the grave, when—but why or how portray the appalling and loathsome spectacle? That gentle brow, that eloquent countenance, that form so lately raised on earth's proudest throne, and extolled with an almost adoring homage! Don Francis turned from the sight to shudder and to pray.

It was the great epoch in the life of Borgia. In the eyes of the world, indeed, he may have been unchanged; but in his eyes the whole aspect of that world was altered. Lord of a princely fortune, the heir of an illustrious house, the favourite kinsman of the Emperor of the West, renowned in the very flower of his youth as a warrior, a courtier, and a musician, his home hallowed by conjugal love, and gladdened by the sports of his children; for whom had life a deeper interest, or who could erect on a surer basis a loftier fabric of more brilliant hopes? Those interests and hopes he deliberately resigned, and, at the age of twenty-nine, bound himself by a solemn vow, that in the event of his surviving Eleonora, he would end his days as a member of some religious order. He had gazed on the hideous triumph of death and sin over prospects still more splendid than his own.

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For him the soothing illusions of existence were no more—earth and its inhabitants, withering under the curse of their Maker, might put on their empty gauds, and for some transient hour dream and talk of happiness. But the curse was there, and there would it lie, crushing the frivolous spirit the most when felt the least, and consigning alike to that foul debasement the lovely and the brave; the sylph now floating through the giddy dance, and the warrior now proudly treading the field of victory.

From such meditations Charles endeavoured to recall his friend to the common duties of life. He required him to assume the viceroyalty of Catalonia, and adorned him with the cross of the order of Alcantara, then of all chivalric honours the noblest and the most highly prized. His administration was firm, munificent, and just; it forms the highest era of his life, and is especially signalized by the same sedulous care for the education of the young, which afterwards formed his highest praise as General of the Order of Jesus.

Ingenious above all men in mortifying his natural affections, Don Francis could not neglect the occasion which his new dignities afforded him, of incurring much wholesome contumely. Sumptuous banquets must be given in honour of his sovereign, when he could at once fast and be despised for fasting. To exhibit himself in penitential abasement before the people under his authority, would give to penitence the appropriate accompaniment of general contempt. On the festival of 'the Invention of the Holy Cross,' mysteries not unlike those of the *Bona Dea* were to be celebrated by the ladies of Barcelona, when, to prevent the profane intrusion of any of the coarser sex, the viceroy himself undertook the office of sentinel. With a naked dagger in his hand, a young nobleman demanded entrance, addressing to the viceroy insults such as every gentleman is bound, under the heaviest penalty of the laws of chivalry, to expiate by blood. A braver man did not tread the soil of Spain than Don Francis, nor any one to whom the reproach of poltronery was more hateful. And yet his sword did not leap from his scabbard. With a calm rebuke, and courteous demeanour, he allowed the bravo to enter the sacred precincts—preferring the imputation of cowardice, though stinging like an adder, to the sin of avenging himself, and, indeed, to the duty of maintaining his lawful authority. History has omitted to tell what were the weapons, or what the incantation, by which the ladies promptly ejected the insolent intruder, nor has she recorded how they afterwards received their guardian knight of Alcantara. Her only care has been to excite our admiration for this most illus-

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trious victory in the bosom of Don Francis, of the meekness of the saint over the human passions of the soldier.

At the end of four years Don Francis was relieved by the death of his father from his viceregal office, and assumed his hereditary title of Duke of Gandia. His vassals exulted in the munificence of their new chief. The ancient retainers of his family lived on his bounty—cottages, convents, and hospitals, rose on his estates—fortresses were built to check the ravages of the Moorish corsairs, and the mansion of his ancestors reappeared in all its ancient splendour. In every work of piety and mercy the wise and gentle Eleonora was the rival of her lord. But it was the only strife which ever agitated the Castle of Gandia. Austerities were practised there, but gloom and lassitude were unknown; nor did the bright suns of Spain gild any feudal ramparts, within which love, and peace the child of love, shed their milder light with a more abiding radiance.

But on that countenance, hitherto so calm and so submissive, might at length be traced the movements of an inward tempest, with which, even when prostrate before the altar, the Duke of Gandia strove in vain. Conversant with every form of self-inflicted suffering, how should he find strength to endure the impending death of Eleonora! His was a prayer transcending the resources of language and of thought; it was the mute agony of a breaking heart. But after the whirlwind and the fire, was heard the still small voice. It said, or seemed to say, 'If it be thy 'will, she shall recover; but not for her real welfare nor for thine.' Adoring gratitude swept away every feebler emotion, and the suppliant's grief at length found utterance. 'Thy will be done. 'Thou knowest what is best for us. Whom have we in heaven 'but thee, and whom upon earth should we desire in comparison 'of thee?' At the age of thirty-six the Duke of Gandia committed to the tomb the frame once animated by a spirit from which not death itself could separate him. In the sacred retirement to which in that event he had devoted his remaining days, Eleonora would still unite her prayers to his; and as each of those days should decline into the welcome shadows of evening, one stage the more towards his reunion with her would have been traversed.

The Castle of Gandia was still hung with the funeral draperies when a welcome though unexpected guest arrived there. It was Peter Faber, the officiating priest at the Crypt of Montmartre, charged by Ignatius with a mission to promote the cause of Christian education in Spain. Aided by his counsels, and by the letters of the patriarch, the duke erected on his estates a church, a college, and a library, and placed them under the care of

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teachers selected by Ignatius. The sorrows of the duke were relieved as his wealth flowed still more copiously in this new channel of beneficence; and the universities of Alcala and Seville were enlarged by his bounty with similar foundations. But, as Faber remarked, a still nobler edifice was yet to be erected on the soul of the founder himself. The first stone of it was laid in the duke's performance of the Spiritual Exercises. To the completion of this invisible but imperishable building, the remainder of his life was inflexibly devoted.

With Ignatius the duke had long maintained a correspondence, in which the stately courtesies of Spanish noblemen not ungracefully temper the severe tones of patriarchal authority and filial reverence. Admission into the order of Jesus was an honour for which, in this case, the aspirant was humbly content, and was wisely permitted long to wait and sue. To study the biography, that he might imitate the life of Him by whose holy name the society was called; to preach in his own household, or at the wicket of the nunnery of the ladies of St Clair; and day by day, to place in humiliating contrast some proof of the divine goodness, and some proof of his own demerit, were the first probationary steps which the duke was required to tread in the toilsome path on which he had thus entered. It was a path from which Philip, then governing Spain with the title of regent, would have willingly seduced him. He consulted him on the most critical affairs; summoned him to take a high station in the states of Castille; and pressed on his acceptance the office of grand master of the royal household. It was declined in favour of the Duke of Alva. Had Gandia preferred the duties of his secular rank to those of his religious aspirations, Spain might have had a saint the less and seven provinces the more. With the elevation of Alva, the butcheries in the Netherlands, the disgrace of Spain, and the independence of Holland might have been averted.

Warned by his escape, the duke implored with renewed earnestness his immediate admission into the order; nor was Ignatius willing that his proselyte should again incur such dangers. At the chapel of his own college he accordingly pronounced the irrevocable vows; a Papal bull having dispensed during a term of four years with any public avowal of the change. They were passed in the final adjustment of his secular affairs. He had lived in the splendour appropriate to his rank and fortune, and in the exercise of the bounty becoming his eminence in the Christian commonwealth. But now all was to be abandoned, even the means of almsgiving, for he was himself henceforth to live on the alms of others. He gave his children in

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marriage to the noblest houses in Spain and Portugal, transferred to his eldest son the enjoyment of the patrimonial estates of Gandia, and then, at the age of forty, meekly betook himself to the study of scholastic divinity, of the traditions of the church, and of the canons of the general councils. He even submitted to all the rules, and performed all the public exercises enforced on the youngest student. Such was his piety that the thorny fagots of the schoolmen fed instead of smothering the flame; and on the margin of his Thomas Aquinas might be seen some devout aspiration, extracted by his sacred alchemy from each subtle distinction in the text. Never before or since was the degree of Doctor in Divinity, to which he now proceeded, so hardly earned or so well deserved.

Two of the brothers of the duke had been members of the sacred college, and his humility had refused the purple offered at the instance of the emperor to two of his sons. But how should the new doctor avert from his own head the ecclesiastical cap of maintenance with which Charles was now desirous to replace the ducal coronet? He fled the presence of his imperial patron; made and executed his own testamentary dispositions, delivered his last parental charge to his eldest son, and bade a final adieu to his weeping family. The gates of the castle of Gandia closed on their self-banished lord. He went forth, like Francis Xavier, chanting the song of David—'When Israel went out of Egypt, 'and the house of Jacob from a strange people,'—adding from another strain of the royal minstrel, 'Our bonds are broken and 'we are delivered.' He lived for more than twenty years from this time, and in his future missions into Spain often passed the gates of the castle, but never more re-entered them. He became a stranger even to his children, never again passing so much as a single day in their society, or even permitting himself to become acquainted with their offspring.

As the bird set free to her nest, so hasted the emancipated duke to take his seat at the footstool of Ignatius. Yet in his route through Ferrara and Florence, his sacred impatience was arrested, and his humility confirmed, by the unwelcome honours yielded to him by his kinsmen, the reigning sovereigns of those duchies. He would have entered Rome by night; but in the city of triumphs and ovations, the victorious Loyola must exhibit so illustrious a captive. Attended by the ambassador of Spain, by a prince of the house of Colonna, and by a long train of cardinals, priests, and nobles, the Duke of Gandia advanced in solemn procession to the Casa Professa. There, in the presence of his General, his wearied spirit found at length the repose which the most profuse liberality of fortune had been unable to bestow.

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With tears of joy he kissed the feet of the patriarch and of his Professed brethren, esteeming the meanest office in their household an honour too exalted for so unworthy an associate; and then, in a general confession, poured into the ear of Ignatius every secret of his conscience from the dawn of life to that long-desired hour.

Such zeal was a treasure too precious to be left without some great and definite object; and as the duke was still the steward of some of this world's treasures, which he had devoted to sacred uses, they were employed in building at Rome the church and college afterwards so famous as the College *de Propaganda Fide.* One only secular care still awaited him. His rank as a grandee of Spain, and the cross of Alcantara, could not be laid aside without the consent of the emperor. It was solicited with all the grace of an accomplished courtier, and all the fervour of a saint. But while he awaited at Rome the answer of Charles, a new alarm disturbed the serenity of the Casa Professa. The dreaded purple was again pressed on him with all the weight of Papal admonition. To avoid it, Gandia fled the presence of the Pope and Ignatius, returned to Spain, performed a pilgrimage to the Castle of Loyola, kissed the hallowed ground, and then burying himself in a Jesuit College at Ognato, once more awaited the decision of the emperor.

It soon arrived. He was no longer a duke, a knight of St Iago, nor even a Spanish gentleman. Solemnly, and in due legal form, he renounced all these titles, and with them all his property and territorial rights. Even his secular dress was laid aside, and his head was prepared by the tonsure for the Episcopal touch, emblematic of the most awful mystery. The astonished spectators collected and preserved the holy relics. And now bent in lowly prostration before the altar at Ognato, the Father Francis had no further sacrifice to offer there, but the sacrifice of a heart emptied of all the interests and of all the affections of the world. Long and silent was his prayer, but it was now unattended with any trace of disorder. The tears he shed were such as might have bedewed the cheek of the First Man before he had tasted the bitterness of sin. He rose from his knees, bade a last farewell to his attendants; and Father Francis was left alone with his Creator.

It was a solitude not long to be maintained. The fame of his devotion filled the Peninsula. All who needed spiritual counsel, and who wished to indulge an idle curiosity, resorted to his cell. Kings sought his advice, wondering congregations hung on his lips, and two at least of the grandees of Spain imitated his example. His spiritual triumphs were daily more and more splen-

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did; and, if he might escape the still threatened promotion into the college of Cardinals, might be as enduring as his life. The authority of Ignatius, not unaided by some equivocal exercise of his ingenuity, at length placed Father Francis beyond the reach of this last danger. They both went down to the grave without witnessing the debasement of their order by any ecclesiastical dignity.

But there was yet one tie to the pomp and vanity of this world, which could not be entirely broken. During his vice-regal administration, Father Francis had on one occasion traversed the halls of the Castle of Barcelona in deep and secret conference with his imperial cousin. Each at that interview imparted to the other his design of devoting to religious retirement the interval which should intervene between the business and the close of life. At every season of disappointment Charles reverted to this purpose, and abandoned or postponed it with each return of success. But now, broken with sickness and sorrow, he had fixed his residence in a monastery in Estremadura, and summoned the former viceroy of Catalonia to the presence of his early friend and patron. Falling on his knees, as in times of yore, Father Francis offered to impress the kiss of homage on the hand which had so lately borne the sceptre of half the civilized world. But Charles embraced his cousin, and compelled him to sit, and to sit covered, by his side. Long and frequent were their conversations; but the record of them transmitted to us by the historians of the Order of Jesus, has but little semblance of authenticity. Charles assails, and Borgia defends the new institute, and the imperial disputant of course yields to the combined force of eloquence and truth. It seems less improbable that the publication of Memoirs of the life of the Emperor, to be written by himself, was one subject of serious debate at these interviews, and that the good father dissuaded it. If the tale be true, he has certainly one claim the less to the gratitude of later times. What seems certain is, that he undertook and executed some secret mission from Charles to the court of Portugal, that he acted as one of the executors of his will, and delivered a funeral oration in praise of the deceased emperor before the Spanish court at Valladolid.

From this point, the life of Borgia merges in the general history of the order to which he had attached himself. It is a passage of history full of the miracles of self-denial, and of miracles in the more accurate acceptation of the word. To advance the cause of education, and to place in the hands of his own society the control of that mighty engine, was the labour which Father Francis as their General chiefly proposed to himself. His suc-

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cess was complete, and he lived to see the establishment, in almost every state of Europe, of colleges formed on the model of that which he had himself formed in the town of Gandia.

Borgia is celebrated by his admirers as the most illustrious of all conquerors of the appetites and passions of our common nature; and the praise, such as it is, may well be conceded to him. No other saint in the calendar ever abdicted or declined so great an amount of worldly grandeur and domestic happiness. No other embraced poverty and pain in forms more squalid, or more revolting to flesh and blood. So strange and shocking are the stories of his flagellations, of the diseases contracted by them, and of the sickening practices by which he tormented his senses, that even to read them is of itself no light penance. In the same spirit, our applause is demanded for feats of humility, and prodigies of obedience, and raptures of devotion, so extravagant, that his biographers might seem to have assumed the office of penitential executors to the saint; and to challenge for his memory some of the disgust and contempt which when living he so studiously courted. And yet Borgia was no ordinary man.

He had great talents with a narrow capacity. Under the control of minds more comprehensive than his own, he could adopt and execute their wider views with admirable address and vigour. With rare powers both of endurance and of action, he was the prey of a constitutional melancholy, which made him dependent on the more sanguine spirit of his guides for all his aims and for all his hopes; but once rescued from the agony of selecting his path, he moved along it not merely with firmness but with impetuosity. All his impulses came from without; but when once given they could not readily be arrested. The very dejection and self-distrust of his nature rendered him more liable than other men to impressions at once deep and abiding. Thus he was a saint in his infancy at the bidding of his nurse—then a cavalier at the command of his uncle—an inamorato because the empress desired it—a warrior and a viceroy because such was the pleasure of Charles—a devotee from seeing a corpse in a state of decomposition—a founder of colleges on the advice of Peter Faber—a Jesuit at the will of Ignatius—and General of the order because his colleagues would have it so. Yet each of these characters when once assumed, was performed, not merely with constancy, but with high and just applause. His mind was like a sycophant plant, feeble when alone, but of admirable vigour and luxuriance when properly sustained. A whole creation of such men would have been unequal to the work of Ignatius Loyola; but, in his grasp, one such man could perform a splendid though but a secondary service. His life was more eloquent than all the

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homilies of Chrysostom. Descending from one of the most brilliant heights of human prosperity, he exhibited every where, and in an aspect the most intelligible and impressive to his contemporaries, the awful power of the principles by which he was impelled. Had he lived in the times and in the society of his infamous kinsmen, Borgia would not improbably have shared their disastrous renown. But his dependent nature, moulded by a far different influence, rendered him a canonized saint; an honourable, just, and virtuous man; one of the most eminent ministers of a polity as benevolent in intention as it was gigantic in design; and the founder of a system of education pregnant with results of almost matchless importance. His miracles may be not disadvantageously compared with those of the Baron Monchausen; but it would be less easy to find a meet comparison for his genuine virtues. They triumph over all the silly legends and all the real follies which obscure his character. His whole mature life was but one protracted martyrdom, for the advancement of what he esteemed the perfection of his own nature, and the highest interests of his fellow-men. Though he maintained an intimate personal intercourse with Charles IX. and his mother, and enjoyed their highest favour, there is no reason to suppose that he was entrusted with their atrocious secret. Even in the land of the Inquisition he had firmly refused to lend the influence of his name to that sanguinary tribunal; for there was nothing morose in his fanaticism, nor mean in his subservience. Such a man as Francis Borgia could hardly become a persecutor. His own church raised altars to his name. Other churches have neglected or despised it. In that all-wise and all-compassionate judgment, which is uninvaded by our narrow prejudices and by our unhallowed feelings, his fervent love of God and of man was doubtless permitted to cover the multitude of his theoretical errors and real extravagances. Human justice is severe, not merely because man is censorious, but because he reasonably distrusts himself, and fears lest his weakness should confound the distinctions of good and evil. Divine justice is lenient, because there alone love can flow in all its unfathomable depths and boundless expansion—impeded by no dread of error, and diverted by no misplaced sympathies.

To Ignatius, the founder of the order of the Jesuits; to Xavier, the great leader in their missionary enterprizes; to Laynez, the author of their peculiar system of theology; and to Borgia, the architect of their system of education, two names are to be added to complete the roll of the great men from whose hands their Institute received the form it retains to the present hour. These are Bellarmine, from whom they learned the arts and resources of controversy; and Acquaviva, the fifth in number, but in effect

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the fourth of their Generals—who may be described as the Numa Pompilius of the order. There is in the early life of Bellarmine a kind of pastoral beauty, and even in his later days a grace, and a simplicity so winning, that it costs some effort to leave such a theme unattempted. The character of Acquaviva, one of the most memorable rulers and lawgivers of his age, it would be a still greater effort to attempt.

'Henceforth let no man say,' (to mount on the stilts of dear old Samuel Johnson,) 'come, I will write a disquisition on the 'history, the doctrines, and the morality of the Jesuits—at least 'let no man say so who has not subdued the lust of story-telling.' Filled to their utmost limits, lie before us the sheets so recently destined to that ambitious enterprize. Perhaps it may be as well thus to have yielded to the allurement which has marred the original design. If in later days the disciples of Ignatius, obeying the laws of all human institutions, have exhibited the sure though slow development of the seeds of error and of crime, sown by the authors of their polity, it must at least be admitted that they were men of no common mould. It is something to know that an impulse, which after three centuries is still unspent, proceeded from hands of gigantic power, and that their power was moral as much as intellectual, or much more so. In our own times much indignation and much alarm are thrown away on innovators of a very different stamp. From the ascetics of the common room, from men whose courage rises high enough only to hint at their unpopular opinions, and whose belligerent passions soar at nothing more daring than to worry some unfortunate professor, it is almost ludicrous to fear any great movement on the theatre of human affairs. When we see these dainty gentlemen in rags, and hear of them from the snows of the Himmalaya, we may begin to tremble. The slave of his own appetites, in bondage to conventional laws, his spirit emasculated by the indulgences, or corroded by the cares of life, hardly daring to act, to speak, or to think for himself, man—gregarious and idolatrous man—worships the world in which he lives, adopts its maxims, and treads its beaten paths. To rouse him from his lethargy, and to give a new current to his thoughts, heroes appear from time to time on the verge of his horizon, and hero-worship, Pagan or Christian, withdraws him for a while from still baser idolatry. To contemplate the motives and the career of such men, may teach much which well deserves the knowing; but nothing more clearly than this—that no one can have shrines erected to his memory in the hearts of men of distant generations, unless his own heart was an altar on which daily sacrifices of fervent devotion, and magnanimous self-denial, were offered to the only true object of human worship.

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ART. II.—1. *Procès de Madame Lafarge, (Vol et Empoisonment,) complets et detaillés. Deuxième edition. Annales Criminelles, au Bureau Rue d'Enghien.* Paris: 1840.

2. *Procès de Madame Lafarge, etc. Deuxième edition. Pagnerre, Editeur.* Paris: 1840.*

3. *Mémoires de Marie Cappelle, Veuve Lafarge. Ecrits par elle-même.* 2 Tom. 8vo. Londres: 1841.

THE works placed at the head of this paper form together a mournful and startling history. They have indeed been but too generally perused in the careless spirit with which a novel is glanced at and forgotten; because they have been supposed to contain merely the story of one of the common horrors of the day, sent forth to gratify the prevailing taste for excitement—to occupy for its hour the columns of a Newspaper—to be hurried over, superseded by some more terrible catastrophe, and then forgotten for ever. To one, however, who will more carefully scan the events of this singular drama, there is offered much that should be the subject of very earnest and anxious enquiry—problems, indeed, upon the solution of which depend the security and the happiness of society. The more narrowly we investigate each fearful step in this appalling proceeding, the more profound will be our astonishment and alarm at finding that, among a people who must be considered to rank among the most civilized of nations—in an age, too, boasting loudly of its many and vast improvements in science and in art—almost every judicial safeguard which experience and forethought have discovered and suggested, for the protection as well of the accused as of the society which arraigns him, has been overthrown and trampled down; the dictates of humanity, of common justice, violated; and a court of justice, assembled to decide upon the life or death of a fellow-creature—where all ought to be calm, impassive, dignified—mild though firm, compassionate though severe—converted into a scene of rudeness and violence, of passionate invective, of cruel and unjust vituperation, and melodramatic display.

A scene so remarkable ought not to pass by without com-

* We have placed these two accounts of the Trial of Madame Lafarge at the head of this paper, because they mutually explain and correct each other.

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ment. The commity of nations should so make of Europe one family, that the errors fallen into at Corrèze should be deemed an injustice done to the whole European community. The imperfections of the French system of Judicature should be signalized by a comparison with other and varying systems; and thus comparison and friendly criticism be made to tend to mutual improvement.

Our language respecting this celebrated proceeding will, we fear, sound harshly in the ears of our neighbours. Nevertheless, we feel assured, that before we leave the painful subject before us, the justice of our animadversions will appear but too manifest. In many things has France improved; in many has she set a bright example to other nations; but the judges of Calas and La Barre have unhappily been succeeded by functionaries not wholly unlike themselves; and her system of judicature, as exhibited on this occasion, though certainly somewhat less barbarous than the atrocious proceedings signalized by Voltaire, is still at variance with most of the principles which reason and humanity would employ as guides in judicial procedure.

A comparison of the course of conduct pursued by the French court on this occasion, with that which, under similar circumstances, would have taken place in this country, will enable us, with comparative ease, to explain to an English reader the grounds of our unfavourable opinion. From thus putting, side by side, the different steps in two very dissimilar modes of procedure, we may probably be able to discover the errors of both systems, and obtain a conception of that which an enlightened people ought to adopt. Let it not be supposed that we are about to set up our own procedure as a model, or that we intend to assume that what is English is right. The comparison we propose is intended only as a means of illustration: nothing can well be more dissimilar than the two systems of procedure; the opposition will therefore, at every step, be singular and interesting, and may, by its very singularity, suggest the true principle which ought to guide us in every step of the process.

Before we proceed to our present attempt, in this species of comparative anatomy, we would premise a few observations, upon the *end* sought to be obtained by Judicature as a *means*.

It is usually deemed sufficient to say, that the object which should be in view in all judicial enquiries is the attainment of truth. But this general statement is far from being sufficient; and the very *insufficient* conception of the ends of judicature which such an assertion evinces, has led to the greater number of the cruel and pernicious mistakes exemplified in

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the proceedings now under our consideration. The great purpose of that class of judicial proceedings here contemplated, is to maintain a feeling of security from wrong, in the society to which the tribunal belongs. If a member of the community be wronged in his person, property, or reputation, and there be impunity for the wrongdoer, then do the rest of the community tremble lest they should also suffer the same wrong: and, if this impunity be frequent, society can hardly be said to exist, as each man endeavours to defend himself since he can no longer depend upon society for security. On the other hand, the more certain and rapid the punishment which the tribunals inflict upon wrongdoers, the more complete is the security of the community —the more completely have the ends of judicature been attained.

But before we punish, must we not learn, first, whether a wrong has been done?—next, by whom it has been done? And when the tribunal makes this enquiry, should not the attainment of truth be the sole object of its solicitude and consideration? Our answer is, No. If the attainment of truth be the sole object of consideration, we must seek it, no matter at what cost of terror and insecurity to society at large: and thus the tribunal, by its enquiry, may do a greater injury to the community than did the crime it seeks to punish. Human imperfection renders the administration of justice of necessity a system of averages. We cannot hope for perfect certainty, and certainty in every case. All that we can expect is, to discover the necessary facts in so large a number of cases as to render society generally secure, by rendering the perpetration of crime exceedingly dangerous to those who would commit it. This can be done, and done more efficiently, if we pursue certain predetermined and specific rules of enquiry, than if we were to give the tribunal, on every occasion, perfect and uncontrolled liberty of action. The philosopher sitting quietly in his closet, may imagine that every fact that has the slightest relation to the matter in hand ought to be known and weighed—and that the more completely the facts are known, the greater is the chance of attaining a knowledge of the truth respecting the particular enquiry instituted. But it should be remembered, that in order to get at all these facts, it may be necessary to invade the peace and security of others; that the knowledge of a multitude of comparatively insignificant facts serves often rather to confuse than enlighten; and that the wider is the field of enquiry, the greater is the danger of mistake, from emotions created by irrelevant evidence, from passion, from prejudice.

In every judicial enquiry, then, we may say, indeed, that the object sought to be obtained is the truth; but that truth itself

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must be sought according to certain fixed and pre-established modes of enquiry—modes which experience has shown to be necessary as safeguards for the security of society generally; and that the very form of the enquiry is of vital importance as respects this security.

Let us now endeavour, by examination, to discover whether this salutary precaution was duly considered in the remarkable instance before us.

In the following narrative, we shall, as far as we can, present the facts to the reader, in the order, form, and manner, in which they were presented to the tribunal. This mode is adopted for the purpose of being better able to show what of the multitude of facts, relevant and irrelevant, submitted to the French jury, could, by the English mode of procedure, have been brought forward in evidence: we may thus perhaps discover to what extent, and in what manner, the forms of either nation err—the one by admitting much that is unnecessary, the other by excluding something that is needed for the proper administration of justice.

On the 14th of January 1840, Charles Pouch Lafarge died at Glandier, in the department of La Corrèze in France. A few days after, the widow of Lafarge was arrested upon suspicion of having poisoned him.

When the house of the deceased was searched by the officers of justice, certain diamonds were found, which were supposed to have been stolen by the widow before her marriage, from Madame la Viscomtesse de Lèautaud. Hereupon the prisoner was charged with *larceny*, or stealing—(*le délit de vol.*)

By the law of France, murder is classed as a *crime*, larceny as a *délit*. The *crime* is tried by the assize court of the department —the *délit* by the *Tribunal de police correctionnelle.*

The charge of larceny was the first brought to trial. The trial commenced on the 9th of July 1840. We may here, in passing, remark upon the delay that had taken place. The prisoner was arrested towards the latter end of January upon a charge of murder. The second charge was soon after preferred, and neither the one nor the other was tried till the 9th of July. In the proceedings before us, no application for delay on the part of the prosecution seems to have been made. The delay which occurred, appears to have been according to the ordinary course of proceeding.

This delay in the case of a common larceny could not well have occurred in England. But a person charged with a murder committed out of London in the autumn, cannot be tried before the end of February in the following spring. Such delay is a

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gross violation of justice, and ought not to be permitted to continue.

Before the charge of stealing was gone into, the counsel for the defence moved to defer the trial; first, upon the ground that there being two charges, one of having committed a *crime*, the other of having committed a *délit*, the charge of the *crime* should be tried first. The second reason given for delay was, that Madame Lafarge had not had time sufficient for her defence.

The court, however, refused the delay asked—whereupon an appeal was entered against this judgment, and delay again demanded because of this appeal. The court again refused to delay the trial, and proceeded to investigate the charge. Madame Lafarge thereupon retired—the proceedings went on in her absence, and she was found guilty of the theft;—the trial being by a judge unassisted by a jury.

The Court of Appeal gave judgment afterwards—1. That the demand for delay was properly refused. 2. But that an appeal from that judgment having been entered, the court below was not justified in proceeding further until that appeal was decided—and therefore all the subsequent proceedings of the court below were quashed as irregular.*

On the 3d of September, and before a rehearing of the trial for stealing, the court of Assize of La Corrèze proceeded to the trial of the prisoner on the charge of murder. A preliminary enquiry had already, according to due process of law, been instituted in July, before *la chambre des mises en accusation*, and by the arrêt of this court the prisoner was sent for trial before the court of Assize.

The arrêt gave a long enumeration of facts as reasons for its decision, which decision was in these words:—

'Attendu que de ces faits résultent des charges suffisentes pour prononcer la mise en accusation:—Declare qu'il y a lieu à accusation contre Marie Fortunée Capelle, veuve Lafarge, pour avoir dans les mois de Decembre 1839, et de Janvier 1840, attenté à la vie de Charles

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* One of the most faulty portions of English criminal jurisprudence is that which relates to the right of appeal from decisions on criminal charges. In fact, no appeal lies from the judgment of the court or the verdict of the jury, except on the ground of error patent on the face of the indictment—and as, under the present system, the greater portion of all the criminals in the country are tried by unlearned justices at the quarter sessions, constant and flagrant violations of law and justice are the necessary result.

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Joseph Pouch Lafarge, son mari, par l'effet de substances susceptibles de donner la mort, et qui l'ont effectivement occasioné, crime prévu et puni par les articles 301, 302, du code pénal.

'La renvoie, en consequence, devant la cour d'assises du department de la Corrèze, séant à Tulle, pour y être jugée selon la loi.

'Maintient l'ordonnance de prise de corps decernée par la chambre de conseil.' *

Upon this charge, on the 3d of September, the prisoner was brought to trial. The jury being chosen by lot, and declared legally constituted by the presiding judge, the prisoner was addressed by the judge:—†

'Accusée, levez-vous.

'D. Votre nom? R. Marie Cappelle, femme Lafarge.

'D. Quel est votre age? R. Vingt-quatre ans.

'D. Votre profession? R. Je n'ai pas de profession.

'D. Quel est votre domicile? R. Au Glandier.'

The jury was then sworn, and the prisoner warned by the judge to be attentive. The '*acte d'accusation*,' answering to the English indictment, was then read.

For the purposes of justice, all that this *acte d'accusation* need contain, is a clear specific description of the charge against the prisoner—so that the prisoner may know distinctly from what he has to clear himself—and the court and jury may know what

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* The regular steps in this procedure appear to be—

1. An ordonnance *de prise de corps decernée par la chambre de conseil.* This is similar to our warrant of commitment by the committing magistrate.

2. An arrêt by the chambre *des mises en accusation.* This is similar in some things to the finding of a true bill by our grand jury—that is, the purpose of the enquiry seems the same, though the mode be different.

3. After the arrêt of the chambre *des mises en accusation*, the prisoner was examined, (on this examination we shall hereafter remark;) and upon this examination and those of the several witnesses, the *procureur-général* frames his *acte d'accusation*, which is apparently intended to serve the purposes of our indictment. There appears in both systems much unnecessary complication.

† The jury consists of twelve jurymen, and two supplementary jurymen; the prosecution and the prisoner had an equal number of challenges, viz. eight each. The number of challenges seems to be determined by the number of jurymen present—in the present case thirty were present; and, as fourteen was the number required for the full jury, the number of challenges permitted became necessarily sixteen, eight to each party. This would appear an objectionable mode, as open to fraud and influence.

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they have to try. By the law of England, moreover, in cases of felony,* only one offence can be charged in the same indictment —that is, two charges cannot be tried at one and the same time; and in a grave, nay often capital charge, it is a wise and merciful precaution. The mind of the prisoner ought not to be distracted by a multiplicity of charges—nor the minds of the jury unfairly biassed by the mention of many supposed offences. Recollecting, then, the purpose for which this *acte d'accusation* is employed, an examination of the *acte* itself will prove not wholly uninstructive. Unfortunately it is impossible, from its length, to insert the whole of this extraordinary document. It is not impossible to describe it.

The *acte* is in the name of the Procureur-Général, and is therefore to be considered, not the exposition of an accusing advocate —but an official document emanating from a great public functionary. The document first declares that it is the declaration of the Procureur-Général, and thus proceeds:—

'Charles Pouch Lafarge habitait le Glandier, département de la Corrèze —il y exploitait des forges, et possédait une fortune immobilière considerable; sa famille était honnête; son père, mort depuis plusieurs années, avait rempli longtemps les functions de juge de paix du canton du Vigeois. Doué de qualités attachantes, susceptible de sentimens tendres et généreux, il était aimé de ceux qui l'entouraient.' †

In the same strain of sentimentality, this extraordinary judicial document proceeds to detail every fact which the accuser thinks of importance. All these statements, garnished with the most outrageous vituperation, are set forth without the safeguard of an oath, without the check of cross-examination. Every insinuation that the most artful rhetoric can supply, is without hesitation adopted—motives and intentions are without

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* There are some cases in which, by statute, it is permitted to charge more than two felonies—viz. in embezzlement, three instances may be laid, if committed within six months—and also in an indictment for coining a double charge is allowed.

† The procureur-général published two editions of this precious piece of rhetoric. The second thus varies the sentiments: 'Marié une première fois, il avait eu le douleur de perdre sa femme. Bon, généreux, chéri de ceux qui l'environnaient, susceptible lui-même de sentimens exaltés, il sentait le besoin de s'environner de nouvelles et de plus douces affections. Il désirait, aussi, trouver dans le dot d'une seconde épouse, les moyens de donner à son industrie plus de développement et activité.' Love and money are here closely conjoined. The exalted affections, and the desire of a marriage-portion, are placed in no very seemly juxtaposition.

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any compunction boldly imputed—characters are described—and throughout, the guilt of the prisoner is assumed as a thing not capable of being disputed. In short, this grave judicial document is a written pleading against the prisoner. Having immediately to remark upon the manner and bearing of the Avocat-Général upon this occasion, we shall confine ourselves to one observation upon this document, viewed in the character of a written pleading. No Barrister conducting a prosecution for murder in England, would dare to make such a statement *viva voce*—and write it he could not. The moment that he does more than give a naked simple statement of the facts, calmly weighing their value as evidence, that moment he is considered to transgress the line of his duty, and the Judge would infallibly interrupt him. But in this proceeding, we find a document on which the whole after prosecution rests—assuming the character of furious advocacy—asserting, without compunction, relevant and irrelevant facts, and taking the most unfair advantages of the unfortunate prisoner—prejudging her case without a shadow of proof—distorting, by pretending to relate, her previous history—and thus making the question of her guilt or innocence to turn, not upon the evidence adduced respecting the deed, for the supposed perpetration of which she was now to be tried, but upon the notion which the jury might form as to her former life and character. Doing thus, in the grave character of a public officer, what no private English Advocate with a spark of right feeling would deign to attempt, and what, if any Counsel could be found degraded enough to essay, no English Judge would permit him to accomplish.

The indictment in this country is, by the present practice, stripped of much that formerly rendered it ridiculous. It still, however, retains some things not needed for the purposes of justice, and is construed with such technical strictness, that due punishment is at times evaded, and justice mocked at. This strictness is nevertheless, upon the whole, advantageous. Particular and striking, but rare, instances may indeed be cited of impunity obtained, through its influence, for the evil-doer. The precision, however, which is thereby rendered necessary, is a great safeguard for the innocent accused; nothing extraneous is set forth—nothing is imported into the cause which can excite or mislead the jury, or confuse or terrify the accused. The very technicality of the form and language of the indictment robs it of all appearance of passion, and prevents the possibility of employing any unfair rhetorical artifice. Thus making it present a striking contrast, indeed, to that extravagant pleading which we are now considering.

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After stating the desire that M. Lafarge felt for a new and tender affection, and the mercantile spirit which guided him in his search of an object of future love, the *acte* sets forth the mode which he adopted to gain the desired object; and the system which it discloses is among the most extraordinary and painful incidents of this sad drama.

M. Lafarge applied at Paris to a marriage-broker (*agent matrimonial*) in the month of August 1839; and from this man came the proposal that he should marry Marie Cappelle. This unfortunate young woman was an orphan; her father had been an officer in the imperial guard, and had died, leaving his children to the care of his wife, who married again. She some time after died also, and her children by M. Cappelle were left in charge of her relations. Among them was an aunt, who had married a person of the name of De Martens; and this M. de Martens, though moving in a sphere of life that might be almost called distinguished, was evidently the person who, through the assistance of the marriage-broker, managed the marriage of his niece with a man of whom he knew nothing, and whose face he had never seen three days before he determined to entrust to him for life the orphan child then under his charge. It is remarkable that this circumstance is passed by with indifference by all persons at the trial, and does not, as far as we learn, appear to have excited remark or astonishment in the minds of the Journalists of France. Are we, then, to assume that this *agent matrimoniale* is commonly employed in France by persons of respectability and honour?—that marriage, still a matter of *convenance*, is managed after a new fashion, in consequence of the changed habits of her people—the mercantile spirit of the time having invaded and subdued the province even of love and affection? The unfortunate Madame Lafarge herself gives a detailed account of the proceedings connected with her marriage, but makes no mention of the *agent*. As her 'Memoirs' have been written since her trial, she could not fail to know the mode in which her marriage was really contracted. Her silence, then, is not among the least significant of the circumstances connected with this strange and disgraceful transaction. She avows that she married not from affection, but necessity—a necessity which her forlorn situation imposed; and there is no reason to doubt the truth of her assertion. The *acte d'accusation* thus briefly tells the story of the marriage:—'This idea of a second mar-'riage led him (M. Lafarge) to Paris in the month of August 1839. There were some difficulties in the way; but he was soon 'introduced to a M. Foy, (a matrimonial agent,) and this man

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'proposed to him to marry Marie Cappelle. Some enquiries 'were made on the part of the accused, by her friends, respecting the situation of Lafarge, and a few days had hardly 'elapsed before the marriage was celebrated. The following 'night the new-married pair left Paris for Glandier, where they 'arrived on the 15th of August 1839.' The *acte* then enters into a minute history of the life of Lafarge and his wife up to the time of his death; the object of which is to show, that there were feelings in her mind which would induce her to commit the horrible crime with which she was charged. The manner of stating these facts is studiously adapted to the end of exciting prejudice and passion against the accused.

The history of this period, as given by Madame Lafarge herself, is extraordinary, and in some parts improbable. The persons who composed her 'Memoirs,' (for we believe them not to have been written by herself, but to have been concocted for her, and from her information, by professional artists,) being desirous of exciting compassion for her unhappy condition, have described very minutely the brutal conduct of Lafarge during his journey to Glandier; and extraordinary pains are taken to press upon the reader's belief the fact, that Madame Lafarge, spite of the pressing instances of her husband, resisted successfully all his entreaties, and lived the life of a nun with the name of a wife. For what purpose this statement is made, and made with such repetition and pertinacity, we pretend not to say. The *acte* of accusation, indeed, points to the same thing; but the object of the Procureur-Général is plain enough. He wishes to make it appear that an unconquerable disgust had taken possession of the young wife's mind, and from this disgust he infers the probability of her being the murderer. 'Charles 'Lafarge était dans la joie, et se promettait le plus heureux avenir; 'mais ses illusions durèrent bien peu. Le jour même de son 'arrivée au Glandier éclata une scène aussi imprévue qu'affli-'geante. Marie Cappelle s'enferma dans sa chambre, et là 'elle écrivit à son mari la lettre la plus étrange, où le dévergondage 'de la pensée ne le cède qu'au cynisme des expressions par 'lesquelles, se flétrissant elle-même, elle révele à son epoux 'toutes les mauvaises passions dont elle est agitée.'

After preparing the minds of the jury by this description, the *acte* goes on to explain the plan which the accused was supposed to have formed and adopted. The object she proposed to herself is broadly stated to be, to get rid of her husband. The reasons for her desiring to do so were, that she disliked his person; that she deemed herself imposed upon by his false descriptions of his

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property, of his house, and of the position in which he could place his wife; and lastly, by a desire to possess herself of his property.

In order to obtain possession of his property, and get rid of him, it is said that she determined to persuade her husband to make his will. In order to obtain this end, she is charged with pretending to make her own in favour of her husband; and that therefore the husband, cajoled by her apparent fondness, did in reality make, and deliver her a will, by which he left her all his property should she survive him. 'Dès ce moment, Marie 'Cappelle arrêta sa pensée de recouvrer son independence par 'la mort de son mari, dont elle recueillerait la succession."

In the same manner the whole history of the supposed murder is set forth; and after the reading of the *acte* was finished by the officers of the court, M. Decoux, *avocat-général*, stated the case to the jury.

M. Decoux is doubtless a distinguished member of the French bar, and we may fairly assume that he has done nothing which the manners and the morality of that body condemn. Our remarks, therefore, are not to be considered as directed against the individual advocate, but against the *system* of which, for the moment, he is the illustration. As directed against the system, indeed, which sanctions such doings as were then witnessed, our language cannot be too strong, if it is accurately to describe our feelings upon this occasion. The fact that a prosecutor in a criminal proceeding is a public officer, and as such can have no interest in obtaining the conviction of the prisoner, never for one instant seemed present to the mind of the Avocat-Général. He brought the habits, conduct, and state of feeling, of the mere advocate in a private cause into a great public proceeding. It is the duty of a prosecutor to see that all that can legally and honestly be adduced against the accused should be fairly laid before the jury. It is his interest, as it is the interest of every just member of society, that the accused should in reality turn out to be innocent; but that if he be really guilty, that he should be legally convicted. But the question of guilt or innocence, of the truth or falsehood of the charge preferred against the prisoner, cannot depend upon the feelings of compassion or commiseration towards the unfortunate family of the murdered man; for the verdict of the jury, if their minds be disturbed by extraneous emotions of pity or anger, may be the result, not of the evidence, but of their state of feeling. Truth and justice require that their verdict should result *wholly from the evidence*, and that the evidence should relate solely to the fact charged. Did A commit that act? The fact of A's having or not having done the deed

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cannot depend upon the emotions which the jury may feel, or upon the misery which resulted from the act, no matter who committed it. The family of the murdered man may be worthy, respectable, now forlorn and wretched by his death; but that misery does not make or prove A the murderer—why then appeal to the passions of the jury on such an occasion? Why play the actor throughout the spectacle, and make it appear that you are overwhelmed with sorrow at the fate of the victim, and filled with violent indignation against the supposed murderer? Why, but to confound the jury, to disturb their judgments, and to win their verdict without the aid of evidence? It is impossible adequately to describe the conduct of the Avocat-Général throughout the whole of the trial, without following him step by step in his conduct of it. This we cannot do, but must be content with a general description, illustrated by one or two instances of the passion and almost fury exhibited by him during the investigation. To any one accustomed to the decorous, impressive calmness of an English court, these violent displays appear like the poor attempts of a crackbrained actor, rather than the serious pleading of a grave and dignified functionary.

The language which we shall immediately quote, will appear, when read in a just and humane spirit, in the highest degree unseemly—nay, absolutely cruel. If the Avocat-Général could adduce evidence to convict the accused of the heinous crime laid to her charge, vituperation was not required; if he had not such evidence, it was iniquitous to employ it. *After* her conviction the Judge might address the prisoner as guilty; *before* her conviction no one had a right to treat her as any thing but innocent. 'I fear,' would have been the language of an English Attorney-General, 'I fear, gentlemen, the evidence I shall adduce 'will prove but too clearly the guilt of the prisoner at the bar. 'If, however, that evidence should leave upon your minds any 'reasonable doubts of her guilt, you will be required, as the 'humanity of the law directs, to let her have the benefit of that 'doubt; and none will sympathize with you more than I shall, in 'the grateful duty that will devolve upon you, when you declare 'her innocent of that dreadful charge which it has been my 'painful office to prefer. But, gentlemen, if there be no such 'doubt upon your minds, then, however painful to you and to 'us all, your duty to your country and your God requires that 'you should pronounce the verdict which the evidence sanctions, 'and say, with an approving conscience, though with a sorrow-'ing heart, that she is guilty.' This is the dignified and compassionate language of an honest, firm, and upright public officer, in the performance of a painful but necessary duty. Sedate,

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grave, considerate, just, he hardly steps out of the province of the impassive judge; employs no artifice, descends to no subterfuge, rouses no passion, influences no prejudice—but calmly submits the legal evidence to the consideration of the jury, and leaves it to bear with its own intrinsic weight against the scale of the accused.

The Avocat-Général, however, began with a studied description of the affliction of the sorrowing family of Lafarge. He described the mother as borne down with grief for the loss of her generous, kind, and tender son. The sister, too, is brought forward to make part of this scene of desolation and misery—and the group of the wretched victims is studiously, and we suppose, for a French audience, artfully contrasted with the cold, malicious, cruel murderer. A gay picture of expected happiness for Lafarge is carefully and elaborately painted; his hopes of wealth, his anticipations of connubial bliss, his filial, his paternal love, are all arranged with melodramatic effect, to contrast with the sudden horrors that obscure his horizon and that of his unfortunate family. It is necessary to give the exordium of this harangue at full length, in order that the reader may form some conception of the spirit which animated the orator throughout:—

'En prenant la parole dans cette enceinte, notre esprit est livré à une vive préoccupation, notre cœur est rempli de plus douloureuses émotions. Et comment en serait-il autrement?—comment pourrions-nous, avec un cœur tranquille, avec une raison froide, venir vous présenter l'affligeant tableau de ce crime? Comment notre cœur pourrait-il ne pas saigner—ne pas se déchirer, à l'aspect de toutes les infortunes qui sont entassées dans cette enceinte? Ce n'est pas seulement l'horreur du crime que nous emeut; d'autres émotions, des émotions aussi douloureuses, plus vives, peut-être, nous assiégent. En effet, il n'a pas suffi à cette femme de précipiter dans la tombe, par de moyens affreux, l'homme auquel elle venait d'enchaîner sa destinée, cet homme qui, vous l'apprendrez dans le cours de ces longs débats, n'avait eu pour elle que de l'amour et des sympathies qui dominaient sa pensée, qui remplissaient, qui debordaient son âme. Eh bien! non; ce crime ne lui a pas suffi—il a fallu qu'elle le commit avec une persévérance, une audace, qui sont sans example, j'ose le dire, dans les fastes des instructions criminelles.

'Mais, Messieurs, les choses qui ont été poussées à ce point; telle a été la colère—si j'ose m'exprimer ainsi—la colère froide et impitoyable, avec laquelle cette femme s'est precipitée sur sa victime pour s'abreuver de son sang, que peut-être l'excès même de son audace de viendra pour elle l'un des moyens les plus touchans de sa defense.

'Messieurs, ne le perdons pas de vue, nous ne sommes pas encore sur le terrain de la discussion. Dans ce moment, nous n'avons à vous rétracer que les faits; plus tard, peut-être, n'aurons-nous pas besoin d'autre tâche, car l'affaire présente ce caractère exceptionel qu'il suffira de vous rapeller les témoignages; vous retracer les faits, et que nous

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pourrons ensuite nous en remettre avec confiance à la conscience du jury.

'Il y avait dans cette contrée au Glandier, une famille qui vivait heureuse. Elle se composait d'une vielle mère, pauvre femme! Pauvre malheureuse femme, accablée de tant de douleurs et menacée de tant d'outrages. Elle avait un fils Pouch Lafarge, qui vivait avec elle dans l'intimité la plus vraie, sous l'influence de ces sentimens si doux qui unissent un fils à une mère. Ce jeune homme etait dans la force de l'âge; la nature ne l'avait pas doué d'une intelligence superieure, il n'avait pas reçu cette éducation brillante qui aurait pu plaire, convenir aux habitudes de Marie Cappelle; mais il était bon, génereux; mais il était aimé—il était plein de la sensibilité la plus vraie—il était disposé à aimer, à cherir tous ceux qui l'entouraient. Et puis, s'il s'etait peu livré à la culture des lettres, s'il avait peu recherché les avantages de l'éducation du monde, il avait dirigé toutes les facultés de son esprit vers des études solides, des travaux sérieux. Maitre de forges, il avait senti le besoin d'entendre les progrès de son art; maitre de forges, veillant et la nuit et le jour, son esprit inventif s'occupait sans cesse de donner à son industrie la plus grande activité.

'J'oubliais de vous dire qu'il avait une sœur—pauvre femme encore à laquelle les douleurs n'ont point manqué. Autour de lui vivaient des gens honnêtes qui le connaissaient, l'affectionaient—c'etaient d'excellens, de sincères amis, des serviteurs fidèles, de paysans dévoués, parceque leur maitre etait plein de bonté pour eux.'

After a full statement of every thing that he deemed necessary for the proof and explanation of the charge of murder, the Avocat-Général, as a peroration to his diatribe, proceeded to give the history of the charge of larceny in these words:—'I 'wish, gentlemen, that I could confine myself to this exposition, 'already so long. I wish that it was not my duty now to call 'your attention to other facts—and to impress upon the fore-'head of this woman the stamp of another ignominy, *not* '*resulting from the present accusation.* Why did she not her-'self wish to save me this painful task? In place of striving 'against the evidence—in place of irritating justice, if justice 'can be irritated, by a system of defence which is in itself 'a crime—if she had confessed herself guilty of the charge 'of stealing the diamonds which has been preferred against 'her, I should, in bringing before you this evidence of her 'character, experience a feeling of pain.' He then further says, that he is aware that between the charge of murder and the theft there is no necessary connexion; but that his duty, as a man of honour and a magistrate, compels him to set forth her guilt in the theft, because it proves her character to be deplorably bad! Was ever such a reason given for such a proceeding—and that, too, by one boasting himself to be a man of honour and a magistrate? He sums up his observations respecting this separate

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charge in the following strain:—'By the side of this most in-
'famous theft, is thus placed the most infamous defamation in
'the world—calumny, another species of poisoning—moral poi-
'soning, which kills not the body, but which kills honour. Do
'you hear, Marie Cappelle!'

After this revolting apostrophe, he addresses himself to the jury, and finishes thus:—'I conjure you to communicate with no 'person—subject yourselves, beyond these walls, to no impres-
'sion which may do violence to your convictions, or affect the
'purity of your verdict. I demand this of you; because, before
'all things, I demand that you should be just. You cannot be
'so, if you permit the solicitations of those who, at any cost,
'would save a woman who cannot be saved.'

By the law and the practice of England, as we have already stated, two felonies cannot be proved under one Indictment; two offences cannot be described by the Counsel in his opening speech; because he cannot state any thing of which he is not able, either in fact or by law, to give evidence. M. Decoux, therefore, had he been in an English court, would have been saved any pain he might have felt on this occasion; as he would quickly have been told by Judge and Counsel, that he had transgressed his duty, and done a gross wrong to the prisoner, merely by alluding to a charge of theft as then hanging over her. Nothing is more common with us, than for several Indictments to be preferred against one prisoner at the same time for separate offences—all to be tried at the same sessions or assizes. But on the trial of one Indictment, any allusion to the other charges would be deemed deserving of the severest censure. If, indeed, a prisoner chooses to bring forward evidence in proof of his former good character, and thus seeks to influence the jury in his favour, then it is competent to the prosecuting Counsel to cross-examine the witnesses coming forward in support of the prisoner's character as to any former conviction, and as to his general reputation; but until the prisoner make this attempt to weigh down the evidence by his former character, no allusion can be made on the part of the prosecutor to any thing but the evidence upon the specific charge then under investigation. The salutary rule of the English law and practice, by which the evidence is confined to the issue, and the observations of Counsel to what he is permitted to prove, would have materially tended to maintain the decorum and to promote the justice of all the judicial proceedings in which M. Decoux played so prominent a part.

As we proceed we shall have yet further to comment on the

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bearing of the Avocat-Général towards the accused: we shall now continue our description of the trial itself.

As soon as the Avocat-Général had finished his address, the Counsel for the prisoner, M. Paillet, raised the objection which we have above discussed, and prayed the court that the evidence might be confined to the issue of guilty or not guilty of the murder; and that no witnesses might be examined as to the alleged larceny—stating, and we think accurately, such to be the humane provision of the French law. But his objection was overruled, and all the witnesses produced by the prosecution were allowed to be examined; so that in reality the prisoner was put upon her trial for two offences at the same time. A greater outrage on common sense and justice was never perpetrated.

The next step in the proceeding was one directly opposed, not only to the practice of our courts, but to the feelings of our people. The first person examined was the prisoner herself—the presiding Judge conducting the examination.

A full examination of the prisoner had already been taken by the vice-president of the Tribunal de Tulle, immediately after the *Chambre des mises en accusation* had pronounced the *arrêt* declaring that she was to be tried; but whether the answers of the prisoner were to be considered as a voluntary declaration, does not appear. By the English course of proceeding, on the accusation being made before the committing magistrate, the prisoner is always asked what he desires to say; being cautioned at the same time that what he says will be taken down in writing, and produced against him at the trial. He is at perfect liberty to answer or not, just as he pleases; and the important practical consequence attending the proceeding is, that his not answering is never adverted to as a circumstance to his discredit. This is the only approach, in the English system, to any thing like an examination of the prisoner; but, in the French procedure, the examination of the accused appears among the most important of those submitted to the consideration of the jury. Whether this mode is that best calculated to ascertain the guilt or innocence of the person accused, is one of the most disputed and disputable of the many vexed questions of criminal judicature; and one which, we believe, cannot be properly decided without reference to the habits of thought and feeling peculiar to every people. In England, such an open examination of the prisoner would excite very general disgust, and raise up improperly compassion for the guilty. Moreover, we feel from experience that such a process is unnecessary for security; and are, therefore, well pleased to be

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spared the pain of inflicting upon the wretched prisoner a species of mental torture. In France, it may be, that the habits of the people do not fit them for the practical business of judicature. With us the experience of centuries is handed down from one generation to another; the people from time immemorial have taken an important part in the administration of justice, and they and our courts have become skilled in the marshalling and appreciation of evidence. The French public, on the other hand, may deem that the mode they have adopted is necessary for the public safety: if such be the general feeling, the examination of the prisoner cannot be dispensed with; though, from the experience of the case before us, we cannot say that we are at all reconciled to the practice.*

The story of the unfortunate young woman, as told by herself in her various interrogatories, does not justify the terrible accusation to which she was subjected; nor do the contradictions which occur in her narrative, excite in our minds the suspicion which they created in the minds of the jury which decided her fate. Her story, previous to the illness of her husband, is briefly this:—Being left an orphan, with a moderate fortune, viz. 80,000 francs, being also, as she herself says, not greatly blessed with beauty, her family were anxious to provide for her an establishment by means of a husband. They adopted in consequence the plan already described; though she herself, in her answers, pointedly denies that she was at all cognisant of the employment of the matrimonial agent. She married for the sake of the position which a husband would give her; and she was led by the representations of her family, and of Lafarge himself, to believe that she was about to become the mistress of a comfortable and

* The method of examination, as practised by the French courts, seems also open to reprehension. The Judge indeed appears, on the whole, the person least exceptionable for discharging the office of examiner; but it is a matter for grave consideration, whether it be not a great evil to subject the judge to the chance of becoming excited and prejudiced by taking upon himself this office. He is very liable to be made a partizan by the conflict that of necessity must take place between the accused and the interrogator. Moreover, it appears that the examination is not carried on and finished at once; but as every point of the evidence given by the witnesses tells against the accused, he is suddenly called upon by the judge to explain away the difficulty, and is thus compelled to make his defence many times over, and to discharge the most difficult duty that can be devolved even upon a skilled advocate, and through a long trial to keep in his mind the whole bearing of each separate piece of evidence,

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even elegant household and establishment. Married at three-and-twenty to a perfect stranger, it is not wonderful that she was startled and alarmed when she suddenly found herself separated from all whom she had known through life, and placed completely in the power, and subject to the absolute control, of her stranger husband. Scenes occurred on their journey from Paris to Glandier, not very extraordinary when viewed with reference to all the surrounding circumstances; and Madame Lafarge is not the first upon record in whom the same sort of terrors led to pursue the same sort of resistance. In the midst of these disputes, with her mind heated and her fears excited, she arrived at Glandier—her dwelling for her future life. Here she, who had been accustomed to the luxurious elegance of Paris, found a rude, dilapidated, and comfortless habitation; and a family little likely, by their education or their habits, to sympathize with her, or to diminish or alleviate her distresses. In a fit of despair she wrote to her husband a wild and passionate letter, in the foolish hope of regaining her liberty, by accusing herself of having deceived her husband. She says, 'I was in 'such despair at my position, I desired so much that Monsieur 'Lafarge would allow me to go away, that I said things the most 'inconceivable and false in order to obtain my wish.' She told him she was in love with another man—that he had deserted her —and that she in spite had married; and she uses the following remarkable expression, by which she seeks to explain the cause of her terror and distress:—'Helas! je vous vis; j'ignorais les 'mystères du mariage; j'avais tressailli de bonheur en serrant ta 'main; malheureuse! je crus qu'un baiser sur le front seul te 'serait du—que vous seriez comme un père.' She then asserts that she had seen her former lover on the road; that she had taken poison, and had prepared a loaded pistol to destroy herself, but had not courage to carry her purpose into effect; that she desired only to be allowed to depart, intending to go to Smyrna. All these statements, in her examination, she declares to be untrue, and told only because of her desire to get away. In her answer to the judge, when pressed by him to explain why she had written these various falsehoods, she accounts for it after this fashion: 'How can you explain this letter, and the circumstances under 'which it was sent to your husband?'—Answer. 'I beg of you 'to have some indulgence towards me. I left my home the day 'after my marriage; I left my family; I found myself isolated 'from all the world. At Orleans, I had with my husband an 'extremely disagreeable scene—in truth, I was extremely 'wretched during the whole journey. When I arrived at Glan-'dier, in place of that charming country-house with which they

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'had lured me, I found a dilapidated and ruined habitation. I 'found myself alone, shut up in a large chamber which was to 'be mine for life. I lost my reason—I had an idea of travelling 'to the East—I thought of all those things—the contrast—my 'imagination was excited—I was so wretched that I would have 'given the whole world to get away.' This very natural description puzzled the Judge: he could not understand, could not sympathize with it; and after various enquiries, he says, 'So then 'your conduct, on your arrival at Glandier, was the result of the 'discontent you felt upon seeing a dwelling that, without doubt, 'did not answer the expectations which had been raised in you?' —Answer. 'Yes, sir.' But then it appears a change took place in her conduct, which to the Judge appeared inexplicable; but which she explains by saying, that Lafarge, by his constant kindness, had conquered her first feeling, and won her goodwill; that, therefore, she wished to make him happy, and occupied herself about her house and husband's affairs; and these affairs of her husband are not without their mystery: but the odium, if any, must fall not on her, but her husband.*

It appeared that Lafarge was in want of money. He had discovered, or fancied he had discovered, a new process for the smelting of iron, and desired to take out a Patent for the invention; and also to borrow funds to carry on his iron-works more extensively, according to his new method. He had persuaded himself, and seems to have persuaded his wife, that his speculations were certain to confer on him great wealth, and they both were anxious to obtain the money requisite to carry his plans into effect. She wrote to her friends in Paris, describing her expectations in glowing colours, and begged of them to interest themselves for the purpose of obtaining the patent which Lafarge sought for his discovery, as well of borrowing the money needed for the more extensive operations contemplated. She distinctly asserts, that 'Lafarge at this time wanted to borrow money of

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* An expression used by the prisoner in this part of her examination implies a state of things at variance with that indicated, rather than actually described, in her *Mémoires*. The words are these: we keep them in the original advisedly. 'Lafarge m'avait comblé de preuves 'd'affection, il était aussi bon pour moi qu'il était possible. Cela m'a 'touché, je n'ai pas pu faire autrement que de (l'accusée hésite quel-'ques instans sur le mot) *que de remplir mes devoirs, de rendre la vie 'plus heureuse à M. Lafarge.* Je me suis ensuite occupée de ma 'maison. Le Glandier n'a plus occupé qu'une faible part de ma vie. 'Peu à peu je me suis senti de l'affection, de l'estime pour M. Lafarge, 'et j'ai desiré de le rendre heureux.'

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'her family. He sent me the plan of the letters which I was to 'write to this effect. I copied and sent them.' And, therefore, the Judge indulged in his next question in a sort of half-aside insinuation respecting this proceeding, which at once shows the dangerous character of such an examination. It converts the Judge into an Advocate—it enlists his vanity against the prisoner, and induces him to employ his practised skill and ingenuity in distorting her answers, and drawing therefrom unjust and unfavourable inferences. The whole proceeding spoken of by the accused is in itself exceedingly simple, natural, and really deserving of no reprobation. A young girl, newly married, listens to her husband's plans, enters into his schemes with eagerness, believes his calculations, and, under his dictation, writes letters to her friends, describing her hopes, and asking their aid in realizing them; and upon this, thus remarks the Judge, who sets out with assuming her to be guilty:—'So, then, these letters were not the expression 'of your own opinion—your calculations were then nothing more 'than the result of the calculations and suppositions of M. 'Lafarge, for the purpose of obtaining for him the money he 'needed. *It was a species of seduction which you desired to employ 'with regard to those to whom you wrote.*' Can we wonder at the verdict of the jury, when, at the very commencement of the trial, the presiding Judge could hazard such a remark—one so thoroughly unjust and cruel—one so likely to prepare the minds of the jury for every future unfavourable inference regarding the prisoner? Throughout, the plan of the prosecution was to represent her as a person endowed with extraordinary ability—who, by the force of her intellect, was placed above the common follies or weakness of her age and sex; obeying steadily, indeed, the dictates of a depraved and wicked spirit, but pursuing her objects with an unerring sagacity—an untiring and remorseless perseverance. The Judge throughout his interrogatory assumes this hypothesis; he enlarges constantly upon her intelligence, and will not allow or understand in her case the ordinary motives and feelings which would impel and guide any other young girl in her situation. The instance here set forth is but one among a thousand—the whole trial was conducted after the same fashion.

Lafarge now went to Paris in order to obtain the wished-for patent, and his wife's relatives were among the first persons to whom he applied for aid. While absent, a circumstance occurred that had a fatal influence upon the future destiny of his wretched wife. Supposing her to tell the truth, nothing could be more natural than what she apparently intended to do—supposing her guilty, nothing could be more depraved, as well as wild and extravagant, than the scheme attempted.

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While Lafarge was thus at Paris, his wife had her portrait drawn by a young woman in the neighbourhood. This portrait she determined to send to her absent husband. It was put into a box, and into that box she also placed some cakes made by the mother of Lafarge, and a tender and affectionate letter. Before proceeding to the more important circumstance of this affair, let us dismiss the consideration of this letter, and the others which she addressed to her husband while at Paris; the affectionate tenor of which excited the suspicions, or rather is used to justify the already excited suspicions, of the presiding Judge. He asks her how she could conciliate this amazing tenderness, (tendresse exaltée,) *this sort of mystic affection*, which she here manifested towards her husband, with that cruel letter which she had written some months before to him on her arrival at Glandier; and the scene that took place during the journey from Paris, when Lafarge wanted to break into her room while she was in a bath. 'It is difficult enough,' he says, 'to understand the 'metamorphosis.' The poor girl answered that she saw no relation between the scene and the letter. The Judge thereupon grew angry, and declared, with some petulance, that he would persist in his question, and insisted on having an answer; and he put his question with this unfair insinuation:—'In 'the first letter it is easy to see that there was nothing in com-'mon between you and the husband you had accepted, either in 'your intellect or in your affections. In the other letters, on the 'contrary, there is the expansion of a heart which gives itself 'with warm affection, nay even with enthusiasm, to the husband 'to whom it is united.' (It is difficult, if not impossible, to put into intelligible English these expressions of French sentiment; the words are, 'Dans les autres, au contraire, on voit l'expansion 'd'un cœur qui se donne avec effusion, et même avec enthou-'siasme, à l'epoux auquel il est uni.') Then he goes on to say, 'This fickleness (mobilité) could indeed be understood in per-'sons not endowed with your intelligence; but in your case it is 'difficult to comprehend it.' The answer of the prisoner is perfectly sufficient. 'I have already answered that the kind offices 'of M. Lafarge had gained my heart. In truth I loved him— 'not indeed with *love*, but affection. He wrote me very pas-'sionate, tender letters, and I believed it my duty to make him 'happy by using the same language.' Then, again, in this unseemly fencing-match between the judge and the prisoner, comes this reply in the shape of a question:—'Thus, then, 'according to you, in the space of three or four months, to 'this antipathy which you had conceived for your husband,

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'and which had led you to desire to escape to Smyrna to get 'rid of him, had succeeded sentiments of gratitude, of ten- 'derness, of devotion?'—'Yes, sir. You know that when one 'receives a letter, very kind, very good, one always feels dis- 'posed to make happy the person who has shown you this affec- 'tion; above all, when it is a husband that writes, and when 'you wish to make this husband happy.'

But in the fated box, besides this letter, there were certain cakes. When the box left Glandier it had four or five small cakes in it, made after the fashion of the country by the mother of Lafarge. When the box arrived in Paris, it contained only one large cake; thus it is clear that, from the time when the box was last seen by the family at Glandier and its arrival at Paris, it must have been opened, and one cake substituted for several. The cake sent by Madame Lafarge, she told her husband to eat at a certain hour, saying that she, at that same hour, would do the same—this being, it seems, an established custom among lovers. Lafarge did eat of this cake, and was soon after exceedingly ill—and the inference immediately drawn was, that the cake was poisoned by the wife.

It is to be remarked that this cake was not produced. Evidence was given to show that a cake as large as a plate, and one only, was in the box on its being opened at Paris; but it was also shown, that it had necessarily been out of the hands and power of the prisoner in its transit from Glandier to Paris. It was closed by the servant Clementine, in the presence not only of the prisoner, but of her mother-in-law, of Le Brun, and another young woman; and then given to a servant, who took it to the coach-office. Nobody seemed to think of the impossibility for the prisoner to make a poisoned cake. With so many prying eyes about, not too favourable to the accused, the making of a cake would have been known, talked of, and afterwards remembered. Moreover, the box when it left Glandier was sealed; those seals when it reached Paris were broken—by the officers of the *octroi*, it is said—but others might have done it; and if a different cake did really find its way to Paris, they who broke the seals may have substituted one for the other. A person named Denis, a clerk, went on a mysterious voyage to Paris, saying he was going elsewhere; and there were many other suspicious circumstances which pointed him out as the criminal. We shall have hereafter to speak of this man.

Soon after the reception of this box, and the illness that followed, Lafarge left Paris and returned home. He arrived ill at Glandier on the 5th of January, and died on the 14th. His wife

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was charged with having caused this sudden death, by administering to him arsenic while he lay ill. The Judge proceeded to interrogate her as to the accusation.

We may here remark upon another evil that is necessarily attendant on this examination of the accused. In the present case, before the prisoner could be properly convicted of the murder, the jury should have been satisfied on two distinct enquiries; the first being, did the deceased die in consequence of being poisoned by arsenic; and if he did, then, did the prisoner knowingly administer the arsenic of which he so died.

On both of these questions the English law would have required the jury to be without any reasonable doubt before they could deliver a verdict of guilty; and the Judge would distinctly tell them, that they must be satisfied on both points, but that they must be satisfied as to the first before proceeding to discuss the second. In the present case, however, the first question was assumed during the whole examination of the prisoner; and every art was employed to make the jury believe that many motives were impelling her to wish and to contrive her husband's death. The minds of the jury being thus prejudiced, they came to the consideration of the question, Did he die by poison? fully prepared to decide it in the affirmative—willing to believe every thing that strengthened their adopted conception, and very averse even to listen to any evidence that tended to prove it incorrect. The long examination of the prisoner, upon the assumed ground that her husband died by poison, powerfully contributed to this mischievous prepossession—and in every case wherein two steps of proof are required to establish guilt, the same evil effect must be produced by the preliminary examination of the accused.

The quantity of irrelevant matter introduced on this trial is absolutely marvellous, while the facts stated in evidence which really related to the issue, are in the same proportion few, and for the most part insignificant;—gathered from the voluminous passages called evidence, they may thus be shortly stated.

Lafarge arrived at Glandier on the 5th of January, exceedingly ill—he went immediately to bed, and was attended by his wife, his mother, and his sister—and various other persons, besides his medical attendants, had access to him. Great confusion reigned throughout the whole household, and the dying man's bedchamber soon became a scene of strife, and of constant and wretched disturbance. His illness was apparently inflammation of the stomach and intestines. The disease from day to day made progress, and finally terminated his existence. The charge which the prosecution sought to establish was, that she, after his arrival at Glandier, at different times administered arsenic to him in his food

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and medicine. To substantiate this, it was proved that the prisoner had, in December, procured arsenic from a druggist, writing to him openly for it, saying, that she desired it for the purpose of destroying rats, by which, to use her own expression, she was devoured. Again it was proved, that on the 5th of January she had procured arsenic from the same druggist, and that this time it was obtained on the prescription (*ordonnance*) of the physician attending her husband—the alleged purpose being to destroy the rats which disturbed the sick man's repose; she asserting, and without contradiction, that the physician wrote his prescription for the arsenic by desire of Lafarge himself. And lastly it was proved, that the clerk Denis had been ordered by her, through her maid-servant, to bring some more arsenic, and that he did buy and bring some from Tulle. The arsenic is thus shown to be in the house, and in her possession, and certainly in her power. The next step was to show that she administered it to the deceased.

It appeared that she had sent for powdered gum at the same time that she had ordered the arsenic; and that of this powdered gum she herself drank repeatedly, and that she gave it to Lafarge. The direct charge was, that while pretending to give him gum she gave him the poison. The proof of this, if we strip it of all that is irrelevant, is exceedingly uncertain, confused, and weak; but the mode in which the Avocat-Général sought to prove it—the mode which the French law permitted him to adopt—well deserves the serious attention of every one who desires to make the law a protector of the innocent. Of some of the methods employed to arouse the suspicion of the jury, we have already spoken. But not content with the history of the unfortunate girl's marriage—with the story of her disappointment, her quarrel with her husband—with the strange tale of the cake sent to Paris—not content with all these irrelevant means of exciting a prejudice against her, he allowed the wildest stories to be related about her;—the fancies that entered into the heads of her neighbours, the conjectures of gossiping crones, the malicious insinuations of guilty and unworthy servants—are adduced as grave and important pieces of evidence, that ought to weigh with rational men when called upon to discharge the awful duty of deciding upon the life or death of a fellow creature. As specimens of this mode of proceeding, and for the purpose of continuing our comparison, we will mention two instances of evidence adduced of the sort we are here describing.

One of the witnesses examined was a M. Aimé Sirey, who came forward voluntarily to disclose to the court an important fact; and he was allowed, after being sworn, to proceed after the

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following manner.—In reply to the question of the Judge—What have you to say? M. Sirey answers,

'A fact which, up to the present moment, has appeared either indifferent or to confirm the guilt of the accused, now seems to me, in the presence of the new events of the trial, to be singularly modified, and to acquire such gravity as to make it imperative on my conscience to reveal it to the jury and to the court.' (*Movement d'attention*, says the reporter.) 'I was at Objet during the first days of December, when I received a visit from my bailiff, who manages my estate at Comborn, near to Glandier. He breakfasted with me; and the conversation falling upon the prosperity that was likely to happen in the affairs of M. Lafarge, as well through his invention as by means of the fortune he had acquired by his marriage, my bailiff spoke the following words, which I repeat verbatim.' (At this stage of this idle story, in an English court M. Sirey would by judge, counsel, jury, have been commanded to hold his peace, and depart about his business. To the rule of evidence which would have led to this summary dismissal of such an impertinent intruder we shall immediately advert; at present, we proceed with the testimony as received by the French court.) "M. Lafarge will not profit by these advantages, for he will be poisoned by his wife." (General marks of surprise.) 'I did not attach much importance to these words; but the remarkable coincidence of this poisoning, foretold eight or ten days before, with the death of M. Lafarge, which fulfilled the prophecy, appears to me now, in presence of the facts which have been disclosed before the court, so important as to arrest the attention of justice, and to require that the bailiff should be examined.'

'The Judge—Are you quite sure as to the date of this conversation? Answer—Yes, sir. What day did M. Lafarge die? 'It was the 14th. But what was the day of the week? The 'Judge—after having ascertained—it was Tuesday. M. Sirey—'Well, then, it was Sunday the 5th that my bailiff said this.' The Judge, after some further enquiry as to the date of the conversation, asked whether it was deemed necessary to hear the bailiff; and the Counsel for the prisoner insisting that it was, he was ordered to attend. One curious observation respecting the report of the bailiff was made by M. Sirey—'It appeared that 'he (the bailiff) related these stories (*ces bruits*) *as emanating from* '*the relations of Lafarge.*' That is, they determined beforehand to accuse his wife of murder, and (if imputations are to be permitted) they laid their plans so as to give their predetermined accusation an air of truth. This evidence was given on the 4th of September, and not till the 12th was the bailiff found; and then his version of the affair was, 'that he was talking one day 'with a M. Lafaurie about the arrival of Mme. Lafarge at 'Glandier, who said she was very rich, but that she and her hus-'band were not happy together. That a letter had been written

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'by her to Lafarge, in which she declared she loved another 'man also called Charles, but that he was not Charles Lafarge; 'and that then M. Lafaurie said, "if he were in the place of 'Lafarge he would let her go, for fear she should do him some 'ill turn."'

By the law of England, hearsay evidence is not admissible, and no conversation can be given in evidence that has not taken place in the hearing of the prisoner. M. Sirey and his bailiff would therefore have been alike excluded; the minds of the jury would not have been distracted by an accumulation of idle nonsense; or subject to the improper influence of vague and unsupported reports. Once open the door to this sort of gossip, and no man would be safe—reputation, property, life, would often depend upon a rumour which malice might designedly invent, and a foolish, busy curiosity circulate and improve—conjecture would be converted into proof, and the whisper of every doting crone would usurp the office, or outweigh the influence of evidence given by percipient witnesses under the sanction of an oath.

Another instance of the mode in which it was sought to prejudice the unfortunate accused, in the minds of the jury, by the aid of this species of evidence, was remarkably exemplified by the testimony given by the clerk Denis. Grave suspicion rested upon this man that, if the deceased did come to his death by poison, he was the person really guilty; and yet, with all the suspicion that throughout the proceedings rested upon him, he was allowed to begin his story with this statement:—

'On the 8th of January, Madame Marie Lafarge having learned that I was going to Lubersac, had me called into her apartment. When I came, she made me go out into the garden, and there commanded me to bring her some arsenic, some black puddings, and sausages. I bought the puddings and the sausages, but I did not think it proper to buy the arsenic. On the 9th I bought some for twenty sous, at the shop of M. Lafosse. On the 11th, as I was going to Tulle, on the business of M. Lafarge, I received a note from Madame Marie Lafarge, by her maid-servant. She told me in this note * to buy at Tulle some black puddings, sausages, some arsenic, and a mouse-trap. Fearing lest Madame might be angry, I said to my wife—[Here he would have been

* This note was not produced, nor asked for. By our practice, the witness would not have been permitted to speak of its contents, until some account had been given of the note itself. Was it in existence? If yes, then produce it, or hold your tongue as to its contents. If destroyed, explain how, when, why—all which explanations would have cast great doubt upon the testimony.

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stopped by an English judge, because about to relate a conversation that occurred out of the hearing of the prisoner]—" I suppose I must " get this arsenic, since I have been told twice to get it." I again said to my wife, " I very much fear lest this arsenic may be made to serve to " procure the death of M. Lafarge." I said that, because Madame Charles had said before M. Magneaux, that, if she wished it, her husband would not be alive in twenty-four hours. She had said also, she should only wear mourning a year, as they did at Paris, if her husband happened to die.'

Another violation of our rules of evidence was permitted in this witness, as in all the others. No witness is allowed to give in evidence any thing beyond what he saw done, or heard said, in those cases in which he is allowed to report conversations. His own thoughts upon the occasion of which he is speaking, he is not permitted to disclose. Denis said, that although he had bought the arsenic at Brives, yet he did not give it to Madame Lafarge. He is then asked by the Judge, why he did not give it? This question, by our rules, would not be permitted: the answer given by Denis will at once show why. 'Because,' he says, 'M. Lafarge was ill, and I feared the use 'that might be made of this arsenic.' Upon this the Judge remarked, 'These fears are very grave; what circumstances 'created them in you?' 'Because Madame Lafarge had said 'to M. Magneaux, the day before she wrote the note, that if 'she wished, her husband would not be alive four-and-twenty 'hours, and that she always had arsenic by her—(sur elle.) 'Did you hear those words from the mouth of Madame La-'farge?' '*No; M. Magneaux heard them, and told them to me.*' It is remarkable that Magneaux, a clerk of Lafarge, when called, does not appear to disprove or confirm the assertions of Denis.

Now, although such were the many and extraordinary means to excite suspicion by irrelevant evidence, the direct evidence as to the fact of poisoning, is absolutely almost nothing. During the illness of Lafarge, the suspicions of his mother were aroused by Denis: she readily listened to the suggestion, and saw in every act of her daughter-in-law, whom she feared and hated, an attempt to murder her son. When asked by her daughter-in-law to retire to rest, she immediately concluded that the object in view was to get rid of her superintendence. If any thing was given to her son by his wife, and, as is the common result in such a malady, it was returned from the stomach, she leaped to the conclusion that poison was the cause. At length, in her alarm, she communicated her suspicions to her unfortunate son; and thus, without doing or being able to do any

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good thereby, she heightened every terror, every horror that could gather around the dying man. But with all her suspicions excited—with the whole household well aware of her belief—the only facts adduced in evidence which fairly tell against the prisoner are, first, that she ordered the poison to be bought; and next, that some poison was asserted to have been found in a small box which she had in her pocket; and which, she said, contained powdered gum—and also in a packet said to have been found in her bureau; and out of which, as well as out of the box, she had been supposed to take a portion of the contents, and put it into some chicken broth given by her to her husband. These last facts were elicited from the testimony of two young women, Le Brun and Emma Ponthieu—the first violently the enemy; the second the friend of the accused.

Le Brun tells the following story:—On the 11th of January, Lafarge heard that his wife was taking some chicken broth, and desired that some of it might be brought to him. It had, however, been all drunk by his wife, and a fresh quantity was prepared—his wife saying, that they must allow him to believe it to be hers. This broth, made by the sister of Lafarge, was left on the chimneypiece, in some warm water, in the room of the wife, in which also was Mademoiselle Le Brun—both of them being in bed. Le Brun says, that when they were left alone, she saw Madame Lafarge put her arms out of bed, reach the broth from the chimney, and put into it a white powder, and stir it with her finger;—that she did not see whence she got the powder, but only perceived that it was in a piece of torn paper.* That she, upon this, asked Madame Lafarge what she had put into the broth—who answered, orange flowers. That she expressed her surprise openly on this, as it was plainly powder;

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* In summing up the evidence, the Avocat-Général stated, with great, with reprehensible inaccuracy, the evidence of this witness. She was distinctly asked by the judge—

'Où prit-elle cette poudre? Etait-ce dans le buvard?' Answer. 'Je 'la vis verser dans la tasse, mais je ne sais pas où elle l'avait prise. Je 'vis seulement, que cette poudre était dans un petit morceau de papier 'déchiré.' Question. 'Reconnûtes-vous le paquet de Denis? Etait-il 'de la même couleur?' Answer. 'Je n'y fis pas attention, ni à la 'couleur du papier.' Yet the Avocat-Général, summing up the evi-'dence, said, 'Madlle. Brun a vu Marie Cappelle prendre la poudre 'blanche dans le buvard, envelloppée *dans le même papier bleu dans lequel Denis l'avait apporté!*' Not a word of this was in evidence, and part was directly at variance with this statement.

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but she had no suspicion then. This was about eight in the morning; at twelve she arose and went into the sick man's room, Madame Lafarge remaining behind in bed. That she saw the remains of the broth which had been placed on the chimney, and on the surface of it there were floating white globules. She showed them to the sister, who spoke about them to the physician, M. Bardon: he looked at the globules, and thought it to be lime from the wood ashes. The broth was then thrown away, but a thick residue remained; and as some more broth was made which did not appear like that thrown away, their suspicious were excited. The residue was locked up by the mother, and was afterwards by her given up to the officers of justice, examined by the chemists, who first analyzed the various matters supposed to contain poison; and by them declared to contain arsenic. We shall immediately speak of this analysis.

Some time after mid-day, Le Brun again says, she saw the wife up, and in the chamber of Lafarge; and as this part of her testimony is the most important portion of the evidence, we will give it in her words:—

'In the afternoon of the same day I was alone with Madame Marie, in the sick man's room. She took a glass of water coloured with wine, and went towards the commode. I was working near the chimney, *and I could not see what she was doing;* but I thought I heard the drawer open, and the noise of a spoon striking against the side of the glass'—'comme si on délayait quelque chose.' [By which, we suppose, the witness intended to signify, that Madame Lafarge was wetting something with the water in the glass, and mixing them together.] 'Madame then gave a spoonful to her husband, and he said, "That burns my throat." I asked what he said, and Madame repeated it.' 'Did this astonish you?' 'No. I remarked the panada. She made it. I did not see her put any thing into it; but upon the surface I saw a white powder. I went near the commode, and I saw a train of powder. As the drawer was half open, I saw in it a little pot, and the train corresponded with the position of the pot.' (The words are—'et la traînée correspondait avec le pot'—that is, reached to it.) 'I tasted the powder, and it produced a pricking sensation for nearly an hour.* I remarked also a glass upon the night-table: it contained some white powder, and some drops of water. I took it between my fingers: it was like a fine resisting sand. I compared it with the gum, and the gum glued my fingers. I

* This assertion shows how strongly prejudice was at work. It is the opinion of the most celebrated chemists, that arsenic has no taste. See Beck's *Med. Jur.* 737, and the opinion of Dr Christison therein quoted.

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remarked upon this to Madame Marie, who said it was gum. "Besides," said she, "I am going to drink it;" and she filled the glass with water, and I believed she drank it, but I will not affirm that she did.'

'Question. After having drank, did she vomit?'

'Answer. I have not spoken of her vomiting on this occasion. She did so every day: every time she ate she vomited.'

She then states that the residue of the chicken broth was sent to M. Eyssartier the chemist, at the request of Lafarge, to whom his mother communicated her suspicions; and afterwards says—

'On the 13th, Monday morning, I entered early into his (Lafarge's) chamber: he told me not to leave him. Afterwards he breathed in his hands and said, "Oh! what a smell of garlic!" When he vomited, he said the same thing.* M. L'Espinasse came in the night. . . . . Some time later I took a little of the powder of the panada; I put it upon the coals, and smelt a smell of garlic. I had taken some of the white powder from the drawer, and gave it to M. Espinasse: he did the same by it, and obtained the same smell.

'On the 13th, I showed M. Espinasse the train of white powder in the commode: he scraped some of it together with the feathers of a pen. He took some also from the little pot, and carried it away wrapped in paper.'

M. L'Espinasse confirmed this statement; and further declared, that he had given the paper containing the powder, with its contents, to the officers of justice. He also said, that upon his finding so strong a smell of garlic upon burning the powder, he had no longer any doubt as to Lafarge being poisoned. Nevertheless he left the sick man to his fate, and returned home.

The prisoner denied all knowledge of this little pot and its contents, saying that she never saw it—that she never put any poison into it. She was asked if she suspected any body of putting the pot there. 'It is impossible,' she answered, 'for 'me to suspect any body. Besides, the whole house came into 'the room, and the place was not one very propitious for the 'hiding of any thing. My answer as to the little pot is, that I 'did not place it there—that I do not know who did—and that 'I have never seen it.'

Such was the evidence of Madlle. Brun. It will at once be seen that another step is required to make this evidence bear

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* Here again is proof of the effect of prejudice. The smell of garlic proceeds from arsenic when thrown on a strong heat; but there is no proof of its producing such a smell upon the breath of one poisoned by it.

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against the accused. It was to be proved that the bottle and the powder contained arsenic. Before we proceed to the consideration of the modes taken to ascertain that fact, and of the extraordinary circumstances which attended the enquiry, we must give the only remaining piece of direct evidence—that of Emma Ponthieu, the friend of Madame Marie Lafarge.

She said, that she arrived at Glandier on the 11th, and found Lafarge ill. She describes the distress of his wife, and evidently believed her distress real. When suspicion of the poisoning arose, she heard Madame Marie address her maid-servant with great warmth, and ask what she had done with the arsenic which she had confided to her? To this question the answer was, that she, the maid-servant, had put it into a hat, and placed the hat in the room of M. Lafarge. She adds, that on the morning of his death she saw his wife undress herself; and that while she was so doing, she saw, for the first time, a small box in the pocket of her apron. That she asked Clementine, the servant-maid, what it contained, who answered, gum. That the conversations she had heard—the suspicions of the mother of Lafarge and of Madlle. Brun—the letter written by Marie on her coming first to Glandier—all worked upon her recollection; and that, although her reason refused to believe that Marie was guilty, yet she was led to take some of the powder out of the box, and give it to her uncle. Her uncle kept the powder for some time in his pocket, and afterwards gave it to the officers of justice. She afterwards, in consequence of a vague suspicion in her own mind, asked the maid for the box which she had seen, and she after some delay brought it. The box, with its contents, was also given to the officers of justice. The conclusion sought to be established by this evidence is, that the box contained arsenic: but was this proved? We shall now proceed to consider the procedure of the courts with respect to the solution of this difficulty.

During the various proceedings of this trial, three separate sets of experiments were made, by different chemists, upon—

1. The body of the deceased; and,
2. Various substances which were suspected to contain arsenic.

The first experiments were performed by the chemists of Brives. This was on the 22d of January 1840, a few days after the death of Lafarge.

The second experiments were made by the chemists of Limoges, at the trial—and the last were performed by Mons. Orfila, soon after the second, and before the verdict.

For the moment we will pass by the analysis of the body and its contents, and confine our attention to the other substances

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submitted to examination. And now, judicially, the first enquiry ought to be, in whose custody were these various substances before they came into the hands of the chemists? The answer to this question in an English court of justice, would of itself have been nearly sufficient to exculpate the prisoner; for with us it is not enough to cast suspicion upon the accused. The prisoner is never required to answer till the affirmative has been distinctly proved against him—so proved, that if he do not, cannot explain away the proofs, no doubt will remain upon the minds of reasonable men as to his guilt. But if only suspicion be raised, if any other hypothesis is as reconcilable with the facts as that of the guilt of the prisoner, then our law says he must be acquitted. An hypothesis may be suggested in the present case, far more consonant with the facts than that of the guilt of the wife of the deceased—and that hypothesis is, that Lafarge did in reality die from natural causes; but that the arsenic was put in the various places by the hands of Denis the clerk, for the purpose of ruining his master's wife. Another hypothesis may yet be suggested, and from it we should not shrink—if Lafarge did die of poison, Denis was the murderer.

If any one will, with the first hypothesis respecting this man in his mind, look carefully into the evidence given by him, he will discover how wonderfully the facts agree with this supposition. From that evidence, which we have not space to analyze, it appears that Denis lived for some time by forgery, and that Lafarge himself was guilty, with his aid, of issuing factitious bills; and further, that he, Lafarge, forged (it is useless to hesitate as to the phrase) a letter, purporting to be written by his brother-in-law, M. de Violane. On the death of Lafarge this transaction, and his own utter insolvency, came to light; but there is much still hid in darkness. Denis played an important part in the whole of it, and had evidently a violent hatred against Madame Lafarge; because of the influence which she exercised over her husband, whom evidently Denis intended to employ as a tool. But the wife was in his way, and he was heard often to vow vengeance against her; two of the servants distinctly swearing to the very words he had employed. Denis as positively denied the charge; but there could be no doubt but that the simple peasant, Bardon, told the truth. 'The clerk Denis said to me,' says this man, 'that he wished to see Madame sawed into 'four pieces.' 'He said that to you?' 'Yes.' 'When did he say 'this?' 'In the stable, eight days after the death of M. Lafarge.' 'But had Madame done him any wrong?' 'Never, she was a 'most kind mistress, I never saw a better.' 'He was then per-'suaded that Madame was guilty?' 'Oh yes—he told me that

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'she had poisoned him during fifteen days.' 'What more do you 'know?' 'When Denis came from Paris he said, I am master 'now, I will turn you all out of doors.' Denis being recalled, attempted by his effrontery to put this witness down, but he failed. The witness also declared that he had found a packet of white powder in a foot warmer belonging to Madame Lafarge, (the mother.)

During the absence of Lafarge, Denis, pretending to go to Guéret, went to Paris—for what purpose none could discover. But this additional circumstance came to light without being explained. Lafarge borrowed a large sum of money, 25,000 francs; but his mother asserted, that on his return she found only 3900. 'This,' said M. Paillet, 'is again one of the mys-'teries of this trial; in the mean time, thanks to the signatures 'which Madame Lafarge gave to her husband, her patrimony 'has been spent.'

If, then, we follow the clue afforded by our hypothesis, every thing is clear; Denis first creates suspicion; he tells the mother her son is poisoned; he has access to the mother's apartment, to that of the sick man, to every part of the house, in short; and his hand might have strewed the poison where it was afterwards found; and one very remarkable circumstance throws a strong light upon this part of the case. The broth above mentioned, of which there was a residue, and into which Madame Marie was said to have put some white powder, was a long time in the sick man's room; the residue was then taken possession of by the mother. It was afterwards sent to M. Eyssartier—by whom does not appear. But this much is certain, it was exposed during a long period; so that any one who desired, might deal with it as he pleased. If there was any one desirous of putting poison into it, he was able with ease to do so. Now Madlle. le Brun speaks of a small quantity of powder; but the chemists, when they come to analyze the sediment, declare, *that it contained enough arsenic to poison ten persons.* This is explicable if we suppose that some wicked hand had put arsenic into the cup *afterwards;* but utterly inexplicable upon the supposition that it was poisoned by the wife—the cup emptied by throwing away the broth—for that is the phrase used; and that there remained a sediment which was twice examined, first at Brives, and next during the trial, and yet that there remained enough to poison ten persons. So much then for the sediment.

All the same remarks apply to the small pot found in the commode, with this additional observation—the cup did contain powdered gum, and a small portion of arsenic—but the train of powder from the cup, was pure arsenic. If into a cup contain-

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ing powdered gum, any one had shaken a small quantity of arsenic, and then shook a train of it along the inside of the commode, such would be the exact state of the case—*in* the case there would be gum and arsenic—*out* of it arsenic alone.

But then comes the enquiry, did the small agate box carried by the wife in the pocket of her apron, contain arsenic? Out of this there was a small quantity taken by Emma Ponthier, and given to her uncle; and it is a very extraordinary circumstance, that in this powder, when first examined, no arsenic was found, and this examination was made by the chemists who found arsenic in almost every thing else. When this same powder underwent a second examination at the time of the trial, then a small quantity of arsenic was found therein. The agate box given by Clementine to Emma, was from the first said to contain some arsenic. This box is proved to be at times out of the possession of Madame Lafarge; for, Emma unseen, takes some powder out of it, and Clementine finds it on Emma's request. It is not to be supposed that Madame Lafarge, knowing it to contain arsenic, would give it to her. Afterwards, indeed, she learned that the child had the box, and bade her give it to the officers of justice—a conduct wholly at variance with the supposition that she knew it contained the poison of which there was so much discussion. How are these things to be explained? Without any very great difficulty of keeping our hypothesis in view, we look to the mode in which the suspected substances were dealt with.

The paper given by Emma to her uncle was beyond the reach of Denis, and it was found pure; afterwards it was sent to the office of the court, (the *greffe*,) and the exposure which took place on the trial, of the mode in which these fatal substances were dealt with, created universal astonishment, even among an audience who did not seem very scrupulous in their manner of eliciting or dealing with evidence.

The officers of justice came to the house of the deceased on the 15th. Every part of the house was open to Denis. The suspected substances were taken possession of. They had been collected by the mother, and put into a wrapper. It is clear that every one of these might have been tampered with; and, according to our hypothesis, they were utterly worthless as evidence against the accused, who was already under the surveillance of justice, and in reality a prisoner.

On the 16th the body was opened; its entrails were put into vases, ticketed, but not sealed. The whole was then placed on the back of a horse, and without further precaution taken to Brives. The officer thus describes the journey:—'We slept at

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'Vigeors. On the 17th we arrived at Brives. *I have heard* 'that it was then that the stomach was put into a glass; it had 'before that been wrapped in a cloth. On the 18th the sur-'geons commenced their analysis, which lasted three days. Du-'ring this time we returned to Glandier, and not till our return 'were there any seals placed upon the vases.' Such a declara-tion as this, upon the suggestion of our hypothesis, would have decided the case in an English court of justice. No human being could be safe in a society which could, on such evidence, con-demn a fellow creature. The body all this time lay at Glan-dier, exposed to any who might desire to tamper with it; so that from it no evidence could be obtained on which the accused could be safely condemned.*

But in addition to the suspicions thus cast upon any evidence to be obtained from these various suspected substances, there occurred a circumstance which not only throws doubt on the case before us, but which unhappily goes far to destroy our faith in all medical opinions on the subject of poisoning by arsenic. The chemists of Brives declared, without hesitation, that they had found arsenic in the stomach and its contents. They also de-clared, that a flannel which the wife had wished to apply to the throat of the deceased also contained arsenic. But on the trial, the chemists of Limoges, among the most celebrated in France, declared as positively, that these substances did *not* contain arsenic. After describing the process they adopted, M. Dupuy-tren (the brother, we believe, of the celebrated surgeon of that name) went on to say,—'We then introduced this residuum 'into the apparatus invented by Marsh, (*l'appareil* de Marsh,) 'and after many experiments (*mainte expérience*) we obtained no 'arsenical spots.' Even from the countenance of the poor prisoner there suddenly glanced a gleam of joy at this happy announce-ment; her Advocate burst into tears; and the audience giving way to a generous feeling towards the accused, and forgetting for the moment the respect due to a court of justice, vehemently applauded. On this the Avocat-Général rose in anger. He abused (there is no other word fit to describe his expressions) the audience generally. He picked out one young man, com-manded him to stand up, threatened to commit him, and then

* A curious question might have been suggested. Suppose that some wicked person had placed arsenic within the body after the death and the examination, would not this have affected every analysis made on the exhumation of the corpse? But who can possibly say that this was not done?

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he finished an apostrophe to the public thus—'Since when 'has it happened, that the sanctuary of justice has become 'an arena for bad passions?' (The bad passions were evinced, not by the public who rejoiced at an acquittal, but by him who pressed a failing prosecution.) 'Do you think, he continued, 'that there remain no further resources to the prosecution?' (*sourdres rumeures.*) 'Do you think that there does not remain 'a grand and solemn mission to fulfil?' And now comes the most extraordinary denunciation made on this extraordinary trial: 'Take care, lest the accused may have perhaps to accuse you 'with having so acted as to prolong her anxiety, and to retard 'the period for the determination of this enquiry.' The Avocat-Général was plainly fighting for victory, and not truth; his anger was an outbreak of wounded vanity; and the words he uttered were not the dignified language of a judicial officer, calmly rebuking a sudden but venial forgetfulness on the part of the public of the respect due to a court of justice, but a violent explosion of passion by a baffled prosecutor.

M. Dupuytren thus concluded his Report:—'Our conclusions unanimously 'agreed to are, that there is no arsenic in any of the 'animal substances submitted to our examination.' The consequence of this opinion was the sending for M. Orfila from Paris. A mystery attaches to the whole of this proceeding. Other celebrated chemists were proposed, and among them M. Raspail. From the letter written by this latter gentleman respecting his own exclusion from the enquiry, it would appear that some feelings were at work which certainly ought not to have been exhibited or acted on; but the whole matter eludes enquiry, and we are obliged to rest contented with mere suspicion.

The proceeding, nevertheless, does raise a question entirely unconnected with party feeling or momentary considerations; and herein we again perceive a great difference in the two systems of French and English judicature. By the law of England, when the prisoner stands upon his deliverance, and the jury is charged to decide upon his fate, the case must go on to its end, without interruption or delay, beyond that which it is physically impossible to avoid. The trial is one transaction, and cannot after its commencement be adjourned, except in cases in which the evidence cannot be all brought forward in one day. Rest and food being absolutely required, the jury and all others concerned on the trial must retire, but the jury must remain under strict watch—no one is allowed to have communication with them, and the trial goes on the next day without further interruption than nature absolutely requires. But by the system of France, delay is permitted to obtain further evidence. This system seems to give a fearful power to a govern-

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ment over those which it desires to crush; and although, at the first announcement, it appears reasonable to wait for the requisite evidence if it be not forthcoming, yet, if we look further, we shall find much of reason and humanity in the rule which makes it imperative on the prosecution to be ready at once with the evidence needful to support it. This necessity renders it far more difficult to concoct and support a false accusation; while in reality it throws very few impediments in the way of a true one. By the English system, society can be sufficiently protected without any unfair advantage against the prisoner; by that of France, very little additional assistance is gained for the public security, while the prisoner is exposed to fearful hazard should he have to meet a powerful and vindictive accuser. This subject is one deserving of a full and complete enquiry; but that we cannot now attempt. We must be content to hope, that this cursory allusion to the matter may lead some of the jurists of France to reconsider this part of their system; and to prepare the minds of their fellow-citizens for the adoption of a more effective and equitable mode of procedure.

M. Orfila came from Paris—the trial dragged on from day to day; while the chemists, having exhumed the body, pursued their enquiries respecting it. This enquiry was carried on close to the court in which the trial took place; and our neighbours, who are ever alive to the influences of dramatic display, seem to have been wonderfully struck by the horrible scene then disclosed. We, however, having no liking for such horrors, pass on rapidly to the close of this painful case.

It should be remembered that the body, from the very moment of the decease of Lafarge, was wholly beyond the control of his wife, but was exposed, without any safeguard, to the machinations of her enemies. Who, then, can say, that those enemies did not place arsenic within the corpse? and who can presume positively to assert, that the phenomena which presented themselves to M. Orfila were not the result of such machinations? The letter of M. Raspail would throw doubt indeed upon the whole analysis as carried on by M. Orfila; but we are unwilling to entertain the suspicions which he would excite. We cannot, however, refrain from observing, that in a country where a rigid morality on such questions is the morality of the people, M. Orfila, having expressed an opinion before the trial, would have been deemed by the public, and certainly by himself, a very unfit person to give a solemn opinion on the same point when the trial took place. The result of M. Orfila's enquiry was, that he found arsenic in the stomach and its contents; but his enquiry as to the muscular flesh taken from the thigh was, so he expressed it, negative. This also agrees with our hypothesis. If the arsenic

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was put into the body after death, it would indeed be found in the viscera upon which it was strewed, but would not have been carried into the system by the action of the blood and the absorbents, as would have been the case if the poison had been taken into the system during life. Had M. Lafarge died of arsenic, would not the poison have been found in his flesh as well as in the viscera?

Now then we ask, who is there, who, being a juryman, would from such evidence as this come to these two distinct affirmative conclusions—

1. That Lafarge did die, poisoned by arsenic.
2. That his wife knowingly administered that arsenic?

It must be recollected, that in this rapid analysis of the voluminous evidence adduced, we have been compelled to omit many things which require consideration by any one who would fairly estimate the value of the French system of procedure. The more prominent points have alone been regarded—the more marked evils signalized; but even after this short enquiry, we cannot but think that the most cursory observer will discover much to amend in a judicature which, upon such evidence, taken in such a manner, could have arrived at the conclusion which the French court and jury adopted. They have declared the unfortunate accused guilty of the crime laid to her charge. Whether she be so, no man can determine; though any one skilled in the estimation of evidence—trained to marshal and employ it under a rigid and effective system—can easily determine whether it would be safe—whether it would conduce to the security of society at large—to deem her guilty, upon evidence which in itself is so untrustworthy, and received in a manner so well calculated to destroy what little value it might otherwise have possessed. Looking back through the whole evidence, carefully weighing each separate item adduced, trying its worth by every test which the experience of ages has suggested, we are satisfied that there was not sufficient evidence to prove that the deceased came to a violent end; still less to show that his wife was the guilty cause of his death. The rude judicial system employed served to increase, and not allay alarm: it made a criminal without proving her to be guilty; and thus taught the people to feel, that not only were they exposed to the assaults of the wrongdoer, but also liable to incur even greater harm, from the very means intended for their protection.*

* We have purposely avoided all allusion to certain extraordinary circumstances which tend to cast great suspicion on the mother of the deceased. The one hypothesis which we have suggested, is quite sufficient to make apparent the danger of the conclusion adopted by the jury. Our chief object being in fact to point out the still greater danger resulting from the means taken to gain that verdict.

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ART. III.—*Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan.* By JOHN T. STEPHENS, Author of Incidents of Travel in Egypt. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1841.

MR STEPHENS informs us that he was entrusted by President Van Buren 'with a special and confidential mission to 'Central America;' but whatever his diplomatic duties may have been, they do not appear to have engrossed much of his time or attention. Immediately after receiving his appointment, he appears to have engaged Mr Catherwood, 'who had passed 'more than ten years of his life in diligently studying the anti-'quities of the old world,' as one familiar with the remains of ancient architecture, to assist him in exploring the ruins of Central America. It is to that part of the work before us which regards these ruins, and which, indeed, forms its only attraction, that we mean to attend. The information that has been laid before the world respecting the antiquities in question, is scanty and scattered; but even with the little that exists, and is easily accessible, Mr Stephens had not taken the trouble to make himself thoroughly acquainted. His ambition seemingly was not to know all that could be known of these crumbling monuments of a now extinct civilization; but, as he on one occasion somewhat curiously expressses it, to try whether 'a city might not be 'transported bodily and set up in New York.' And he proclaims the hope, 'that the nations of the Old World will respect the 'rights of discovery, and leave the field of American antiqui-'ties to the United States; that they will not deprive a destitute 'country of its only chance of contributing to the cause of science, 'but rather encourage it in the work of bringing together, from 'remote and almost inaccessible places, and retaining on its own 'soil, the architectural remains of its aboriginal inhabitants.'

The information which Mr Stephens supplies regarding these antiquities, is rather of a nature to stimulate than to gratify curiosity. But it is but justice to say, that this was in great part owing to the wretchedly unsettled state of the country at the time of his visit, which rendered a deliberate and complete examination of the ruins out of the question. It is, however, no more than truth to add, that it seems questionable whether he, under the most favourable circumstances, would have shown himself possessed of the necessary previous acquirements, or the necessary powers of patient investigation and clear exposition, to give an entirely satisfactory and intelligible account of them.

Of the eight ruined cities of Central America which he visited, only four — Copan, Ocosingo, the ruins near Palenque, and

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Uxmal—appear to have afforded much to examine; and it was only at Palenque and Copan that circumstances admitted of his considering the remains with minute attention. The difficulties with which he had to contend, even where time was allowed him, and no disturbance occasioned by the natives, will best appear from his own account of the condition of these ruins when he first approached them. The sketch has considerable interest, though not executed in the correctest taste. At Copan, says he,

"Our guide cleared a way with his machete, (cutlass,) and we passed, as it lay half buried in the earth, a large fragment of stone elaborately sculptured, and came to the angle of a structure with steps on the sides, in form and appearance, so far as the trees would enable us to make it out, like the sides of a pyramid. Diverging from the base, and working our way through the thick woods, we came upon a square stone column about fourteen feet high, and three feet on each side, sculptured in very bold relief, and on all four of the sides, from the base to the top. The front was the figure of a man curiously and richly dressed, and the face evidently a portrait, solemn, stern, and well fitted to excite terror. The back was of a different design, unlike any thing we had ever seen before, and the sides were covered with hieroglyphics. This our guide called an 'idol;' and before it, at a distance of three feet, was a large block of stone, also sculptured with figures and emblematical devices, which he called an altar. The sight of this unexpected monument put at rest, at once and for ever in our minds, all uncertainty in regard to the character of American antiquities; and gave us the assurance that the objects we were in search of were interesting, not only as the remains of an unknown people, but as works of art—proving, like newly discovered historical records, that the people who once occupied the continent of America were not savages. With an interest perhaps stronger than we had ever felt in wandering among the ruins of Egypt, we followed our guide, who, sometimes missing his way, with a constant and vigorous use of his machete conducted us through the thick forest, among half buried fragments, to fourteen monuments of the same character and appearance; some with more elegant designs, and some in workmanship equal to the finest monuments of the Egyptians; one displaced from its pedestals by enormous roots; another locked in the close embrace of branches of trees, and almost lifted out of the earth; another hurled to the ground and bound down by huge vines and creepers; and one standing with its altar before it, in a grove of trees which grew around it, seemingly to shade and shroud it as a sacred thing: in the solemn stillness of the woods it seemed a divinity mourning over a fallen people. The only sounds that disturbed the quiet of this buried city, were the noise of monkeys moving among the tops of the trees, and the cracking of dry branches broken by their weight. They moved over our heads in long and swift processions, forty or fifty at a time, some with little ones wound in their long arms, walking out to the end of boughs, and, holding on with their hind feet or a curl of

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the tail, sprang to a branch of the next tree, and with a noise like a current of wind, passed on into the depths of the forest. It was the first time we had seen these mockeries of humanity; and with the strange monuments around us, they seemed like wandering spirits of the departed race, guarding the ruins of their former habitations.

"We returned to the base of the pyramidical structure, and ascended by regular stone steps, in some places forced apart by bushes and saplings, and in others thrown down by the growth of large trees, while some remained entire. In parts they were ornamented with sculptured figures and rows of death's heads. Climbing over the ruined top, we reached a terrace overgrown with trees, and crossing it, descended by stone steps into an area so covered with trees that at first we could not make out its form; but which, on clearing the way with the machete, we ascertained to be a square, and with steps on all the sides, almost as perfect as those of the Roman amphitheatre. The steps were ornamented with sculpture; and on the south side, about halfway up, forced out of its place by roots, was a colossal head, evidently a portrait. We ascended these steps, and reached a broad terrace a hundred feet high, overlooking the river, and supported by the wall which we had seen from the opposite bank. The whole terrace was covered with trees, and even at this height from the ground were two gigantic ceibas, or wild cotton trees of India, above twenty feet in circumference, extending their half-naked roots fifty or a hundred feet around, binding down the ruins, and shading them with their wide-spreading branches. We sat down on the very edge of the wall, and strove in vain to penetrate the mystery by which we were surrounded. * * * There were no associations connected with the place; * * * the city was desolate. No remnant of this race hangs round the ruins, with traditions handed down from father to son, and from generation to generation. It lay before us like a shattered bark in the midst of the ocean, her masts gone, her name effaced, her crew perished, and none to tell whence she came, how long on her voyage, or what caused her destruction; her lost people to be traced only by some fancied resemblance in the construction of the vessel, and perhaps never to be known at all."

Palenque was equally overgrown and obscured. Yet, notwithstanding the difficulties interposed in the way of a minute examination of these two heaps of ruins, by the astonishing power of vegetation within the tropics, where ruined or deserted structures, and even cities—instead of 'dying insensibly away from human 'thoughts and purposes,' like Mr Wordsworth's Westmoreland tower—have the appearance of being broken up and overwhelmed by a volcanic eruption of roots, branches, and leaves, Mr Stephens, or more properly speaking Mr Catherwood, his attendant artist, has contrived to present us with faithful representations of the remains of the buildings and carvings—for sculpture is almost too ambitious a word to apply to them. The accuracy of Mr Catherwood's drawings is vouched by various circumstances. In general character they correspond with the drawings made by

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Dupaix, (1805—7,) and are evidently copies of the same originals; although Mr Catherwood had not seen Dupaix's work at the time he made them. The mechanical processes by which the drawings of Mr Catherwood were made, and reduced and transferred to the steel or stone from which the illustrations of Mr Stephens' book are printed, were such as to ensure a high degree of accuracy. And, not to waste time by dwelling upon other corroborative circumstances, we have examined a beautiful set of drawings from the ruins of Palenque, by Captain Caddy of the Royal Artillery, who visited them a few weeks before the present travellers; and which correspond so exactly as to leave no doubt on our minds of the perfect fidelity of Mr Catherwood's pencil. This relates merely to Palenque; for no other artist has visited Copan; but the presumption is, that he who has succeeded so well as to one place, cannot have erred materially as to the other.

The descriptions and drawings of Copan and Palenque challenge more attention than those of any other towns visited by our travellers; not only because they are the most complete, but because these clusters of ruins may be considered as the types of two classes into which the Indian cities they examined may be divided. Copan and Quirigua are situate in the valley of the Motagua, which falls into the bay of Honduras; Palenque, Ocosingo, Quezaltenango, stand upon tributaries of the Usumasinta, which falls into the gulf of Mexico; and Patinamit, or Tecpan Quatimala, although situated on the upper waters of the Motagua, is more accessible from the Usumasinta than from the navigable parts of the river in whose drainage basin it stands. The remains found in each of these groups differ decidedly in their character—a difference which seems to be attributable in part to the materials which offered themselves to the workmen; in part to the circumstance of the constructors of the edifices in the Palenque group having advanced further than those of the other in taste and capacity for producing works of art. The material employed in the works at Copan is a solid and massive stone; and the predominating features of the ruins are huge blocks, chiselled into something intermediate between statues and rude columns, loaded with festoons and quaint carving. At Palenque a rock of slaty and crumbling structure denied the inhabitants the power of erecting monolithic monuments; but, on the other hand, these rocks being chiefly limestone, supplied the material of an excellent cement, with which the buildings have been coated over; and which being from its softness easily wrought, enabled them to make more rapid progress in imitating the characteristic details and graceful forms of the

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objects they saw in nature, than those who had only a refractory stone to work upon. The ruins at Uxmal, near the north-western angle of Yutacan, differ in a considerable degree from those of the two groups mentioned above; but though they are more easy of access, and not so encumbered with vegetation as the others, Mr Catherwood was prevented from doing them the same justice by the infirm state of his health, which had broken down under his labours in the interior.

The ruins of Copan stand on the east bank of a small river of that name, which, some distance below, falls into the Motagua from the south. The greater part of them are contained within a paralellogram, which does not much exceed 600 by 800 feet. Nearly in the centre of the ruins is what Mr Stephens calls a 'court yard,'—a rectangular area, a hundred and forty feet long and ninety broad, inclosed on all sides by ranges of broad steps. The entry to this inclosure is from the north, along a passage thirty feet wide, and about three hundred feet long. On the right hand, on entering this passage, is a high range of steps rising to the terrace of the river wall, at the foot of which are circular stones from eighteen inches to three feet in diameter. On the left side is a pyramidical structure with steps six feet high, and nine feet broad, and one hundred and twenty-two feet high on the slope. The inner area is thus described by Mr Stephens:—

'There was no idol or altar, nor were there any vestiges of them. On the left, standing alone, two-thirds of the way up the steps, is a gigantic head; it is moved a little from its place, and a portion of the ornament on one side has been thrown down some distance by the expansion of the trunk of a large tree. The head is about six feet high, and the style good. Like many of the others, with the great expansion of the eyes, it seems intended to inspire awe. On either side of it, distant about thirty or forty feet, and rather lower down, are other fragments of sculpture of colossal dimensions, and good design; and at the foot are two colossal heads, turned over and partly buried, well worthy the attention of future travellers and artists. The whole area is overgrown with trees, and encumbered with decayed vegetable matter, with fragments of curious sculpture protruding above the surface, which probably, with many others completely buried, would be brought to light by digging. On the opposite side, parallel with the river, is a range of fifteen steps to a terrace twelve feet wide, and then fifteen steps more to a terrace twenty feet wide, extending to the river wall. On each side of the centre of the steps [by this expression Mr S. appears to wish to indicate the middle of the terrace halfway up the ascent] is a mound of ruins, apparently of a circular tower. About halfway up the steps on this side [judging by the annexed plan, this seems to mean halfway up the lower flight of fifteen steps] is a pit five feet square, and seventeen feet deep, cased with

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stone. At the bottom is an opening two feet four inches high, with a wall one foot nine inches thick, which leads into a chamber ten feet long, five feet four inches wide, and four feet high. At each end is a niche one foot nine inches high, one foot eight inches deep, and two feet five inches long. Colonel Galindo first broke into this sepulchral vault, and found the niches and the ground full of red earthenware, dishes and pots, more than fifty of which, he says, were full of human bones, packed in lime; also several sharp-edged and pointed knives of chaya, a small death's head carved in a fine green stone, its eyes closed, the lower features distorted, and the back symmetrically perforated by holes, the whole of exquisite workmanship.'

The rest of the area is occupied by pyramidal buildings and fragments of walls, so dilapidated and masked by trees, that it is impossible to conjecture what were their forms and relative positions when entire. Near the south-east angle occurs a group of the colossal carved blocks above alluded to, as forming the distinguishing characteristic of the ruins of Copan. Mr Stephens calls them statues, and idols to all appearance they have been; but the use of the term statues, unless accompanied by some explanation, would be apt to mislead a reader who has not the drawings before him. They are, on an average, twelve or thirteen feet high, four feet in front and three feet deep, and sculptured on all sides from the base to the top. Three of the sides are elaborately carved into ornaments, which bespeak a high degree of mechanical skill and neatness. Sometimes these ornaments have the appearance of festoons of drapery, or branches of trees; sometimes they consist of groups of heads, or even human figures more or less complete. In general, their arrangement bespeaks considerable taste for symmetrical arrangement. It is impossible to avoid coming to the conclusion, that the minor groups on some of the columns are what Egyptian writers on antiquities have agreed to call "cartouches" filled with hieroglyphics. On the front is in every instance carved a representation of the human figure in high relief. It is not always easy to detect it at the first glance, overwhelmed as it is beneath a profusion of what seem intended for ornaments. But a brief examination enables us to discover, about halfway, or two-thirds up the column, a broad flat face with a particularly large pair of ears; immediately below this, a rude imitation of a pair of arms curved inwards till the hands nearly meet; and still lower down a pair of stumpy legs, clothed either in a kind of petticoat, or in what looks like a pair of loose trowsers. Before some of these figures, at the distance of about eight feet, are large blocks of sculptured stone, and probably all of them have originally been thus provided. Some of these blocks are square, others circu-

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lar. A drawing of one of them is given by Mr Catherwood: it is flat on the top; on the four sides are carved in relief human figures, seated crosslegged, on what have the appearance of cushions; one half of them facing the other, as if engaged in a conference. The Indians call these blocks altars; and it is probable that they were; and the rude images before which they are placed, the objects of adoration to the people who reared them.

The appearance of hieroglyphics upon these monuments, (of which we shall say more when we come to speak of the remains at Palenque,) would seem to indicate a greater intellectual progress, on the part of the people who reared them, than was found among the inhabitants of Mexico; but the structures and sculptures themselves are indicative of the very infancy of art. With regard to the power of expressing form alone, it is clear that the artists had not advanced beyond that stage to which even children and savages can attain—in which the delineator rests satisfied with coming so near the object of imitation, as that those who see his handiwork may know what he means to represent. The statues of Greece and Rome are exact counterparts of the human figure; the clumsy productions of Copan only approach it near enough to enable us to conjecture what those who made them intended. Again, with regard to the power of expressing emotions—of representing forms and attitudes beautiful in themselves—of telling a story—all, in a word, that constitutes the essence of art, without which the most perfect accuracy in copying the lineaments of the human form is merely mechanical—not the slightest vestige is found in the 'graven images' of Copan. Mr Stephens says of the face of one of the idols, that it was 'solemn, 'stern, and well fitted to excite terror,'—vague phrases, which sound loftily; but he is nearer the mark, probably, when he says of another, that 'with the great expansion of the eyes, it seems 'intended to inspire awe;'—an expression which may enable those who have not seen the drawings, to form the accurate notion, that as works of art the statues of Copan are much upon a level with a staring Saracen's head on an old sign-board. We lay no stress, however, on the circumstance of these images appearing to have been painted red; seeing that a similar vestige of barbarism continued to prevail in Greece after sculpture was far advanced towards perfection. On the whole, it is doing no injustice to these monuments to say, that they indicate no higher advancement in taste and intellect on the part of those who made them, than the most uncouth Fetish on the coasts of Africa. On the other hand, the high finish, and even elegance of the carving on such an untrac-

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table material as stone, conveys the impression that they must have made considerable progress in the mechanical arts.

As works of art, the remains at Palenque are immeasurably superior to those of Copan. In the substructures of the buildings we find the same pyramidal form that prevails there; but on the summits are erected edifices of considerable elegance. None of the visiters to old Palenque have been able to detect more than six structures—one of considerable extent, the others small. All of them are erected on high terraces, forming the summit of a truncated pyramid. Both the substructures, and the buildings reared upon them, are built of a thin slaty stone which abounds in the district. Wherever the roofs remain, they are found to have been constructed by laying broad stones across from wall to wall. In the smaller buildings, it was easy to procure flags large enough for this purpose. It is difficult to imagine how they managed in the more extensive apartments of the larger building; of which only a double corridor and a square tower, two or three stories high, retain their roofs.

The palace—so the larger building is called by the Indians—stands on an artificial elevation of an oblong form—forty feet high, three hundred feet in front and rear, and two hundred and sixty feet on each side. This superstructure appears formerly to have been faced with stones, which have been dissevered and thrown down by the growth of trees. The building faces the east, and measures two hundred and twenty-eight feet in front, by one hundred and eighty deep. The front consisted originally of fifteen piers, each from six to seven feet in breadth, the intervals between them being about nine feet. The west front consists also of piers of the same size, ranged at similar intervals. They are constructed of stone, cemented with a mortar of lime and sand, and covered with stucco, painted and ornamented with figures in bas-relief. The parallel corridors are supposed to have extended along all the four sides of the building. The wall which divides them, is perforated by only one door in front, and two in the rear. That in front is immediately opposite the space between the fourth and fifth piers, (counting from the north-east angle,) a range of broad stone steps leads to it up the slope of the terrace. The intervals between the exterior piers bear no traces of doors; but along the cornice outside, which projects about a foot from the wall, holes were drilled at intervals through the stone; and the impression of Mr Stephens and his companion was, 'that an immense cotton cloth, run-'ning the whole length of the building, was attached to this cor-'nice, and raised and lowered like a curtain, according to the

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'exigencies of sun and rain: such a curtain is used now in front 'of the piazzas of some verandas in Yucatan.' The walls of the corridors were about ten feet high, and apertures, apparently for the purpose of ventilation, in the form of a cross, or of the letter T, were opened in the separating wall. The roof was made to curve inward, by successive layers of stones, each overlapping that immediately beneath it; and plastered over so as to present a smooth curved surface. The top of the doorway in the middle wall is, by this means, wrought into an exact resemblance of a Gothic arch. The door leads into an open court-yard, eighty feet long by seventy broad, to which there is a descent by a flight of steps. On each side of this area are apartments. At the further extremity, another flight of steps leads up to a corridor, beyond which is a descent to another court-yard, also eighty feet long, but only thirty feet across. These two court-yards, with the surrounding and intervening corridors, occupy the whole depth of the building. On the south side of this second court is a third; in which is a substantial stone tower, rising to three stories from a base of thirty feet square. Within this is a second tower, quite distinct from the outer one, and a narrow stone staircase. Mr Stephens states, that the stair terminates against a dead stone ceiling; but Captain Caddy, before mentioned, who, by the assistance of a tree, scrambled up on the outside, says, that Mr S. had been deceived by the appearance of stones which had fallen from above. The rest of the space within the outer walls is occupied by apartments, of which it is difficult to trace the arrangement and connexion. At the southern extremity of the building are several flights of stairs, leading down to passages and apartments, constructed in the artificial elevation in which it stands.

The piers left standing are covered, both externally and internally, with bas-reliefs in stucco. The faces are all in profile, which seems to indicate the want of sufficient skill to delineate the front face. But the limbs are correctly formed, and frequently even graceful. There is also some attempt to arrange the figures into groups, so as to tell a story; and a variety of expression—of the same imperfect kind as in the Egyptian paintings—can be recognised in the countenances. On one pier is represented an armed warrior, with two half naked figures crouching submissively on either side of him. On another we see an armed warrior, brandishing his weapon over the head of a person who seems to kneel and beg for life. A third appears intended to represent a male and female figure conversing. In a fourth, a standing figure is placing an ornament upon another sitting in front of him. In the interior cor-

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'and of the sitting personage is seen on the wall. The loss or 'destruction of this ornament is more to be regretted, as from 'what remains it appears to have been superior in execution to 'any other stucco relief in Palenque.'

As far as we can gather from the ground-plan of Palenque, and hints in the accompanying letterpress, (for Mr. Stephens' style is, too often, the reverse of precise,) the whole of the ground examined by our travellers does not exceed 600 by 800 yards. A small stream runs about three hundred yards in the direction from west to east at the south end; and then, turning to the north, nearly bisects the parallelogram. At the south-west angle of this area, close upon the rivulet, is the smallest of the lesser buildings; where the brook issues from it on the north side, is the aqueduct leading off from the east bank; nearly south of it, on the opposite side of the stream, is 'the palace;' at its south-west angle, the largest of the small structures; and east of this, on the opposite side of the stream, are the rest of the smaller structures, forming a triangular group. The density of the forest prevented any other remains that may exist from being discovered; but two circumstances point to the inference that these are but a small portion of what once existed. The first is, that our travellers, approaching the ruins from the north-west, encountered 'masses 'of stone,' 'a round sculptured stone,' and 'a sharp ascent of 'fragments,' a good while before they came to 'the palace,' the first of the buildings they arrived at. The second is, that the aqueduct appears to have been constructed with a view to lead off the water of the brook in a north-east direction, away from all the structures that have yet been discovered: it does not appear to have been required for drainage, and the natural conclusion is, that there must have been inhabitants and buildings in that direction, to which it was intended to carry a supply of water.

The most striking features of the ruins of Central America are the hieroglyphics. The largest of the smaller structures at Palenque—that which is nearest to the palace—contains three rectangular tablets completely covered with them. There is one on either side of the door opening into the central apartment of the three into which the back corridor is divided; each measuring thirteen feet in length, and eight in height, and divided into two hundred squares of characters or symbols. In the back wall of this apartment, fronting the principal door of entrance, is another tablet of hieroglyphics, four feet six inches wide, and three feet six inches high. The tablets containing representations of human figures, described above as found in two of these lesser buildings, have at both ends deep borders of hieroglyphics; the one has sixty-four squares in each border, the other a hundred and two. Single

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lines of these hieroglyphics, sometimes horizontal, sometimes perpendicular, appear on almost all the bas-reliefs, both in the large and the smaller buildings. The regular arrangement of the squares, and the repetition of the same elements—lines, points, portions of the human figure, &c.—in different combinations, render it almost impossible to avoid the conclusion that these tablets contain specimens of a written language. This conjecture seems to derive corroboration from the introduction of lines of these symbols into the bas-reliefs; exactly in the same manner as we find hieroglyphic scrolls introduced into Egyptian paintings. But more conclusive still is the fact, that we find the same characters in a manuscript of Agave paper, preserved in the Dresden library. A fac-simile of this manuscript is given in (the third volume of) the great work on Mexican Antiquities, published by Aglio under the auspices of Lord Kingsborough; and a specimen of it is also given by Humboldt in his work entitled *Monumens des Peuples Indigènes de l'Amerique*, (Plate 45.) In these, we find pictures and lines of characters essentially the same as those which Messrs Stephens and Catherwood found on the walls of Palenque; intermingled exactly as we find written characters and pictures of Saints alternating in illuminated Missals. It is barely conceivable that the repetition of these squares on walls might have been a mere attempt at ornament; but their transference to paper, and the repetition of them in a long MS., puts such a conjecture out of the question.

Humboldt calls the manuscript in question a *Codex Mexicanus*, and Aglio and Stephens have called it, after Humboldt, a Mexican manuscript; but the truth is, that of its origin we are entirely ignorant, and that it differs materially from all known Mexican manuscripts. Humboldt says,—

'According to the information which I have received from Böttiger, this Aztec manuscript was purchased at Vienna by Götz, during the literary tour he made into Italy in 1739. It is written on Agave paper, like those which I have brought from New Spain. It forms a *tabella plicatilis*, nearly 80 yards (six mètres) long, folded into forty leaves, which are covered with paintings on both sides. Each page is about seven inches three lines in length, by three inches two lines in breadth. This form, analagous to that of the ancient *diptica*, distinguishes the MS. of Dresden from those of Vienna, Veletri, and the Vatican; but what renders it still more remarkable is, the arrangement of the simple hieroglyphics, several of which are ranged in lines as in really symbolical writing. The *Codex Mexicanus* of Dresden bears no resemblance to these ritual calendars, in which the characters of the astrological sign presiding over every semi-lunar period of thirteen days, is surrounded by the hieroglyphics of the days of the month. Here, a great number of hiero-

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glyphic characters are placed in simple juxtaposition, as in the Egyptian hieroglyphics and the keys of the Chinese."

An examination of the Mexican manuscripts alluded to—of those which Humboldt himself brought from Mexico—of those preserved in the Bodleian library, of which fac-similes are given in Aglio's work—and of one belonging to Mr Bullock, of which a tracing has been published at New York by Delafield, confirms the opinion expressed by Humboldt. The symbolical writing of the Dresden manuscript exhibits, to all appearance, a much more fully developed system than that contained in any of the manuscripts known with certainty to be from Mexico. Symbolical writing was with the Mexicans in its very infancy. They could express numbers, the names of the days of the month, and the names of persons and places, by phonetic hieroglyphics; but further they do not appear to have advanced. The death of a Spanish bishop or leader—the occurrence of a snow storm—the punishment of insurgent negroes—are represented by pictures of the event, with hieroglyphics of the number of the year, according to the division of the Mexican cycle, of the name of the half-month, and the number of the day on which the event occurred. The events in the history or traditions of Mexico, are represented by groups of human figures sitting in council, fighting, or leading captives, placed at intervals and connected by lines. The migrations of the tribe are represented by the hieroglyphics of places and cities arranged at intervals, with representations of human footmarks impressed on the tracts which lead from one to the other. But the characters of the Dresden Manuscripts—whether they be arbitrary characters expressive of sounds, like those of the Chinese, to which their square outline bears some analogy—or groups of a hieroglyphic alphabet, like the *cartouches* which contain the names of the kings of Egypt—show to all appearance a system of writing, by means of which words and sentences may be expressed. Of this Manuscript nothing further is known than that Götz picked it up at Vienna. It would be rash to pronounce dogmatically on its origin; but, on the one hand, it is highly improbable that it is Mexican, as nothing like it has yet been found among the monuments of that people; and, on the other hand, it seems probable that it is the workmanship of the same race that reared and inhabited Palenque—seeing that similar characters abound among its ruins.

Having stated our reasons for believing that these characters form a written language, the next question in point of interest relates to their geographical distribution. Mr Stephens appears to have found similar characters at Uxmal, near the north-

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west angle of Yucatan: we say appears, for his language is far from precise and clear:—'In the apartment marked B, we 'found what we regarded as a most interesting object. It was 'a beam of wood, about ten feet long and very heavy, which had 'fallen from its place over the doorway, and for some purpose 'or other been hauled inside the chamber into a dark corner. 'On the face was a line of characters carved or stamped, almost 'obliterated, but which we made out to be hieroglyphics; and, so 'far as we could *understand* them, [he means *distinguish their form* '—he did not *understand* them in the least,] similar to those at 'Copan and Palenque.' Speaking of the tablets at Palenque, he says:—'There is one important fact to be noticed. The 'hieroglyphics are the same as were found at Copan and 'Quirigua.' The sites of the other cities visited by our travellers were either too completely covered, or the time allowed to explore them too short, to enable them to furnish us with the same minute details as they have furnished regarding Copan and Palenque. At Ocosingo they found, as at Palenque, buildings consisting of outer and inner corridors erected upon truncated pyramids, with converging ceilings and figures executed in stucco. The vicinity of the two places, and the similarity of their structures, leave little room to doubt that hieroglyphics would have been found in Ocosingo, had time allowed; or the attention of the draughtsman been awakened to the same degree that it ultimately was. At Gueguetenango and Santa Cruz de Quiché, the pyramidal structures, the cement, and the remains of colours observed at Palenque, were recognised; and at the latter Mr Stephens procured some images in *terra-cotta*, the faces of which have a strong family likeness to the bas-reliefs at Palenque. In short, from the environs of Merida, about 21°, to Sant Cruz del Quiché, in 15° N. lat., and from Ocosingo near 93°, to Copan in 89° W. lon., we find ruins characterised by different peculiarities; but all possessed of resemblances in so many points as to lead to the conclusion, that the tribes who built them, if not sprung from a common stock, had yet such frequent intercourse with each other as diffused through them all an imperfect civilization—the same in kind, and not materially differing in degree. And it is precisely in the two cities, which in other respects least resemble each other, that we find the most abundant specimens of what has every appearance of being a written language.

We are not so sanguine as our author when he says, 'I cannot 'help believing that the tablets of hieroglyphics will yet be read;' and still less do we expect that, if they were deciphered, his conjecture with regard to Copan will prove true;—'one thing,'

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says he, 'I believe, that its history is graven on its monuments.' Lists of kings, and collections of public proclamations and edicts, are not history: the former, at least, only enable the chronologist to put together the dry bones of his skeleton; the latter are more frequently statements of what it is wished men should believe than of what really is or has been. Yet, beyond this, the records of a people possessing only the cumbrous vehicle of hieroglyphics for transmitting their thoughts—of a people among whom the possession of this engine is monopolized by a caste—have never been known to advance. Even, therefore, should some lucky chance enable us one day to decipher those strange characters, it is not likely that their contents would deserve the name applied to them by our author. But what ground of hope is there that they ever can be deciphered?

What we know about the Egyptian hieroglyphics is not very encouraging. The absurd conjectures which abound in the writings of all who treated of them in modern times, previous to the discovery of the Rosetta stone, are matter of notoriety. Yet in the writings of Clement of Alexandria was contained a pregnant hint regarding that system of writing, such as we have no reason to believe exists to serve as a key to the hieroglyphics of Central America. And even with the assistance of the indications given by Clement, aided by bilingual inscriptions, (also non-existent, so far as we know, in America,) what progress has been made in the interpretation of Egyptian hieroglyphics? Dr Young proved that they were really used to record events, and explained the system by which this end was accomplished; and beyond this the work can scarcely yet be said to have proceeded. The Grammars and Vocabularies of the language, supposed to have been expressed in hieroglyphics, have been constructed upon the assumption that it was the old Coptic. Granting the probability of this assumption—what follows? The only monuments of the Coptic language we possess, are some translations from the Bible, made subsequently to the Christian era. The Egyptians ceased to be an independent nation under Cambyses. Let any person note the changes which have taken place in all European languages in the course of the last four centuries—notwithstanding the tendency of education and our system of writing to give them fixity—and say what changes must have taken place during the course of some six or seven centuries, when one favoured caste alone was able to express its thoughts by characters, and that by such a make-shift as hieroglyphics. To enable the student to master even the elements of the old Egyptian language, a long and painful course of preliminary study would be necessary: first, by classifying all the bi-

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lingual inscriptions and papyri that have been collected according to their ages; secondly, by instituting, in succession, an exhaustive analysis of the Coptic monuments,—of the hieroglyphic writings nearest to them in point of time, and so backwards, taking those of each century or half century by itself. All this drudgery must be gone through, before there can be any possibility of extracting trustworthy information from the Egyptian hieroglyphics by a sound critical interpretation. How different from this have been the shallow and presumptuous systems of guesswork pursued by all who have succeeded Dr Young! The first scholar who shall carry on what he began, must commence by removing all the rubbish that has been piled up upon his foundations; and even then it is not history, not the recovery of a lost literature, that we are to look for, but authentic specimens, illustrative of the manner in which written language was gradually devised; or, we might almost say, by which it insensibly grew up among men.

Under the Greeks, and apparently also under the Persians, the Egyptian language continued to be used by the natives as the language in which public as well as private business was transacted. Hence the numerous private contracts and public edicts, in which a Greek and Egyptian version went together as surely as, in modern times, a French and English version of every treaty between these nations. It is only by means of these translations of an unknown into a known language, that we have any chance of recovering a knowledge of the Egyptian. In the case of the tribe or tribes who erected cities in Central America, their language has not been thus preserved in actual use, nor do any such translations of it exist. The records of the early Spanish conquerors show that the Caciques, and their immediate adherents, were of a different race from the body of the people in several of the States. A grandson of the last king of Quiché, who embraced the Christian religion, left manuscripts, from which it appears that the dominant caste, in that and two neighbouring states, held a constant tradition, that they had immigrated from the north and obtained their power by conquest. When the dominant tribe in Chiapas offered to submit to Cortes, it was in their own name, and in that of the Zoques, Celtales, and Quelenes, whom they had subjected by force. It appears from the narrative, prepared by order of Philip II. in 1580, that the subject tribes continued to use their own languages; and, indeed, the great number still spoken—no less than twenty-six—within the limits of the old province of Guatimala, would have led to the conclusion that such was the case. The Spaniards in Guatimala assumed the place of the

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dominant tribe; they did not use it as their instrument for governing the rest; its language ceased, therefore, to be of any importance, or to be cultivated except by the comparatively small number whose mother tongue it was. These deposed rulers were naturally more inclined to rebel against the new government, than the tribes whom they had accustomed to bear a foreign yoke; and consequently suffered most in the course of the struggles which the natives continued to make for independence, so late as the beginning of the last century. In Guatimala, therefore, we find no double versions of edicts, or written contracts of sale, or testamentary deeds, prepared, one in the hieroglyphic writing of the natives, the other in Spanish.* The descendants of the race which reared the monuments of Palenque, have retrograded into a barbarism as deep as that of the descendants of the ruder tribes over whom their ancestors ruled. Their arts, their laws, their written language, have perished. Materials do not exist for bridging over the gulf between their language as spoken at the close of the fifteenth, and as spoken in the middle of the nineteenth century; even although a key could be found to the phonetic powers of the characters they used. And of finding such a key there is slender hope. The accounts of the written characters of the nations of Central America, preserved by the early *Conquistadores*, and by the descendants of some of the noble aboriginal families, (at least such of them as have reached the knowledge of the public,) are too vague to serve the purpose. Many manuscripts which might

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* In Mexico, however, there was something of this kind. 'The use 'of symbolical paintings,' says Humboldt, 'as documentary evidence in 'lawsuits, was preserved in the Spanish tribunals long after the conquest. 'The natives being unable to address the judges through the medium of 'an interpreter, regarded the use of hieroglyphics as doubly necessary. 'They continued to present them to the different courts of justice estab-'lished in New Spain (the *Real Audiencia*, the *Sala del Crimen*, and 'the *Juzgado de Indios*) till the beginning of the seventeenth century. 'When the Emperor Charles V., having entertained the project of giving 'an impetus to science in these distant regions, founded in 1553 the 'University of Mexico, three Chairs were established for teaching the 'Aztec and Otomy languages, and explaining hieroglyphic paintings. It 'was long considered necessary to have advocates, procurators, and judges, 'who could understand the emblematic paintings, in which were expressed 'the claims of litigants, genealogical tables, the old Mexican laws, and 'the tribute which each *fief* paid to its overlord. Two professorships 'of languages still (1813) exist at Mexico; but the chair of Mexican anti-'quities has been suppressed. The use of paintings has become obsolete;

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have thrown light upon these topics, are understood to have been long preserved in monasteries, and in the archives of cities and the episcopal sees; but every year in that unsettled and lawless country must diminish their number, if, indeed, they have not all already perished.

But even assuming that materials should, by some lucky chance, have escaped destruction, which may one day enable the antiquary to read the handwriting upon these desolate walls—the chilling record of what has ceased to exist, not the scorching prophecy of impending doom—the exciting story of the struggles of ambition, or the instructive moralizings of the sage, must not be looked for. Names and dates—*formulæ* for ascertaining the dates of past events, or the recurrence of festivals, will alone be found—nails in the wall of history, upon which the traditions of a living people once perhaps hung stirring associations, but which to us are nothing more than the dull, dead indication, that something of the kind, we know not what, has been. What of interest will attach to the discovery, will be for a limited public;—for those who have the patience to follow out the minute and tedious enquiries, by which only the first steps in the progress of human knowledge and civilization can be discovered.

Except, therefore, as affording some presumption that the ruins amid which they are found were reared by men of a common origin, or at least common civilization, these unknown characters are not likely for a considerable time to yield us much information. We must be contented to detect signs of the intelligence and capabilities of their architects in the fragments of

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'not because the Spanish language has made progress among the natives, 'but because they have learned to retain advocates to plead their causes.' But in none of the specimens of law-books, lists of tribute paid by provinces, or legal documents, of which specimens have been published by Humboldt and Aglio, do we find, except in the case of proper names, any thing approaching to an alphabet of words, (like the Chinese,) of syllables, (like that of the Mandshu and Mogols,) or of letters. Such an alphabet is found in the phonetic hieroglyphics of the Egyptians; and such an alphabet, there is every appearance, exists in the characters traced on the tablets of Palenque, the altars and idols of Copan, and the MS. of the Dresden library. But in Central America, where alone we can say with certainty these characters are to be found, the native writings do not appear at any time, under the Spanish dominion, to have been used and studied as they were at Mexico. No such documents appear to have been recognised by the tribunals, and the University of Guatimala (founded 1678) had only a professorship of the Kachiquel language, which had been written in Spanish characters from the time of the conquest.

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their works that survive—in the indications they afford of progress in the useful and ornamental arts.

It is difficult to speak of such works without unconsciously falling into the language of exaggeration, either in praising or criticising them. There are many things in the ruins of Palenque which indicate a fine and susceptible taste in those who reared them. The inclosure within the inner apartment of the building, in which was found the tablet representing two human figures in the act of making offerings, is of elegant proportions; and the ornamental stucco-work upon the cornice is delicately executed. The object of Messrs Stephens and Catherwood was to furnish the public, at a moderate price, with a work that should convey a correct notion of the general effect of the ruins; and this the engravings published by the former supply. But among the drawings of Captain Caddy are some elaborate copies of the details, executed on a pretty large scale, of the ornamental stucco-work, which suggest a high estimate of the skill and taste which produced them. With regard to the human figures, the countenances are execrable; but the outlines of the bodies and limbs are bold, graceful, and true to nature. The borders in which the figures are contained, show an eye for neatness and finish, and the scroll ornaments are varied and harmoniously arranged. The curves of the seeming arches in the corridors are very graceful. Altogether, the effect of these buildings upon the eye—while free from the obscuring shadow of the forest which has crept over them, and upheaved and shattered their walls by the growth of roots—while yet undilapidated, and glaring in the rich colours, of which traces still remain, must have been gay and graceful—something midway in point of effect between the irregular grace of Saracenic, and the severe elegance of Grecian architecture.

Every thing, however, about the ruins, seems to indicate a people in whom taste had far outstripped intellect. In external beauty their structures rank higher than they do in the knowledge evinced by them of what may be termed scientific architecture. At Copan there are no symptoms of the constructors of the buildings having advanced so far as to be able to erect permanent covered temples. Their pyramids and sculptured blocks are only one step in advance of cairns, circles, and ranges of stones, like those reared by the Celtic race in Europe. The elaborate carvings with which these idols are overloaded, however much of mechanical neatness they may display, are scarcely more entitled to be called works of art than the equally elaborate carving lavished by New Zealanders on their paddles and canoes. In Palenque we find ornamental interiors; but the helpless makeshifts by which they are produced, carry us back to the in-

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fancy of the mason's art. We do not find even that approach to the construction of large flat-roofed halls, by the aid of pillars, which we witness in the temples of Egypt. Graceful buildings are erected by the primitive device of piling flagstones evenly, one upon another, till the wall has reached the height of ten feet, and then making every layer overlap that beneath it to form a converging ceiling, closed by a large flag laid over all. In Palenque, the unsightly ruggedness of this rude structure is covered over by a coat of stucco. At Uxmal 'the ceiling forms a triangular arch, without the keystone as at 'Palenque; but instead of the rough stones overlapping, or being 'covered with stucco, the layers of stone are bevelled as they 'rise, and present an even and polished surface.' Their ignorance of the laws of pressure, denied the architects the power to lend to the interiors of their buildings those beauties to which spaciousness and loftiness are requisite; and restricted them to the narrower range of proportion, and richness of detailed ornament on a small scale.

The history of Palenque, with the exception of Uxmal—the most perfect and instructive of those ruined cities which have yet been visited and described by men of European origin and knowledge—is a mere blank. The common story regarding the ruins, repeated by Mr Stephens, is, that they were casually discovered in 1750 by a party of Spaniards travelling in the province of Chiapas, and subsequently visited and examined, by order of the Spanish government, in 1787 and 1806. There is reason, however, to believe that they were never entirely lost sight of; for Juarros and Fuentes, both of whom had access to the archives of the kingdom of Guatimala, identify the ruins near Palenque with the Culhuacan of the natives. At what time it was deserted might be difficult to determine. The native cities taken by the Spaniards, and in the vicinity of which those marauders have fixed their habitations, have, without one exception, been razed to the ground. The more perfect condition of Culhuacan or Palenque, seems to point to the inference that it was deserted when the more civilized and dominant tribe of the natives, weakened by its struggles with the European invaders, was forced to desert its old abodes; leaving the country to the savage tribes who occupied the forests and mountain recesses. These either could not rebuild the towns as they fell into decay, or not caring to relinquish their forest life, left them unoccupied. But they seem long to have retained their veneration for the fanes and sanctuaries of the deserted habitations. The owner of the ground on which the few vestiges of Gueguetenango are yet to be seen, told Mr Stephens 'that he had bought the 'land from Indians, and that for some time after his purchase,

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'he was annoyed by their periodical visits to celebrate some of 'their ancient rites on the top of this structure, (an ancient place 'of sacrifice,) and this annoyance continued until he whipped 'two or three of the principal men, and drove them away.' A considerable time may have elapsed from the first Spanish invasion, before the natives abandoned Culhuacan, the province in which it was situated being retained in a sort of half-independence. So late as 1712 they rose in arms, and had nearly driven the Spaniards from among them. The buildings described by Mr Stephens were probably erected near the time of the first Spanish invasion. We are led to this conclusion by the account which Juarros has given of the dress and appearance of the natives, on the authority of the history of Guatimala prepared by order of Philip II., and other manuscript documents. It might pass for a description of the figures on the walls of Culhuacan, and shows that these images represent the generations conquered by the Spaniards :—

'The nobles wore a dress of white cotton, dyed or stained with different colours; the use of which was prohibited to the other ranks. This vestment consisted of a shirt and white breeches, decorated with fringes; over these was drawn another pair of breeches, reaching to the knees, and ornamented with a species of embroidery. The legs were bare, the feet protected by sandals, fastening over the instep and at the heel by many thongs of leather; the sleeves of the shirt were looped above the elbow, with a blue or red band; the hair was worn long, and tressed behind with a cord of the colour used upon the sleeves, and terminating in a tassel, which was a distinction peculiar to the great captains; the waist was girded with a piece of cloth of various colours, fastened in a knot before; over the shoulders was thrown a white mantle, ornamented with figures of birds, lions, and other decorations, of cord and fringe. The ears and lower lip were pierced to receive star-shaped pendants of gold or silver; the insignia of office or dignity were carried in the hand. The Indians of modern times differ from the ancients only in wearing the hair short, the sleeves loose, and by the omission of ear-rings and lip ornaments. The civilized natives dress with great decency. * * The habit of the Mazaguales is simple and very poor; they are not permitted the use of cotton, and substitute for it cloth made of *pita*. The dress is simply a long shirt, the flaps of which are drawn between the legs and fastened; a piece of the same stuff is tied round the waist, and a similar piece forms a covering for the head."

Throughout the provinces where the ruins examined by Mr Stephen are found, there were a number of petty Caciques, sometimes asserting independence, sometimes reduced to a state of subjection by some more valiant and able neighbour;—a multiplicity of petty states constantly growing and declining, extending or narrowing their frontiers, shifting and changing like the little kingdoms of South Britain in the early Saxon times. The

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anxiety of the dominant caste or tribe to preserve itself pure was, according to Juarros, very great :—

'To the offices of lieutenants and councillors, and even down to door-keepers of the council, none but those of noble race were admitted, and there was no instance of any person being appointed to a public office, high or low, who was not selected from the nobility; for which reason great anxiety was felt by them to keep the purity of their lineage unsullied. To preserve this rank untainted in blood, it was decreed by the law, that if any cacique or noble should marry a woman who was not of noble family, he should be degraded to the caste of mazagual or plebeian, assume the name of his wife, be subject to all the duties and services imposed upon the plebeians, and his estates be sequestered to the king, leaving him only a sufficiency for a decent maintenance in his sphere of maragual.'

The most accurate test of the progress of any country in civilization is to be found in its penal laws. They indicate what men deem honourable, what shameful, and the character of their punishments shows how far their feelings have been softened and humanized. Taken in this point of view, Juarros' brief recapitulation of the principal penal laws of Quiché increases materially our acquaintance with the men who reared and occupied the structures of which we have been speaking :—

'The king was liable to be tried, and if convicted of extreme cruelty and tyranny, was deposed by the Ahaguoes, who for this purpose assembled a council with great secrecy : the next in succession according to law was placed on the throne, and his ejected predecessor punished by confiscation of all his property, and, as some writers affirm, put to death by decapitation. If a queen was guilty of adultery with a noble person, both she and the accomplice were strangled; but if, forgetting her dignity, she had criminal intercourse with a commoner, they were thrown from a very high rock. If the ahaguoes impeded the collection of the tributes, or were fomenters of any conspiracy, they were condemned to death, and all the members of their families sold as slaves. Whoever was guilty of crimes against the king or the public, or convicted of homicide, was punished by death, the sequestration of property, and the slavery of his relations. Robbers were sentenced to pay the value of the things stolen, and a fine besides; for the second offence, the fine was doubled; and for the third, they were punished with death unless the calpul would redeem them; but, if they transgressed a fourth time, they were thrown from a rock. Rape was punished by death. Incendiaries were deemed enemies of their country, because, said the law, fire has no bounds, and by setting fire to a house, a whole town might be destroyed; and this would be public treason : therefore death was the punishment awarded against the perpetrator, and his family was banished from the kingdom. A simmarron, or runaway from the authority of his master, paid a fine to his calpul of a certain quantity of blankets; but the second offence was punished by death. The stealing of things sacred, the profanation of the temples, and contumacy to the ministers of the idols, subjected the offen-

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der to the punishment of death, and all his family were declared infamous. They had a law which is still (1800) in use; whenever a young man wished to marry, he was bound to serve the parents of his intended wife for a certain time, and make them stipulated presents; but if they afterwards rejected his proposals, they were compelled to return the things received, and serve him an equal number of days. * * The manner of bringing the accused to trial was cruel and unjust; for not having the privilege of appeal when brought before the judge, he was, if he confessed the crime, immediately taken from the tribunal to undergo the punishment awarded by the laws; and if he denied the charge, he was cruelly tortured to make him confess—he was stripped naked, suspended by the thumbs, and in that situation severely flogged and smoked with chile.'

These are the laws of a people sufficiently emerged from the mere savage state to recognise the necessity of moral discipline, but still far from being humanized in their sentiments. In their harshness, their progress in art, their powerful priesthood, the secrecy of their patrician councils—the very doors of which were kept by members of the order—their skill in some mechanical arts, we recognise a people which had attained to a degree of civilization, parallel to what we can conceive existing in the petty states among which Rome grew up, and upon whose ruins it built its empire. It is strange, that in none of the monuments figured by Mr Catherwood do we find any trace of the astrological hieroglyphics, of which so many specimens are preserved in the calendars of Mexico, delineated on Agave paper, or graven upon stone. This is the more remarkable, because Boturini expressly states, that the calendar used by the inhabitants of the province of Chiapas, (in which the ruins near Palenque are situated,) differed from that used by the Mexicans only in the names which they gave to the twenty days of which their month consisted.

In pointing out the most important facts elicited by the researches of Mr Stephens and his predecessors, we have confined ourselves to the monuments found within the territories of the republic of Central America and Chiapas, and the Mexican province of Yucatan. The study of such antiquities is of little value, except in so far as it furnishes materials for comparing what progress has been made by different communities residing far apart, and influenced by different economical and political relations, with a view to throw light upon the history of society. Even Humboldt has not always been sufficiently careful to discriminate, in the accounts he has given of American antiquities, between what customs or monuments appear to have been common to the inhabitants of Mexico, Oaxaca, and Chiapas, and what were peculiar to the people inhabiting one or other of these districts; and where he is inaccurate, others have fallen into utter confusion. One branch alone of the antiquities of the

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northern continent of America, has been skilfully and accurately examined; namely, the calendar of the fallen Mexicans, and the knowledge and opinions upon which it was founded. Much rubbish must be swept away, before we can ascertain what is really known of American antiquities; and before this field has been cleared of the entanglements and errors which have been allowed to accumulate upon it, it would be in vain to think of instituting comparisons between what the nations found by the Spaniards had effected, with what had been accomplished by early Asiatic or European nations; either with a view to trace the origin of the Americans, or to throw light upon the natural history of society.

Apart from the interest which the student of history and human nature must take in such investigations, every thing that can throw light upon the character of their aboriginal population, has a deep practical import for the inhabitants of the Spanish republics of North America. The two races have never blended; and in many provinces the Indians far outnumber the Creoles. The fact mentioned by the proprietor of the site of Gueguetenango, shows how much of the leaven of their old superstitions is yet left among the natives. Even where they have embraced Christianity, they affect having saints of their own, whom they prefer to those of the whites. The legends of the Roman Catholic Church have assumed a local colouring in Central America, which to a stranger appears sufficiently startling. They are a population if possible still more ignorant, savage, and excitable, than the dregs of the French population at the time of their first revolution; and, moreover, they are distinguished from the hitherto dominant *caste* by blood, language, features, and colour. The fierce struggles between the partisans of Federal and Centralized government, had, at the time of Mr Stephens' visit, thrown the power into the hands of the Indians; much in the same way that the struggle between the adherents of the monarchy and the republicans threw it into the hands of the *sans culottes* during the Reign of Terror.

Mr Stephens, we are informed, undismayed by the discomforts and dangers he encountered in his first expedition, has returned to Guatimala. This has the appearance of being in earnest; and we are bound to wish all success to enquiries of such an interesting description, and from which further and more matured information may be reasonably expected. The work before us, notwithstanding considerable defects and blemishes, is by no means deficient in indications of shrewdness, literary ambition, and perseverance. There can be little doubt that Mr Stephens will find ample materials for another; and we shall look forward to its appearance, in due season, with considerable expectations.

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ART. IV.—*The History of Duelling.* By J. G. MELLINGEN, M.D., F.R.S., 2 volumes 8vo. London: 1841.

THESE volumes present copious details respecting a practice altogether peculiar to the modern world. They might, perhaps, have been made somewhat more interesting, and the epochs might have been better and more clearly distinguished; but very great praise is due to the diligence with which the materials have been collected, and to the good sense and feeling which characterize the author's remarks. No traces of Duelling are to be found among any of the nations of antiquity. That one man should endanger or lose his own life, or take away that of another, for an offence, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, confessedly undeserving the punishment menaced or inflicted; that this should be every where done in defiance of law and religion; that the perpetrating the act should be esteemed meritorious—resistance to it dishonourable; and that this anomalous violation of humanity, law, and religion, should be the claimed and exclusive privilege of the most refined and best educated portion of society, are facts, for the history and exemplification of which, strange to say, we must limit our enquiries to the civilized communities of Christendom. It would be idle to refer for similar instances to the single combats that have taken place in front of hostile armies, or to the delegated contests between champions selected to settle the quarrels of nations or tribes. These had nothing in common with 'the Duel' beyond mere fighting; the motives, the sanctions, the issues, were totally different; self-devotion and obedience distinguished the one, selfishness and insubordination characterize the other.

But we utterly repudiate any other relationship than that of co-existence between the meek and forgiving spirit of Christianity, and the proud anti-social practice of duelling. It has been very generally referred to the customs and superstitions of the barbarous nations by whom the Roman Empire of the west was overthrown. Trials by ordeal, that is, by appeals to the Deity, were indeed in great esteem amongst them; but these have been more or less common to all ignorant and superstitious nations, and are in practice in many parts of the world at this day. The Hindoos have no less than nine different methods of extracting justice by the pressure of the ordeal. So also, violent and insubordinate appeals to the sword and to brute force, for the vindication of wrongs, have ever been common to all nations. These practices, therefore, although our forefathers had them in excess, they held in common with other races; but that

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which, with some few and obscure exceptions, appears to have been peculiar to them, was the formal and judicial appointment of single combat for the settlement of litigation. Cæsar and Tacitus state, that the elder Germans determined disputed claims to property and even to office by the sword; and when conquest gave greater notoriety to their customs, we find these statements verified by their laws. There is a law of Gundebald the Burgundian, (A.D. 501,) enacting, as a remedy against obstinacy and avarice, that all controversies shall be decided by the sword; and Frothius the Dane—a worthy descendant of those heroes who, after death, according to the Edda, were rewarded at the court of Odin, 'by being indulged every morning, as soon as they were 'dressed, by going out into the court to fight with each other till the 'close of the day, when they returned to Valhalla to drink beer or 'mead'—decreed *Speciosius viribus quam verbis confligendum esse casum.* This was not mincing the matter; and even after some little advance in the repression of disorder, we find Luitprand (701) proclaiming, 'we are not convinced of the justice of what 'is called the judgment of God; since we have found that 'many innocent persons have perished in defending a good cause; 'but this custom is of such antiquity amongst the Lombards that 'we cannot abolish it, notwithstanding its impiety.' These laws and customs are the true sources of the duel; and it is from this ancient practice of making the sword the scale of justice, that the modern duel, modified from time to time, has descended to us. While we thus trace its source to the ignorance and ferocity of our Gothic ancestors, it is truly humiliating that it should be continued to the present day;—that the English gentleman of the nineteenth should join with the Lombard of the eighth century, in saying 'we cannot abolish it, notwith-'standing its impiety.'

This, however, is not without its explanation. There is no such thing as a radical change in the customs of nations, seldom even of individuals; and those who examine the peculiarities of different races, well know how long the customs and institutions of early ages survive amongst, and characterize their descendants. There are still strong resemblances in all the branches of the great Gothic stem—split and separated as they have long been, under different forms of government, belief, language, and pursuits; so, too, among the Celts, the Jews universally, and in like manner all the other great families of the earth. Generations pass away, with their attendant convulsions, before ancient prejudices, traditions, and practices, are eradicated; time but softens their features, and in the great chain of cause and effect they are often, when lost to sight, still felt and found operating. It is thus that

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the judicial combat survives in our modern duel, and that in defiance of strong opposing influences.

The judicial combat besides, was upheld, though modified, by the feudal system;—that mixture of liberty and oppression without which Europe might have run the course of the ancient eastern monarchies, and lost, with the liberty of fighting, the development of its liberty of thinking; for the right of each individual chief to 'do what he liked with his own,' and which he exercised as well as claimed, prevented the overshadowing pretensions of him who was supreme. Anarchy mitigated monarchy; and to the thousand small despots, perched on their robber crags, defending their own peculiar town from all others, while they plundered it themselves, we owe the balance of power, and the confederate institutions of Europe. So, also, we owe the continuation of the duel; for there was no one privilege that these chiefs more zealously upheld than that of fighting their own battles, and judging in their own quarrels. But whatever may have been the ultimate happy results of this system, the immediate issue was misery. The whole of middle Europe was scourged by war and bloodshed, rapine and revenge. Urban II., when he called on the faithful at the council of Clermont to join the crusade, thus describes their conduct—'Redeem by a service so agree-'able to God, your pillages, conflagrations, homicides, and 'other mortal crimes.' The Emperor Frederic II. forbade his nobles 'from plundering travellers and circulating base coin, 'which had hitherto been considered their privilege.' This state of things naturally produced counteracting efforts and associations. The church lent its aid in the support of order. The truce of God, promulgated in 1041, forbade fighting on all festivals, and from Wednesday night till Monday morning, monasteries and asylums were opened for the penitent and the persecuted. Burghers obtained charters of defence, neighbouring towns formed leagues, and that which more immediately regards our present subject, Societies and Holy Brotherhoods were established of persons devoted to the defence of the weak, the wayfaring, and the oppressed: hence Knighthood, to whose inheritance the judicial combat fell. Scott says, the investiture of chivalry was brought to resemble as much as possible the administration of the sacraments of the church. Certainly the chastisement of the oppressor, and the assertion of individual honour and integrity were the device, as they not unfrequently were the gallant achievement, of the devoted knight.

This was the second stage of the single combat, under which it assumed a higher and a better tone. Henceforth we may trace

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its course more clearly; and it may not be unamusing, if, with the assistance of Dr Mellingen's materials, we hastily run over this piece of history, and mark the successive stages of those appeals which have taken place since Queen Emma dared the red-hot ploughshares, until the day when Mirfin, the linen-draper's apprentice, killed in single combat Elliott, the innkeeper's son.

We have already alluded to authentic records of the trial by single combat so early as the sixth century. The vigour and good sense of Charlemagne checked it for a while, but it broke out afresh under his feeble successors; and Otho II. re-established it in all its early vigour;—his decree at Verona extending its obligations to the clergy and to women—allowing them, however, substitutes or champions. The Danes went beyond this; for their wives and daughters were obliged to defend their own honour personally. But, in order to give them fair play, the man whom they fought was planted in a pit up to the waist, in order that his gentle antagonist might wheel about him, and strike him on the head with a sling or leathern thong, to which a heavy stone was attached—he, meanwhile, defending himself with a club; and if he missed his assailant three times, or struck the ground instead of her, he was pronounced to be vanquished. In England, Selden tells us, the trial by single combat was unknown before the Conquest; compensation was the usual mode of satisfaction, and is especially enjoined by a law of Alfred. If we desire a precedent for our damages in actions for 'criminal con-'versation,' we may find it in a law of Ethelred, declaring that whoever hath committed adultery with his neighbour's wife shall be obliged to buy him a new one. But the Conqueror introduced the fiercer habits of his Normans: his first act was to challenge Harold to single combat for his kingdom; and the only restriction on the trial of battle to be found in his constitutions is, that 'no priest shall fight without leave of his bishop.' It is from this time, too, that the custom dates of the pageant of a Champion attending the coronation festival of our Kings. Rude as these judicial combats were, still there was something searching and solemn in them. The sanctions of oaths, fastings, prayers, purgations, and masses, were skilfully applied. Each combatant staked his life, his honour, and his all, upon the truth of his declaration. If he failed, he was led forth dishonoured to execution; if slain, his body was hanged or otherwise insulted. At Halle a confessor, as well as a second, was always in attendance; and a bier surrounded with torches awaited the vanquished at the end of the lists. We can easily conceive the awe with which the guilty and superstitious combatant would approach lists thus prepared. No doubt the alarmed consciences of many

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bade them yield up the foul plunder, or recede from their false accusations, rather than face such a trial; and thus far this wager of battle, much as we may ridicule it now, had its advantages in those days of ignorant violence; and the day may come when the cobweb intricacies, the ruinous expenses, and judgment deferred for years, nay, sometimes for generations, of some of our Law Courts, shall appear scarcely less barbarous, or less a mockery of justice, than these summary proceedings of our Norman forefathers. In fact, when the judges were counts, marquesses, and rude soldiers, few of whom could either read or write, perhaps the best method of settling a question was to let the litigants fight it out.

In England the combat was allowed only in the Court of Chivalry, or in appeals, or upon issue joined in writs of right. The Court of Chivalry was restricted, so early as the time of Richard II., to only such things touching war within the realm, which could not be redressed by common law; and these respected more especially, giving relief to such of the nobility and gentry as should think themselves aggrieved in matters of honour. But being no court of record it soon fell into disuse; and the office of High Constable, under whom it was originally held, ceased with the attainder of Stafford Duke of Buckingham. But the constitutions of Clarendon, by establishing the trial by jury and grand assize under Henry II., were the most effectual means for placing litigation and the administration of law on its proper basis. These constitutions were confirmed and extended by Edward I., who did more for settling the distributive justice of his kingdom, than has perhaps been done in all the after ages. And this country was thus, by the early substitution of wise laws, imbued with a spirit of justice which has stood it in good stead on many a passionate day.

The trial by combat flourished much more vigorously and much longer amongst our vivacious neighbours in France. So late as the time of St Louis, not only could plaintiffs and defendants appeal to the sword, but even witnesses attested the truth of their evidence by it; and the judge himself was subject to defend his sentence in the lists, provided he were not the liege lord of either of the litigants. No doubt, many an unseated member of the present day longs for those good old French laws, which would give him a last chance of retaining his seat, by exclaiming to the chairman of his election committee, 'Thou liest, and I am 'ready to defend my body against thine; and that thou shalt 'either be a corpse or recreant any hour of the day!' But Philip III. reformed these matters, by requiring, before he would grant his license for a combat, the concurrence of the four following

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circumstances; namely, that the crime had been committed, and that it could not be ascertained by whom—that the crime was of such a nature as to incur the penalty of death—that there was no other means of discovering the culprit—and lastly, that there were such strong presumptions against the accused that the duel was granted him in lieu of torture and the question. This necessarily restricted the number of cases; but though thus cautiously granted, Voet adds, 'the method was hurtful, and contrary to 'canonical, divine, and natural law.'

One of the earliest English trials by combat, of which we have any record, is that of the Count d'Eu, who, accused by Godefroi Baynard of a conspiracy against William Rufus, was allowed a field at Salisbury; where, in the presence of the King and his court, having been defeated, he was, by his order, cruelly mutilated, his eyes put out, and his esquire whipped and hanged.

A more romantic instance is recorded of a Count of Modena, who, imitating the continence, met (from Maria of Arragon, the Emperor Otho's wife) the treatment of the Jewish Patriarch. It was in vain that he protested his innocence; all that he was allowed was a field, where he was conquered and beheaded. His wife, nothing daunted, laid his bleeding head at the feet of the Emperor, demanding vengeance—'Of whom? replied the Em-'peror?'—'Of you, Cæsar,' she replied, 'who have sanctioned 'an iniquity, as I am ready to prove the innocence of my hus-'band by the ordeal of fire.' A brazier of red-hot iron decided the case; for seizing it without fear and without injury, she again demanded of the Emperor his own head for having put to death an innocent man. The chronicle adds, that the Emperor, demurring to this proposal, graciously compromised the matter by ordering his own wife to be burned alive—and which was accordingly executed at Modena, A.D. 998.

But perhaps the most singular occurrence of the kind took place at Toledo, under the Pontificate of Gregory the Great, and in furtherance of his ambitious projects. We take the abridged account from Dr Waddington's excellent 'History of the 'Church.' It seems the Gothic had gradually superseded the Roman missal in Spain. The Pope's legate and Caroline, Queen of Castile, were desirous of restoring it. The nobility, the people, and even a majority of the clergy, warmly supported their own established ritual; and, after some struggles, a day was appointed to decide on the merits of the rival missals. This was to be done by the trial of combat. Two knights contended in the presence of a vast assembly, and the Gothic champion prevailed. The Court, dissatisfied with the result, subjected the missals to a second proof, and which they were to sustain in their

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own substances—the trial by fire. Again the Gothic missal triumphed, escaping unhurt from the flames in which its rival was consumed. The triumph now seemed complete, when it was discovered that the ashes of the Roman missal had curled to the top of the flames and leaped out of them. By this *miracle* the scales were turned; or, at all events, the victory of the Gothic missal sufficiently impeached to allow the establishment of both missals, whereby the Papal object was gained; for the Roman missal, once introduced, was soon made to work out the other; and the Spaniards by this worthy process thus lost the inestimable benefit of having the service performed in their native tongue.

But these were solutions for the darkest ages, and the glimmerings of reason even then dawning, required more fitting forms of adjudication for such questions. The pen commenced those encroachments upon the sword which have continued to the present day; and which will last until, perhaps, national even as well as individual combats shall be viewed only as proofs of bygone barbarism. Meanwhile personal safety, advancement, and distinction, were to be found only in the profession and expert management of arms. There was no other amusement or occupation, save the chase or the cloister, for the gentry. Litigation and the courts of law were for women, gownsmen, and the ignoble. Force ruled, and combats were fought, without honour and without mercy, in defence or disproof of crimes which the judge and the headsman had more fittingly investigated, and which sowed the seeds of endless feuds. Witness the fatal Hereford and Norfolk duel, which, weakly granted and still more weakly interrupted, first gave a beginning to those wars, of which old Fuller quaintly says, 'the red rose 'grew pale from the blood it lost, and the white red from shed-'ding it.' Queen Elizabeth's Westminster Hall, or Star-Chamber, would have crushed the cockatrice's egg in the nest. But the remedy was approaching. The consolidation of the European kingdoms, and of the monarchical power, gave effect to general law; and single combat, as a judicial proceeding for the trial of offences against the state, or of criminal violence, did not survive the fifteenth century. But it took a new field, and precisely where offences abounded, and where the law was dumb; namely, the vindication of offended honour—honour, a vague, sensitive, and pugnacious quality, which the state itself cherished and required from its nobles, but whose defence and assertion it committed to their individual care and valour. Much of this modern honour grew out of chivalry, of its mixed monastic, warlike, and celibate state. Its best qua-

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lity was its deference to, and defence of the weaker sex. The ancient Knight went "pricking" on his way, and had his rugged hands full of business. His successors found fewer subjects for the exhibition of their prowess. Time, numbers, wealth, power, and distinction, exercised their influences; and the lack of adventure was supplied by a fantastic code, which became the manual of social intercourse, and the text-book of single combat among the higher classes; and which, more or less modified, survives to the present hour. Rules of honour, subjects of offence, methods of reparation, modes of proceeding, privileges of challengers, duties of seconds, and other details, were laid down, subdivided, and expounded, with all the subtlety of the middle ages, and with an industry worthy of a better subject. Puffendorf and Grotius have not more rigidly investigated the laws of nations and belligerents than Mutio, Fausto, Attendolo, and Guistinopolitano the noble science of giving and taking offence. There were detailed no less than thirty-two different species of lies!

Italy was the first great field for this modified single combat, or more properly, the duel; as it was also the principal parent of the most elaborate treatises respecting it, the fabricators of the best arms, and the purveyor of the ablest 'masters of fence.' Thence the rage spread with redoubled fury into France, Spain, and the Empire. In England we hear little of it before the profligate days of the Stuarts.

But it is France that affords the most detailed and authorized records of duelling. The French Kings and Parliament long maintained its formal and practical legality; and Francis the First, while he set an example to the world of a dishonourable breach of his own plighted word, did not shrink from attaching a sanguinary importance to *the lie;* by proclaiming 'that it was 'never to be put up with without satisfaction, but by a base-born 'fellow.' Henry II. presided, with his whole Court—the Constable, the Admiral, and the Marshals of France—at the combat between Farnac and La Chasteneraye, on a charge of scandal, which terminated in the death of La Chasteneraye; when Farnac, his hands yet reeking with his kinsman's blood, lifted them up to heaven and exclaimed, 'Not unto me, O Lord, 'but unto thy name, be thanks!' Henry II. might have stopped this duel at any moment, and was entreated to do so by Farnac when his adversary's life was in his power; but the king, from a feeling of *honour*, refused; and he himself, not long afterwards, met his death in a tournament. Charles IX. was the last French king who presided at one of these exhibitions; but to give him his due, so also was he the first who sought to check

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the practice, by naming a 'Court of Honour' for the satisfaction of offences committed against its laws. And it was indeed full time; for while France and Frenchmen were boasting of this their idol honour, their country was becoming a mere charnel-house: the wars of Italy and of the League, with the breaking-up of all moral and religious restraints, had reduced society to such a state, that, during the comparatively quiet and vigorous twenty years of Henry IV.'s reign, and in defiance of his edicts, inflicting the penalty of death on all duellists, there fell in duels, within the then comparatively small number of gentlemen bearing arms in France, no less than 4000, while upwards of 14,000 pardons were granted for fighting. The king himself, despite his own laws, and the humane remonstrances of the brave and wise Sully, encouraged the practice. Writing to his friend Duplessis Mornay, who had complained of having been insulted, he says:—'I feel much hurt at hearing of the insult you have received, and 'in which I sympathize, both as your sovereign and your 'friend. In the first capacity I shall see justice done, both for 'your sake and for mine; and if I bore only the second, you 'should find me most ready to draw my sword and expose my 'life for you.' With such an encouragement, no wonder that the person who did not fight—who had not killed his man, at least one man—should be held scarcely worthy of the name of gentleman. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who was in France in the following reign, testifies joyously, as was to be expected of him, to the fact. But the evil did not rest here; for, when satisfaction was not taken by what is called fair means, it was held scarcely less *honourable* to take it by foul. All France went mad upon the duel. Montaigne says, 'Put three Frenchmen on the Libyan desert, and they would not be there a 'month without fighting.' The Bishop of Rhodes, in his life of Henry IV., says, 'The madness of duels did seize the spirits 'of the nobility so much, that they lost more blood by each 'other's hands in time of peace, than had been shed by their 'enemies in battle.' In one province alone, there were killed in seven months, according to Chevalier, no less than one hundred and twenty gentlemen. There is a laudatory account, in Brantôme, of a worthy noble of Franche Comté who ran his companion through the body in the very porch of a church; and of two others who fought it out before the altar, to decide which had the best right to the first use of the censer! A contemporary journal says, Aug. 6, 1606:—Last week we had in Paris four assassinations 'and three duels, but no notice was taken of them.' Whole families became exterminated. As a worthy illustration, the same authority relates how a certain Socilles seduces the wife of

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Devese, who in revenge attempts twice to assassinate him, under a pretext of calling him out; for which he is dismissed by the king, who authorizes Socilles 'to attack him in whatever manner 'he may think proper, and to seize upon his property.' A reconciliation is proposed by means of a family marriage, to which Socilles consents, but, instead of marrying, seduces Devese's sister; for which Devese again waylays, and at length succeeds in assassinating him; whereupon a relation of Socilles procures the assassination of Devese. Are we to wonder that the assassin's knife at length reached the heart of a king who suffered such deeds to go unpunished? The eldest son of the Duc de Guise ran the Count de St Pol through the body in the streets of Rheims: two years afterwards Henry IV. made him Governor of Provence.

And while the king thus rewarded, the ladies of France, like the Roman women who loved the gladiators, delighted in these men of blood. Lord Herbert on one occasion says, 'All things being 'ready for the ball, and I being near the queen, (Anne of Austria,) 'expecting when the dancers should begin, some one knocked at 'the door, louder methought than became a civil person. When 'he came in there was a sudden whisper amongst the ladies, say-'ing, "C'est Monsieur Balaguy." Whereupon I also saw the 'ladies, one after another, invite him to sit near them; and 'when one lady had his company awhile, another would say, '"you have engaged him long enough—I must have him now." 'At which bold civility of them, though I was astonished, yet it 'added to my wonder that his person could not be thought hand-'some—his hair half grey, his doublet but of sackcloth, and his 'breeches of plain grey cloth. Informing myself by some 'standers-by who he was, I was told that he was one of the 'gallantest men in the world, having killed eight or nine men 'in single fight, and that for this reason the ladies made so much 'of him.'

The rage was universal, and was in no degree confined to soldiers and to France. Ignatius Loyola himself called out a Moor for denying the divinity of our Saviour. Cardinal de Retz fought two duels during the Fronde; Cardinal d'Este presided at a duel at Ferrara; and so late as 1609, it was found necessary in Spain to renew a decree of the old council of Pennafiel, forbidding challenges being sent to bishops and canons. Not content that the principals fought, their seconds, thirds, and fourths, also engaged from the sheer love of fighting; without any shadow of quarrel, or even acquaintance, and all in the name of honour and chivalry! Undoubtedly a high, but, as we believe, a most mistaken sense of honour actuated some of these combatants; but

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its dictates came not from the sanguinary custom of duelling, to which they gave way, but from the native magnanimity of their own hearts. This it was, for instance, that made Gustavus Adolphus, when at the height of his glory, follow Colonel Seaton, (one of his Scotch officers whom he had hastily offended,) and after reproaching himself for his want of temper, overtake him and exclaim—'Dismount, sir! I acknowledge that I have 'injured you, and I am come to give you the satisfaction of a 'gentleman; for we are now without my dominions, and Gus- 'tavus and you are equal!' But examples like this were the exceptions; the prevailing characteristic was violence, fraud, and contempt of life. In order rightly to estimate this spirit, one has only to mark the cold-blooded and pleasant strain with which the light-hearted, and perhaps good-hearted, Brantôme recounts its memorable deeds. He speaks of the most savage as of the greatest exploits: he tells with delight of 'ce très-beau com- 'bat' between Quielus and D'Entragues, and their seconds and thirds; these latter fighting 'par envie de mener les mains'—for the very pleasure of the thing. He grieves that there were only three or four common people present, 'wretched witnesses of the 'valour of these heroes:' he is proud that four out of the six fell; and, with scarcely a comment, he relates how D'Entragues owed his success to a dagger he had secretly provided, and with which he hacked and stabbed the unfortunate Quielus, mocking him as he exclaimed, 'You have a dagger and I have none!' But his favourite hero is a Neapolitan, who killed his three men, one after another, on the same morning, and on the same spot, leaving them there with all possible indifference—'tous trois 'morts à la garde de Dieu pour estre enterrez.'

Now, while these human sacrifices were thus offered up on the altar of honour, what was its real value and influence?—Nothing, or worse than nothing. We dwell on this period because it has been so often bepraised or referred to as the high and glorious reign of chivalry and honour; and because later, it has been said with a taunting and eloquent lament, that the age of chivalry had passed.—What was it—and what its fruits? When Bayard, the chevalier *sans peur et sans reproche*, was, with all the ceremonies of courtesy, honour, and religion, running Don Alonzo di Soto Maior through the body, for having complained of his lack of courtesy to him while his prisoner, and while the code of honour was the text-book of civilized Europe, Macchiavelli was writing his *Prince;* the Borgias were poisoning, plundering, or committing incest; the Sforza and Medici imitating them; one Pope finding his death in the poisoned elements of the Eucharist; another bless-

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ing the massacre of St Bartholomew; and a third instigating traitors to make the elevation of the host the signal for assassination at the altar; Louis XI. was giving lessons on successful fraud and villany, which the League brought to maturity; Philip II. was writing in blood and persecution the precepts of Ferdinand; and the court of Henry VIII. was the centre of baseness, apostasy, confiscation, and murder. In fact, profligacy, licentiousness, and practical atheism reigned almost unchecked and unabashed throughout Europe, during this era of *les preux chevaliers*, whose lips loudly professed the honour their acts grossly profaned.

If such were the unrebuked practices of the leaders, the deeds of their followers and subordinates kept pace with them. It is also specially to be observed, that many of these offences were precisely those which all just notions of honour should most reprobate—want of truth, of courtesy, and of mercy—praise of fraud and violence. Every portrait that has descended to us of the heroes of those days, has his dagger at his side—the weapon or the guard of the assassin. What are we to think of the comparatively late age of Henry II., that allowed M. de Fandilles to refuse to enter the lists until there had been erected a gallows, and a fire had been prepared for him on which to hang or burn his adversary, the Baron des Guerres; or of the spirit of fair play which supported a Monsieur Malecolom, who having dispatched his own adversary, and finding his companion slow in doing the same by his, went to his assistance—thus making two against one; and on his victim remonstrating against this treachery, coolly replying, 'I have killed my opponent, and if you kill my com-'panion, there may be a chance that you may also kill me—'therefore here goes;' or of the generosity of Marshal St André's nephew, who, while hunting with Charles IX., picked a quarrel with Matas, an ancient officer, who quickly disarmed him, and was in the act of restoring his sword with some wholesome advice, when the youthful hero, watching his opportunity, stabbed him in the back and rode off, leaving him dead on the field? No notice, adds the chronicler of the day, was taken of this transaction; nay, Matas was blamed for having rebuked a fiery and *honourable* youth—It is a pity to taunt a youth in the bud, it grieves God, *Dieu s'en attriste.* Or, take as a sample, the following epistle from one of the heroes of Henry IV.'s time:—'I have reduced your home to ashes; I have dishonoured your 'wife and hanged your children; and I now have the honour 'to be your mortal enemy.—La Garde.' Rightly did this ruffian perish by the sword he delighted in! Perfidy was not confined

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to the Continent. Creighton, Lord Sanquhar, lost his eye in practising with one Turner a fencing-master; four years afterwards he was presented to Henry IV., who asked him, 'Does the 'man live who inflicted that wound?' whereupon he thought it incumbent on his honour to return to England, and hire a couple of bravoes to assassinate the wretched fencing-master, although he had already pardoned him. In Milan, not a day passed that parties were not found fighting in the streets, and leaving the dead bodies of their adversaries on the pavement. People resorted there from all countries to learn the *noble art of fence*, and to practise secret and cunning feints and strokes. Here too were numerous bravoes, who let themselves out for hire, to fight for those who were not disposed to risk their own lives. This extended to Spain; and hence that secret stabbing, which in fact grew out of duelling, although duelling has occasionally been defended as the safeguard and preventive of it. As a specimen of the man of honour, and of the times, we cannot do better than give an abridgement of Brantôme's account of 'the Paragon of France.'

'Duprat, Baron de Vitaux, the *Paragon of France*, was son of Chancellor Duprat, and from early life displayed symptoms of undaunted courage. He commenced his career in arms by killing the Baron de Soupez, who threw a candlestick at him at dinner and broke his head; for which he waylaid him on the road to Toulouse, and having dispatched him, escaped (*bravement*) in a woman's clothes. His next exploit was to murder Monsieur de Gonnelieu, the master of the horse to Charles IX., in revenge for the death of one of his brothers, a lad of fifteen, whom Gonnelieu had treacherously slain. Fearing the king's resentment, he fled to Italy, but shortly returned in order to revenge the death of another brother, who had just been killed by his own near relation the Baron de Mittaud. He remained concealed in an obscure lodging on the Quai des Augustins, and allowed his beard to grow; and disguising himself as a lawyer, he watched for the baron, in company with his companions, the two Baucicauts, "brave and valiant men, and called the Lions of Vitaux." At length meeting with him, they all set on him and slew him, and again fled, and again obtained pardon. But Monsieur de Gua, a gallant and distinguished officer, and a favourite of the king's, opposed the grant of Vitaux's pardon; wherefore the Paragon stole into his house, with seven or eight companions, and dispatched him in his bed. This act,' says Brantôme, 'was considered one of great resolution and assurance. But he was again pardoned through the interest of the Duc d'Alençon and Queen Marguerite. However, his hour at length came—the brother of the Baron de Mittaud, whom he had assassinated eight years ago, called him out, and *securing himself with a cuirass under* his clothes, and painted flesh-colour to escape detection, the sword of Vitaux bent against it; it was in vain that he repeated his thrusts, the

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baron's brother quietly running him through and through, without having the courtesy to offer him his life. Thus,' says Brantôme, 'died this brave baron, the Paragon of France, where he was as much esteemed as in Spain, Germany, Poland, and England, and every foreigner who came to court was most anxious to behold him: he was small in stature, but lofty in courage; and though his enemies pretended that he did not kill people fairly, but had recourse to various stratagems, still it is the opinion of great captains, even Italians, who are always the best avengers in the world, that stratagem might be encountered by stratagem without any breach of honour.'

Such were the duels, such the heroes—the men of honour—of the renowned age of chivalry. There is no cant more truly such, than that which boasts of its heroism, devotion, and virtues; which were in fact little other than gross crimes, gilded over by diseased public opinion. The real virtues of the age lay deeper in the subsoil, and ultimately, and after severe trials, brought forth their fruit in better morals, better knowledge, better feelings, and better government. These are essentially opposed to the whole theory and practice of duelling, and have from that day to this been softening, modifying, narrowing, and diminishing it. We do not mean to say that duelling may not, in those bad days, have had some uses, as the trial by combat had in darker ones; but that on which we insist is, that its abuses and evils predominated, as they ever will. The work of repression went on with the march of civilization. The church, the first civilizer, had long since led the way, and the Council of Trent declared, that 'the detestable practice of duels, which had been introduced by 'the artifices of the devil, in order to destroy the soul after 'having cruelly killed the body, should be utterly abolished 'among Christians:' it excommunicated 'all emperors, kings, 'dukes, princes, marquesses, counts, and other temporal lords, 'of whatever denomination, who shall assign or grant any place 'for a duel between Christians; and the principals and seconds 'are excommunicated, their persons declared infamous, their 'goods confiscated, and their bodies denied Christian burial:' even witnesses and spectators were excommunicated.

These exaggerated denunciations were not even then entirely disregarded; and to avoid their penalties hostile meetings were appointed in Turkey, and out of Christendom, as, in serious cases, they now sometimes are beyond the frontiers of neighbouring countries. At all events, these decrees denounced the evil; and remedies began to be earnestly thought of and applied. Charles V. forbade duelling throughout his dominions; it was prohibited in Portugal, under penalty of confiscation of goods and transportation to Africa;

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in Sweden by death; and Gustavus II., once interrupting a party who were about to fight, ordered them to remain on the field until a temporary gallows had been erected, when he said, 'Now gentlemen, if you please, proceed.'

In France, sanguinary edicts had been issued against duelling by Francis I., Charles IX., and Henry IV., but they were totally inoperative. Louis XIII. endeavoured to enforce them with an irregular severity that produced little effect; yet still, it was something to see a Montmorency formally executed on the Place de Grève for fighting a duel. Louis XIV. proceeded more wisely; he reorganized and extended the powers of the Court of Honour, originally instituted by Charles IX., and composed of all the great dignitaries of the kingdom. This Court had authority to decide on all subjects of honour, with power to fine, imprison, and arrest all who might be convicted of giving the lie, striking, or committing any of those insults, or offences, which had hitherto provoked challenges. Recourse, too, was had to honour itself as a corrective of its excesses. The Marquis de Fénélon, of whom the great Condé said, that he was equally qualified for conversation, the field, and the cabinet, headed an association of gentlemen, who bound themselves by their honour and their oaths never to send or to accept a challenge. And by a public edict, Louis XIV. awarded death, with forfeiture of rank, honour, and estate, to all concerned in duels; pledging himself in the same edict, 'on the faith 'and word of a king, not to exempt any person, for any consider-'ation whatever, from the rigour of this edict.' This very rigour defeated its own object: evasions naturally took place. The *rencontre* was devised, by which that which was in reality a preconcerted duel, had the semblance of an *accidental* meeting, with a quarrel growing as accidentally out of it. Still, Louis the XIV. has the credit of having done more than any other sovereign for the effectual repression of duelling. Under his feeble and reckless successors, it revived with characteristic licentiousness. Lauzun, St Evremont, and the Duc de Richelieu, were its worthy heroes. Even ladies followed their example; and la Marquise de Nêsle and la Contesse de Polignac actually fought with pistols for the *honour* of the possession of Richelieu! But the great heroine of the duel was Maussin, an opera singer, who, after taking lessons from one of her lovers, Serane, a celebrated fencing-master, succeeded in killing her three men, when she fled to Brussels, and became the mistress of the Elector of Bavaria.

In England, Elizabeth attacked duelling by restricting fencing schools; yet Sir Henry Upton, her ambassador at Paris, thus sturdily challenged the Duc de Guise:—

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'Forasmuch as lately in the lodgings of the Lord Dumogre, and in public elsewhere, impudently, indiscreetly, and overboldly, you spoke badly of my sovereign, whose sacred person here, in this country, I represent, to maintain, both by word and weapon, her honour, (which was never called into question among persons of honesty and virtue.) I say you have wickedly and maliciously lied in speaking so basely of my sovereign, and you shall do nothing else but lie whenever you dare to tax her honour. Moreover that her sacred person (being one of the most complete and virtuous princesses that ever lived in the world) ought not to be evil spoken of by the vile tongue of such a perfidious traitor to her land and country as you are; and, therefore, I do defy you and challenge your person to mine, with such manner of arms as you shall like or choose, be it either on horseback or on foot; nor would I have you to think any inequality of person between us, I being issued of as great a race and noble house as yourself, in assigning me an indifferent place. I will there maintain my words, and the lie which I gave and give you. If you consent not to meet me hereon, I will hold you, and cause you to be generally held, for the arrantest coward and most slanderous slave in France. I expect your immediate answer.'

Nothing came of Elizabeth's regulations; and in the following reign Bacon resolutely set his face against duelling, denouncing it 'as an affront to the law, as if there were two laws—one a kind of 'gown law, and the other a law of reputation, as they term it; so 'that Paul's and Westminster, the pulpit and the courts of justice, 'our year books and statute books, must give place to some French 'and Italian pamphlets.' He obtained a decree of the Star-Chamber against duels, and prosecuted and convicted persons concerned in them, punishing them by fine and imprisonment. The decree drawn up by himself, 'did utterly reject and condemn the opi-'nion that the private duel, in any person whatever, had any 'grounds of honour; as well because nothing can be honourable 'that is not lawful, and that it is no magnanimity or greatness 'of mind, but a swelling and tumour of the mind, whenever there 'faileth a right and sound judgment; as also, for that it was 'rather justly to be esteemed a weakness, and a conscience of 'small value in a man's self, to be dejected so with a word of 'trifling disgrace as to think there is no excuse of it but by the 'hazard of life; whereas true honour, in persons that know their 'own worth, is not of any such brittle substance, but of a more 'strong composition.' Bacon's object was to prevent duels by the moderate punishment of all the preliminary and provocatory steps—thus nipping them in the bud; which he added, 'is fuller 'of clemency and providence than suffering them to go on, and 'hanging men, with their wounds bleeding, as they did in France.' The result was, that duelling was comparatively little practised in England. Sir Walter Raleigh, one of the bravest of the

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brave, strongly condemned the practice, in a dissertation regarding it, in his 'History of the World.'

The wars of the League in France teemed with duels and assassinations; but our great civil struggle was comparatively unstained by them, although Charles I. set an evil example by consenting to the revival of the judicial combat on the impeachment of Ramsay by Lord Reay, and actually named the Earl of Lindsay Constable for the occasion; but happily the Marquis of Hamilton persuaded him to stay proceedings, and accommodated the matter. The great Protector too, following the example of Bacon, passed an ordinance subjecting all persons carrying a challenge to six months' imprisonment; and imposed fines on persons using provoking words or gestures; binding them over to good behaviour, and to make reparation according to the nature and quality of the offence. Whenever death ensued, it was to be treated as murder. But, with the Restoration, duelling set in with a flood-tide. True, Charles II. issued his proclamation of 1679, which amply acknowledges 'that duels were most frequent, and that the ut-'most rigour of the law would be exercised against them.' But Charles's practice and his proclamations were very different things. In fact, the same mania for duelling which, with its attendant licentiousness, had visited France in the preceding age, now fell on England. Pepys calls this prevalence of duelling 'a kind of emblem of the general complexion of the whole kingdom;' and in his most amusing Diary, relates the following characteristic duel between Sir Henry Bellasses and Mr Porter, in 1667:

'They two dined together, yesterday, in Sir Robert Carr's, where it seems the people drink very high, all that come. It happened that these two, the greatest friends in the world, were talking together, and Sir H. Bellasses talked a little louder than ordinary to Tom Porter, giving him some advice. Some of the people standing by said, 'What! are they quarrelling that they talk so high?' Sir H. Bellasses hearing it, said, 'No, I would have you know that I never quarrel, *but I strike;* take that as a rule of mine.' 'How!' said Tom Porter, 'strike! I would I could see the man in England that durst give me a blow?' With that Sir H. Bellasses did give him a box on the ear; and so they were going out to fight, but were hindered. And by and by Tom Porter went out, and meeting Dryden the poet told him of the business, and that he was resolved to fight Sir H. Bellasses presently; for he knew if they did not, they would be friends to-morrow, and then the blow would rest upon him; and he desires Dryden to let him have his boy to bring him notice which way Sir H. Bellasses goes. By and by he is informed that Sir H. Bellasses's coach was coming; so Tom Porter went down out of the coffee-room where he staid for the tidings, and stopped the coach, and bade Sir H. Bellasses come out. "Why," said he, "you will not hurt me coming

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out, will you?"—"No," says Tom Porter. So out he went, and they both drew, and fell to fight, some of their acquaintances by. They wounded one another; and Sir H. Bellasses so much, that it is feared he will die. He, finding himself severely wounded, called to Tom Porter, and kissed him, and bade him shift for himself. "For," says he, "Tom, thou hast hurt me, but I will make shift to stand on my legs till thou may'st withdraw, and the world not take notice of thee; for I would not have thee troubled for what thou hast done;" and then Tom Porter showed him how he was wounded too. [Bellasses survived only a few days, on which Pepys adds,] Here is a fine example! and Sir Henry a Parliament man too; and both of them such extraordinary friends. It is pretty to hear how the world talk of them, as a couple of fools that killed one another out of love.'

Even the Lord Chancellor was not safe. Lord Ossory called out Clarendon on a tariff question—a bill for the prohibition of the importation of Irish cattle. The Duke of Buckingham did not resign on the introduction of this bill, as the present Duke has done, but entered into a scuffle in the lobby of the House of Lords with a free-trading Lord Dorchester, who pulled out a handful of his Grace's hair, while the Duke retaliated by carrying off his lordship's periwig. But a blacker and fitter illustration of the morals and manners of those days is to be found in this Duke's duel with Lord Shrewsbury, for the seduction of his wife. They were attended by Captain Holman and Sir Jones Jenkins, Lord Bernard Howard and Sir John Talbot. The parties met at Barnes Elms, and the seconds as well as the principals engaged. Buckingham ran Lord Shrewsbury through the body. Sir John Talbot was severely wounded in both arms, Sir Jones Jenkins was left dead on the field, and the other seconds with Buckingham were slightly wounded. Meanwhile Lady Shrewsbury, in a page's dress, was holding Buckingham's horse in an adjoining thicket, in order to aid his escape should he kill her husband; and, according to the reports of the day, she passed that very night with him in the shirt stained with his own and her husband's blood. It is needless to add that Charles II., by proclamation, pardoned all parties concerned. Buckingham turned his wife out of doors; and he and Lady Shrewsbury plundered and dissipated all her son's estate. Deservedly did he end his infamous career 'in the worst inn's worst room!'

The mania spread to all ranks. Doctors met in consultation with drawn swords. Mead and Woodward fought under the gate of Gresham College. Woodward's foot slipped, and he fell. "Take your life," exclaimed Mead. "Any thing but your physic," replied Woodward. Dr Williams ran Dr Bennett through the body, after discharging a brace of pistols at his head; and the dying doctor, with the sword yet in his body,

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prayed to God for strength to avenge himself, and with one last effort stabbed his opponent to death. This was in open day, in front of their houses. Williams fell dead before he reached his own door, and Bennett survived only four hours. Ball-rooms, masquerades, the theatres, the open streets, the public walks, and the coffee-houses, became the constant scenes of strife and bloodshed. Covent-Garden and Lincoln's Inn Fields were the modern Chalk Farm and Wimbledon Common; and the streets rang all night with the clashing of swords, and the riots and outrages of drunken men of fashion—the *men of honour* of that day.

So it continued from the Restoration to the accession of George the Third. The 'Bucks,' the 'Mohawks,' the 'Hell Fires,' were the leaders of the ton. One of their favourite places of resort was a tavern near Somerset House, where they assembled on Sundays, with a loud band of music, during divine service; and their approved dish was what they blasphemously called a 'Holy Ghost pie.' Duels, affrays, bloodshed, are quite as much the natural result of such manners and morals, as tearing and killing are of the organic conformation of carnivorous animals. In 1717 the Foot-Guards were called out to put down an affray of these gentlemen at the Royal Chocolate House, growing out of a dispute at hazard, and in which three of them lost their lives. In 1720 a patrole of the Royal Horse-Guards charged a party of above a hundred of them who were rioting in Windmill Street. In 1691, Lord Mohun and Major Hill publicly waylaid and assassinated Montford, the player, in Norfolk Street; and as publicly attempted to carry off Mrs Bracegirdle by main force. In 1699, the same worthy Lord was tried for aiding and abetting the murder of Colonel Coote, after drinking a whole day and night with him and their companions at the Greyhound in the Strand; and in 1712 he lost his own life, and murdered, rather than killed, the Duke of Hamilton in a duel. Steele, too, after having written against duelling, and rebuked Thornhill, in the 'Spectator,' for having killed Sir Cholmondeley Deering, found himself compelled to fight a brother officer, whom he narrowly escaped killing; while Thornhill, two months later, was stabbed at Turnham Green by two men, who exclaimed, as they struck him, 'Remember Sir Cholmondeley Deering!'

It would be revolting to wade through the savage and insolent duels of those and later days. We willingly pass them by, and turn to the ameliorating and restricting process which once more revived with better laws and better government. The death of the Duke of Hamilton produced a strong feeling throughout the country; a bill against duelling was brought into Parliament,

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thrown out on the second reading; and the following year (1713) the Queen's speech pronounced, that 'the practice of duelling 'requires some speedy and effectual remedy;' but the bill was again thrown out. Better help came from a better source—amending morals; and for this certainly to no one individual, and scarcely to any one class, is the praise more justly due than to John Wesley, one of the most important men of his century. His preaching, his perseverance, his purity, and the persecutions which he and his followers underwent, created a church, and reacted on that from which he was separated, and by which he was reviled. Next in importance to Wesley's reformation, was the thunder-storm of the French Revolution. The one prepared better morals, the other broke down many of the old scaffoldings of class privileges and formal honour. It was a great step even the doing away with the wearing of swords; but a greater was the frightful proof which the French enormities gave of the utter insufficiency of the restraints of mere worldly honour, and abstract principles.

Still the fierce wars of the French Revolution kept up the fiercer passions; and the coarse habits of drunkenness and rioting which continued to disgrace English gentlemen, supplied plentiful employment for the pistol. It is no later than the beginning of this century that such a pest of society as the last Lord Camelford was allowed to override it, to bully and to fight whomsoever he chose, until, having killed Mr Patterson, he met his death from Best, whom he insisted on fighting, and whom his seconds permitted him to fight, although both he and they well knew, even avowed, that he was in the wrong. He fell, and was found weltering in the mud at the back of Little Holland House, deserted by his seconds. Best's end, too, was miserable. He died at the early age of forty-eight, completely worn out. Sorrow and remorse had done on him the work of years. In his closing hours he declared that the recollection of the duel, and its results, had embittered every moment of his life—that the whole scene was fresh in his memory as if it had happened yesterday—and that there were times when Lord Camelford seemed to stand before him, and gaze on him with an earnestness and tenacity that rendered life a burden. An Irish duel of those, or rather later days, will let us see how short a time, and what thin barriers, separate us from barbarism; and will throw some light too on old Tory notions of the right-divine of landlords, and of their methods of intimidation. In 1810, Mr Colclough and Mr Sheridan opposed Mr Alcock for the representation of the county of Wexford. Several tenants of a person supporting Mr Alcock declared that they should vote for Colclough and Sheridan. This was resented, and Mr

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Colclough was called upon to refuse their votes. He declared that he had in no manner canvassed them, and that he would not direct them how they should vote. He was answered, 'Receive their votes at your peril!' Before the opening of the next day's poll, the rival candidates were on the field to determine the tenant's right by the pistol. Many hundred persons assembled to witness the affair, among whom *were several magistrates.* The ground was marked, the crowd separated on either side, as their party feelings dictated—a dead silence and a pause ensued—the word was given—and Mr Colclough fell dead, shot through the heart; and, within two hours afterwards, his opponent, Mr Alcock, was returned *duly* elected! At the next assizes he was tried for murder before Baron Smith, who openly declared against a capital conviction; and the jury, without a moment's hesitation, pronounced a verdict of Not Guilty. The parties had been intimate friends, and Alcock, though acquitted, never recovered his self-composure; his intellect faded; and his sister, doubly wounded, went mad and died!

The cause, the crowd, the return, the trial, the judge, the verdict, and the melancholy results, are all truly descriptive of Ireland in those unhapy times;—times which there are even yet found persons hardy or ignorant enough to refer to, as the era of her peace and good government. A better example was exhibited in Scotland, where the parties in a silly duel in 1815 were fined five-and-twenty guineas each by the Sheriff, and the fines ordered to be applied to the benefit of the Lunatic Asylum, as the institution most appropriate to their proceedings. But this was the mere punishment of unauthorized intruders on the honours of duelling; for there, as elsewhere, for the privileged the law has been muzzled or defied, and public opinion has strongly supported the primitive wisdom of Gundebald. Few have dared to stand out against its anathema. Moore records a melancholy letter of a wretched father, written to his family the night before he fell in a duel; 'London, Wednesday night, Sept. 3, 1783—I 'commit my soul to Almighty God, in hopes of his mercy and 'pardon for the irreligious step I now, in compliance with the un-'warrantable custom of this wicked world, put myself under 'the necessity of taking.' Major Hillas, in 1815, when on the ground, to which he had been brought for his humane efforts to protect the shipwrecked, and on which one minute later he was lying a corpse, declared to the bystanders, 'I am sorry the mis-'taken laws of honour oblige me to come here to defend myself; 'and I declare to God I have no animosity to man or woman on 'the face of the earth.' Many, no doubt, have thought thus and done thus—seen the right, but dared not act up to it;

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and allowing for the infirmities of our nature, for the force of example and long-descended custom, the terror of shame, and the strength of our social ties and affections, we frankly own that they who rise superior to them are no common men—and we would be the last to throw the stone at those who have weakly, but, as the world thinks, honourably given way.

Another ameliorating process arose, strange to say, from duelling itself—from the passion for duelling which infected the political characters of the last century. There is scarcely a distinguished politician of the times of George III., who did not put his patriotism, his honour, or his truth, to the test of the pistol. Lord Talbot and Wilkes, Lord Shelburne and Colonel Fullarton, Lord Lauderdale and General Arnold, Townshend, Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, Wyndham, Canning, Tierney, Burdett, Brougham, Castlereagh, and the Duke of Wellington, are amongst the public men who have not refused the sanction of their names and example to the practice of thus adjourning a debate. There has been benefit as well as mischief in this. By the necessary publicity attending all the proceedings connected with a hostile meeting between such distinguished persons, the duel itself has become more serious and fair—a clear statement of the cause of offence has come to be required; a sanction has been afforded to explanations and apologies; and founded as these duels not unfrequently have been on public questions, all remaining traces of malice or revenge have been nearly obliterated. These are all palpable advantages, which have given a milder character to duelling;—on no occasion more modestly, bravely, and signally exemplified, than in the duel which the Duke of Wellington thought himself called upon to grant to Lord Winchilsea. But with these advantages there has been the attendant mischief of prolonging the practice by giving to it the sanction of such high names, and, by the mitigation of its fierceness, rendering it less repugnant to our better feelings. Still, it was a great advance to enforce the sanction of previous explanation, and to encourage the retractation of hasty or improper words. Hitherto there has been a foolish notion, and false pride, in considering it unbecoming to apologize or retract until the adversary's fire was received; but common sense and humanity are now beginning to discover, that there is more of true manliness in at once acknowledging an error, than in waiting to admit it at the pistol's mouth. This is a duty which cannot be too strongly impressed, and which, if properly enforced by those who undertake the responsible duty of Seconds, would greatly tend to the prevention of duels. It is to the honour of

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the younger public men of the day, that none of them of any note, or with very few exceptions, have been engaged in a duel. They have, amidst all the heat of the last twelve years' debates, preserved their honour, their courage, and their consciences unsullied, without this vulgar appeal.

Dr Mellingen has attempted to enumerate the duels which took place during the reign of George III.; but the list is manifestly incomplete, and probably does not embrace one-fourth part of those which actually occurred. Yet still it is a sad catalogue, and records the death of no less than sixty-nine individuals. For these flagrant offences, and this heavy loss of life, (murder in the eye of the law,) only eighteen trials took place, which ended in the conviction and punishment of only ten individuals; and of these two only were hanged, not really for duelling, but for foul fighting—that is, strictly speaking, for *not* fighting duels; and the other eight underwent short imprisonments. There is also given an additional account of some twenty-nine other remarkable duels which have occurred since the death of George III., and in which fourteen persons have perished. Upon the trials which ensued, in five cases out of six the parties were acquitted; and when convicted, their punishment has never exceeded twelve months' imprisonment, ordinarily it has been four or five months.

Such, briefly, has been the course, and such is the present state of duelling. We have seen it in its high and palmy days, when it was in fact the supreme arbiter of justice; when women and children, monks and churchmen, burghers and nobles, all brought their causes, civil, criminal, and ecclesiastical, to be decided by it; when the sword decided even the pretensions to office, and when all regarded its decisions with reverence. One age took from it its civil authority and title-deeds, and the rights of property were transferred to courts of law; another delivered traitors and murderers to their appointed judges; a third superseded the knightly right of redressing wrongs and rescuing the innocent; a fourth forbade even the privilege of the lists; but the single combat, although no longer countenanced by kings and courts, and though subjected even to nominal penalties, still met with real applause, and many a gallant won his mistress by the slaughter of his rival. But gradually this applause lessened, and causes and accusations, which had formerly justified a challenge, came to submit themselves to the arbitration of law, or to public opinion. Explanations were admitted, and society ceased to require, as a feather in the cap of a man of honour, that he had killed his man. Duelling then subsided,

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to become the unwelcome resource of the good and the brave; and the prized proceeding only of the bully, the gambler, and the profligate.

These are the general phases through which this singular custom has passed, under the modifying influences of advancing intelligence; and this last is now its general state throughout Europe, subject of course to certain variations, according to the manners, morals, and institutions of different communities. In several of the European states, the laws respecting duelling have undergone revision, and, by being rendered less severe, have become more effective; this has been the more easy, as duelling on the Continent occurs chiefly amongst military men, who are necessarily more subject to control. The only exception is France, where philosophers and journalists have, since the Restoration, sharpened their pens with their swords. In Austria, by a decree of 1803, the principals concerned in a duel are punished by imprisonment varying from one to five years; if either of the parties are wounded, the term is from five to ten years; and from ten to twenty if death ensues. The seconds also are subject to confinement, extending from one to five years. In Prussia, a like substitution of imprisonment or relegation to a fortress, has superseded the penalty of death, which is inflicted only in cases of foul fighting; or of those murderous duels in which one person necessarily must fall. The Prussian code is particularly severe with respect to the conduct of the seconds. In Belgium also, and Bavaria, reforms have taken place. But in England no effective change has been attempted, and the operation of the law has been, and continues utterly powerless: it denounces duelling as murder, and affixes the punishment of death to the principals and seconds, and subjects all persons challenging others to fight to fine and imprisonment. Within the last two hundred years, there have not been twenty convictions, nor more than three or four persons executed nominally for fighting duels, but really for *not* fighting according to the rules of duelling. A few persons have been convicted of manslaughter in duels, which have been marked by some peculiarly offensive circumstances; and some few of these have been subjected to one, two, three, and, at the utmost, twelve months' imprisonment; but the vast majority have been acquitted, or escaped untried. Practically speaking, it is not probable that the law has ever prevented a single duel from taking place; the utmost it can be supposed to have done, is to uphold *fair fighting;* and this, we think, public opinion, and the high honour of the parties generally concerned, would have secured without it.

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This is a mischievous anomaly. For it cannot but injure the public estimation of justice, that any one well-known law should be openly and constantly broken without shame and without punishment, and that too by one class only; for if ploughmen and shopkeepers took to imitating gentlemen, by shooting at each other, or determining their quarrels by practices which caused death, the law would speedily interfere. But as it now stands, magistrates, judges, and juries, are placed in a false and unseemly position; being tempted, since their moral sense revolts from the severity of the punishment, to make cob-web-quibbles and evasions of the law, the evidence, and their own oaths; and, amidst this quibbling, the bully, the quarrelsome, and the vicious, escape equally with the comparatively innocent; for the blind law, denouncing all as murderers, admits of no palliation—no discrimination of guilt. Even in cases of great atrocity, where the survivor has given the offence, where he has refused all compromise or apology, and borne himself savagely and haughtily throughout—still, thanks to our rigour, there grows up before his trial a feeling in his favour: stories of his boldness, of his services, of his contrition, of the distress of his wife and family, are circulated, till witnesses get out of the way, or give palliating evidence; the prosecution is gently, *humanely*, conducted; the defence is warm and impassioned; the judge declares that the offence 'is in 'direct contradiction to the laws both of God and man; and, 'therefore, the law has justly fixed to it the crime and pun-'ishment of murder;' but he also takes care to throw out some circumstances which, if the jury can satisfy their minds as to their relevancy, will alter the case; or some extenuating circumstances are supposed, which yet, they are told, must not alter their verdict; or some imaginary misnomer is discovered or prepared; or some witness refuses to give evidence, or loses his memory;—when the jury, well understanding what is meant, return a verdict of not guilty, or manslaughter coupled with a strong recommendation to mercy; and then the judge gently admonishes and gently punishes the prisoner, telling him, perhaps, 'that his conduct in the field was such as to 'leave no stain on his character.' Thus the offender, who, by his violence or his obstinacy, has outraged and defied the law, and brought home death with all its attendant misery and bereavement to fathers, mothers, and children, escapes with a mock trial, or some trifling imprisonment.

This is the result of unreasoning severity; of a severity too great even for a heinous offender, and infinitely too great for the parties implicated in ordinary duels. Lately the law has been

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slightly altered. By the 1st of Victoria, murder and the punishment of death are denounced, only when death or wounds dangerous to life have been inflicted, with an intent to commit murder; and felony, liable to transportation, has been substituted for 'whosoever unlawfully and maliciously shall shoot at any person, or shall, by drawing a trigger, attempt to discharge any kind 'of loaded arms at any person, or to do some other grievous 'bodily harm to such person.' This was probably meant as a sufficient relaxation; but transportation is still far too severe; and accordingly the penalty was not inflicted on the only occasion when it was attempted to be enforced.

Severity will not do. Do we therefore defend duelling? Far from it, as our observations must have shown. We do not believe that its benefits are at all comparable to its evils; society is strong enough and civilized enough to do without it now; it is no longer any safeguard to it: on the contrary, experience shows that the duel is frequently used as a means for stifling enquiry, for upholding the dissolute, and reinstating the guilty. It is a kind of moral regeneration, a whitewashing, a fresh start; and so many a knave has found it. It is contrary to all experience that duels have refined manners. Whenever and wherever duelling has most prevailed, then and there manners and morals have been most rude and most lax. Compare England under Elizabeth and Cromwell, with France under the League, Henry IV., and the Fronde; or reverse the picture, and place England under the latter Stuarts beside France under Louis XIV.; or change it again to France under the Regency and Louis XV.; and we shall find that as dissoluteness, and absence of all that comely self-control and consideration for the feelings of others, of all classes, which is the essence of good manners, rose or fell, so precisely did duelling flourish or decay. Where was the softening influence of the duel, and the point of honour, when they were at their height in France? Did they prevent the great Condé from slapping the face of the Comte des Rieux?—or the Duc de Beaufort, the Duc d'Orleans, and the Comte d'Harcourt, from getting drunk and picking pockets on the Pont Neuf under the statue of Henry IV.?—or did it deter the wits of Charles II. from riots and personal conflict; the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Dorchester from descending to fisticuffs in the lobby of the House of Lords?—or later still, did the Comte d'Artois lose caste for striking the Duchesse de Bourbon at a masked ball? On the contrary, when he had gone through the form, and the mere form of a rencontre with her husband, all was forgotten, and the last of the Condés was lost in admiration of the man who had wantonly struck a woman, and his wife, be-

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cause that man 'conferred on him the honour of allowing him to 'cross swords with him.'

Duelling did not prevent these outrages, which we have taken from among the highest personages as a sample of the whole; but it did, what is infinitely mischievous—it *excused* them. It was the gate through which the offender re-entered the pale of the society he had outraged. For in nine cases out of ten it is the man who has done the wrong, or who is substantially in the wrong, that seeks and profits by the duel: like the sheet of Shore's wife, it is his penance, but unlike hers it is not white, but blood-coloured. There is no people with whom duelling is so frequent, and so ferocious, as the Americans of the United States, and most especially of the southern and western States; and there is no class of a rank in life corresponding with them whose manners are so rude, and with whom the bowie-knife and Lynch law—stabbing and mob murder—are so frequent. And is the duel their corrector? Is it not rather the confederate of these self-willed and anti-social atrocities? They are evidences all alike of inefficient law, moral, legal, and divine. But without going higher, we stand on the plain matter-of-fact that duelling has not softened, and will not soften, manners. Advancing civilization has undoubtedly regulated duelling, and hence the error has arisen of substituting the effect for the cause, the softened duel for the subduing civilization; and as civilization spreads wider and deeper, incorporating within its influences the practical instruction of administered law, no doubt the day will come when duelling will be regarded as any other gross outrage which the law punishes, and society, the complement of law, condemns.

It is for these reasons that we desire to see an alteration and mitigation of the present law. Sully, on this very subject, speaking to Henry IV. said, 'that the excessive severity of the means of repres-'sion would be the source whence would arise the principal obstacles 'to their execution; for frequently the penalties which produce the 'greatest effect are those which do not call for remission.' He was quite right; no one now or then, however much he may deprecate duelling, can deliberately place the murderer and the duellist on the same level. Undoubtedly cases may be imagined in which very extenuating circumstances being placed to the account of the murderer, and every aggravation heaped on the duellist, the one may be made as black or blacker than the other. But this is neither a fair nor useful way of viewing the subject: substantially, and for all legal practical purposes, we may assume that the duellist, he who kills his adversary in what is called *fair fight*, is no murderer—is not guilty of murder in that sense in which public opinion and the spirit of our law now regard murder. It is most unjust,

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therefore, that he should be classed and tried, and it would be still more unjust that he should be punished, as a murderer; and so, thanks to this false classification and trial, he escapes altogether. So he ever will, and so he ought, until he is so classed and so tried that conviction and penalties may justly follow his offence. This point is so evident that it is idle to waste words on it.

That duelling should be checked, few we think will deny. Who is there that has fought a duel who does not regret it—repent it? Let any one ask whether it is right that he who maliciously or even wantonly provokes and triumphs in a fatal duel should escape as he now does, unpunished and almost unreproved. All our better and more sober feelings answer no; it is only legal impunity which restrains their expression and prevalence. We are no disciples of Hobbes; but it is idle to deny how much of public morals, and of just notions of right and wrong, depend on the administration of public law. How many offences are there which should touch strongly the conscience, but which public opinion still tolerates or approves, only because the law cannot or will not reach them?—and there are others which happily, since the law has reached them, have fallen into disrepute. It certainly would be infinitely better that public morals rested on higher sanctions than mere law—and to a considerable extent they do; but the penalties of the one Table are instant and obvious, those of the other remote and unseen; and therefore, too frequently, when the first fail or refuse to act, the second lose their force, and a spurious judgment, a compromise of public opinion, is formed—the conventional takes the place of the just. To remedy this is the object of all legislation, whose constant tendency should be, to bring the three great ruling influences, the civil, the social, and the divine, into harmony. This has gradually been advancing as to many things; and we think the time has come, when, with respect to duelling, the hitherto dead letter prohibition of the law might be exchanged for some *practical and approved penalty*, which would at once amend and strengthen public opinion. And certainly the time has come when a real and serious responsibility ought to be attached to the conduct of seconds; because, as most duels might be prevented by the prudence, temperance, and firmness of the seconds, they ought to suffer wherever they either obviously misuse, or heedlessly omit to use the means which their situation affords to effect an arrangement; or when they continue, by their presence, to sanction a meeting originating in unjustifiable and unwarrantable expressions or behaviour.

Beyond all doubt, fighting a duel is a breach of the peace. Let it then be so classed and so punished—each duel according to its

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special enormity; and let this enormity, together with the respective guilt of the several parties concerned, be tried by a jury, and decided by their verdict, as in the case of other offences. It will then be discovered how the quarrel arose out of which the duel grew; who gave the offence; what offers of apology, redress, or retractation were made; how they were met, why refused; and all those other circumstances which distinguish the case of a bully, or a professed and instructed duellist, from that of a forced defender of his honour. The result of these enquiries in presence of a judge and a jury would lead to that discrimination of guilt, and apportionment of punishment, without which no law can work well; and moreover true honour and true courage, thus sifted, would stand out in honest relief from the surreptitious qualities which too often fight under their mask. Friends and relatives also, when the punishment was no longer excessive, would come forward to assist to expose and convict those who had forced on the duel, or who had not done their utmost to prevent it.

It may be said that these are matters and questions of far too fine and delicate a texture to come before a jury, and to be duly appreciated by such a tribunal;—that the honour and sensibility of a gentleman would shrink from so matter-of-fact and threadbare a scrutiny. There may, at first sight, appear some ground for this objection, but time would or should remove it; for substantially it rests only on prejudice, and exclusive pretensions. In Libel this is not the case; and in the most delicate of all enquiries—in that wherein the outraged feelings are most tender, and wherein it is most desirable to spare them, and where publicity confers questionable benefits—in the honour of the marriage bed, stern law and public advantage have overruled; and the honour, the conduct, and domestic relations of the proudest, have been laid bare, investigated, and assessed in open court, at so many pounds, shillings, and pence; and morality has gained by it. For the vindication of the husband's honour is now almost entirely transferred from the sword to the law; truth and equity transpire; and the vices and neglect of the profligate are exposed and corrected by nominal damages and virtual defeat. So, too, in duels, the violent and provoking would be exposed and punished, the placable and injured protected; and generally the advantage of bringing common sense and common justice to bear upon quarrels, would come to be felt and acknowledged. At all events, the equal administration of the law would be vindicated: we should hear no more on this subject of one law for the rich and another for the poor: we should no longer have enacted the solemn farce of 'an unfortunate gentleman' tried for murder, with the certainty of his legal escape and

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of his moral guilt. All other classes of the community submit their quarrels, when they issue in assault, to the arbitration of the law; and when gentlemen choose to quarrel, and to commit breaches of the peace by fighting duels and endangering lives, they too must learn to submit to have their conduct and proceedings enquired into, and punished according to their misdeeds, and according to law. The time has gone by for Courts of Honour; they belonged to the days of exclusive privileges and exclusive classes. All who offend, must now bow their heads to one common law. Every class has naturally a self-centring aggressive principle, which aspires to override that of others, and which chafes under the restraint of general law. But it is the very object of law to bind together these discordant principles, by restraining their exclusive tendencies, and compelling each to submit its own overweening pretensions to the central intelligence which consults for the common good. It is this general submission to the one abstract authority which constitutes the essence and the perfection of the social state.

Following, therefore, the recommendation of Bacon, we are desirous of seeing an end put to that 'affront,' which duelling and the proceedings connected with it 'put upon our law;' and, following also his opinion, we believe it can be done only by a great *mitigation of severity*. The enactment of the 1st of Victoria has broken down, and justice cannot well afford such another mockery as Lord Cardigan's trial. Let us therefore not wait, as we usually do in England, for some revolting catastrophe before we apply a remedy. It is neither difficult nor uncalled-for: we have only to substitute, as has been done in Prussia and Austria, various degrees of imprisonment for the higher penalties of the law; and the law will then, in all probability, vindicate its authority. But it is needless to say more; we have already said enough to prove the evils of duelling, and the mischievous inefficiency of the law with respect to it; and we have therefore made out a case for amending that law. This can be done only by reconciling public opinion with its operation. It is useless to give way, on the one hand, to a high-flown horror of all duelling; and it would be cowardly, on the other, to yield implicitly to the notions of the mere men of the sword and pistol:—we must take things as we find them, and legislate for men and manners as they are, and not as they might be. And therefore, since death by duelling is not, judging from the opinions (gathered from the conduct) of judges and the verdicts of juries, viewed as murder, it is worse than useless to continue to declare it to be so by law. And again, since duelling has descended to us from time almost immemorial, and with

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practical impunity, if not applause, it would be vain to attempt suddenly to uproot that which has grown so long in our customs. All, therefore, that can fairly be done as society as yet exists, is to meet it with useful palliatives instead of impracticable prohibitions; to put it, in fact, under the eye and correction of the law; not so much to wage war with duelling itself, as with those who provoke and compel it; to seek out and punish the guilty, *the most guilty;* those who, by their unjustifiable words or deeds —who, by refusing all explanation or apology—or who, by dissuading others to offer or accept adjustment, evince that felonious malice which all the world would gladly see punished. There would be no difficulty in obtaining verdicts against such offenders, when it was known that no punishment more severe than a regulated imprisonment would follow conviction: no mawkish pity would then follow them to their prisons—no whitewashing congratulations mark their release. The law would inflict its penalty and leave its stain, and the duel and the duellist would be thus far rebuked. Further, we think the law might be improved by following its analogy in those cases where it awards damages as compensation for injuries. It is but just that he who has unlawfully disabled another, or taken his life—depriving him, if wounded, of many enjoyments, or, if killed, robbing a family of its support, a wife of her husband, the father of his child, and the state of his services—should be compelled to make compensation, according to his means and according to his guilt. And lastly, in support of prevention, fines, in addition to the present binding over to keep the peace, might justly be levied on those who were detected in overt attempts to break it.

These are all the penalties we would inflict. They may be thought slight, and, by their very slightness, to encourage the offence they are meant to repress; but we doubt whether any more severe could be enforced, and if we are right in this doubt, then, practically, they become the most severe. The great object is to bring the law into operation; and when once this has been done, when its wheels begin to move, its severity may, if necessary, be increased. At all events, the law as applied to duelling is worse than a dead letter: it is partial, blind, uncertain, revolting, inoperative; and should therefore be abrogated or amended.

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ART. V.—*Tour in Austrian Lombardy, Northern Tyrol, and Bavaria.* By JOHN BARROW. 8vo. London: 1841.

IT may truly be said that the field of discovery, by sea and land, has nearly been exhausted by the exertions of our adventurous countrymen, who, on the former element, have scarcely left unexplored any creek, or island, or even rock in the ocean; and, on the latter, our numerous tourists have hardly allowed a single nook of the Continent of Europe to escape their curiosity; yet naturalists of every description, and moralists of every shade, the poet and the painter, the classical scholar and the antiquary, the mere tourist in search of health or pleasure, may each still find room and scope enough to collect something for his little sketch; were it only to serve as a help to reminiscence, or an attempt to afford recreation to friends. Nor can few of them be accused of being niggardly in giving to the public whatever information they may have acquired, according to their several tastes and capacities. Much novelty, it is true, cannot now be expected, but objects may be seen and described in a new point of view, and correct impressions may sometimes be conveyed in the place of erroneous ones.

The little tour made by Mr Barrow is, what the title-page announces it to be, chiefly descriptive, and will be found a suitable companion to his excursions in the north of Europe;—it reminds us of his descriptions of the romantic scenery of Norway, so well according with that of the Tyrolese Alps, and of which we had occasion to speak favourably—as we now feel disposed to do with regard to the present volume; as well for the clearness and unpretending simplicity of the language, as from a conviction of its truth. Accuracy, indeed, can scarcely be doubted, where a note is taken at the moment that objects and incidents occur, and written out fair at the close of each day, which appears to be the practice of our author: the remarks and observations, therefore, made on the present tour, must be of considerable advantage to any one proceeding on the same route.

By steam and railroad, through Belgium and up the Rhine to Frankfort, and thence through the Rhenish provinces to Zurich, he arrived at this last place at the same hour almost with his friend Mr Frederick Graham, according to agreement made long before in London to meet there on a given day—the one from England, the other from a ramble in the Alps—a punctuality owing chiefly, as Mr Barrow says, to a nice calculation of time and distance by reliance on steam-power. Our travellers lost no time at this place, their intention being to cross

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the Alps into Lombardy. We shall also merely halt to give an instance of the manner in which Mr Barrow is in the habit of associating subjects, in themselves perhaps of minor importance. In ascending the double-turreted cathedral of Zurich, he casually observed, in the adjoining one, a crow's nest, which, he says, struck his fancy no otherwise than as connected with some vague association of church and crow, and bringing to remembrance Cowper's playful lines on the subject—

> 'There is a bird who, by his coat,
> And by the hoarseness of his note,
> Might be supposed a crow—
> A great frequenter of the church,
> Where, bishoplike, he finds a perch,
> And dormitory, too.'

In their passage up the Zurich-see, the sight of the Righi mountain brings to his mind the disappointment he felt on a former visit, when much younger, at not seeing that spectral appearance, or shadowy illusion, which operates so powerfully on the minds of the common people, and fills them with the same superstitious notions that are produced by the awful and portentous spectre of the Brocken, when the

> —— 'Cloud-shapen giant
> Bestrides the Hartz mountain.'

This natural phenomenon is briefly and correctly explained by Mr Barrow; as is also the deep-blue colour of the water of the lakes of Switzerland, from those of Constance and Geneva down to

> 'The *blue* rushing of the arrowy Rhone,'

changing that colour to a sea-green; 'according,' he supposes, 'as the rays of light are modified by the blue sky, the clouded 'atmosphere, the height and slope of the surrounding mountains, 'and the depth of the lake; for where it is shallow, and the 'bottom visible, the water is colourless, when even of the 'deepest blue, if taken up in a glass.'

Having proceeded on the line of the lakes, and arrived at Ragatz, the travellers continued on foot to the warm-baths of Pfeffers, declared to be 'one of the most extraordinary spots in 'all Switzerland,' and confirmed to be so by Mr Barrow, after having seen, as he tells us, a great portion of this country. The baths are situated at the bottom of a deep mountain-gap or chasm, with a frightful precipice on either side; or rather an almost perpendicular wall of rock, not less than six hundred feet high, while the impetuous torrent of the Tamina river roars over its rocky channel, about thirty feet below the surface on which the baths are built. A more dreary, desolate, and undesirable

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place could hardly be imagined than this for the reception and abode of the sick who may be sent thither, and which were not fewer than two hundred and fifty at this time, most of them exhibiting a gloomy and woful appearance. What must be the state of this den in winter, when it is reported that, even in the midst of summer, it is only visited by the sun's rays a few hours while near the meridian? The warm spring is higher up the chasm, and the water is conveyed from the cistern which receives it, in pipes to the pump-room; the temperature of the spring is about 96° of Fahrenheit. The only object that afforded our travellers the least gratification, was 'the view, on returning down this 'magnificent chasm, of the sharp-edged, snow-clad peaks of a 'bold mountain called Falknis, which, rising to the height of 'nearly eight thousand feet, and closing as it were the aperture, 'was truly grand; and the snowy summits, as the sun shone 'brilliantly upon them, stood out in beautiful relief against an 'azure sky.'

A short journey along the banks of this branch of the Rhine brought the travellers to Chur or Coire, (the *Curia Rhetorum,*) the capital of the Grisons, a curious old city of narrow lanes, whose houses of gable-ends, and overhanging upper stories, nearly approach each other; appearing to have undergone little change since the days when the canton was held by the Romans. The language of the Grisons is still in fact a *patois* of the Latin. The principal buildings are, an old irregular Gothic church of no particular order, and one that was called the Episcopal palace. In the former, it is pretended, are deposited the bones of a Saint Lucius, King of the Britons, (the Welsh.) Fox, in his 'Book 'of Martyrs,' has included one of that name, who made several bishops and erected many churches: one old writer mentions that of St. Peter, Cornhill, and also the cathedral of Colchester. He is supposed to have died about the time that the Roman Emperor Severus was in the possession of Great Britain. The Grisons having been a province of Rome, and Lucius being a surname of Severus, the story of the bones may have some reference to that emperor.

From Coire to the village of Reichenau is a pleasant, picturesque, and romantic drive up the valley of the Rhine; and near the spot is the confluence of the two branches, the Hinter-Rhein and the Vorder-Rhein—the former having its rise in the valley leading to the Pass of the Bernardin, the latter in a spur of the Alps near to St Gothard. Not far from this 'meeting of the 'waters' stands an old chateau, which was said to have formerly belonged to the Planta family. The attendant of our travellers having pointed it out as a place of some note, told a remarkable

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and interesting anecdote connected with it, which is fully corroborated by Murray in one of his Hand-Books. 'At the end of last 'century,' he says, 'a young man calling himself Chabot arrived 'here on foot, with a stick in his hand and a bundle on his back. 'He presented a letter of introduction to M. Jost, the head master 'of the school, in consequence of which he was appointed usher, 'and for eight months gave lessons in French, mathematics, and 'history. This forlorn stranger was no other than Louis Phi-'lippe, now King of the French, then Duc de Chartres, who had 'been forced, by the march of the French army, to quit Brem-'garten, and seek concealment here in the performance of the 'humble duties of a schoolmaster, and in that capacity made 'himself equally beloved by masters and pupils.'

From the humble and dependent situation of an usher in a Swiss country school, to the Royal occupation of the palace of the Tuilleries, must indeed have been a severe trial of human forbearance. 'It is to be hoped,' says Mr Barrow, 'that the change, 'though violent, enabled the Duc de Chartres, before he became 'the King of the French, to think and to say with another '(imaginary) banished duke, what our great poet of nature has 'put into the mouth of the latter—

> "—— Sweet are the uses of adversity,
> Which, like the toad, ugly and venomous,
> Wears yet a precious jewel in its head."'

And this jewel of adversity, thus suddenly transferred to a diadem, would appear not to have essentially changed the character of the man.

The road from Coire to Thusis is described as a charming drive. 'It led us through the valley of Hinter-Rhein, hemmed 'in by lofty mountains, whose summits were covered with 'snow.' The village of Thusis, with its church, at the head of the valley, is most romantically situated, the mountains on each side, a little beyond it, coming almost in close contact with each other.

'We were, in fact, about to enter a spot that may, perhaps, be considered among the most romantic of the many that occur in Switzerland —I allude to that magnificent gap, or gorge, in the mountains, along the sides of which has been constructed, with great labour and skill, a practicable road, known by the name of the *Via Mala*—not very appropriate now—as it is in reality a most excellent road; though the appearance would lead one to conclude it had once deserved the *bad* name it acquired, and has kept. It might then have been, and probably was, left nearly in a state of nature; it is now artificial, and certainly great art has been employed to make it what it is—a road hewn out of the almost perpendicular sides of one or other of the precipices of this most

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extraordinary rent—which looks like the splitting of a mountain for about five miles in length, and which is, probably, the most sublime and tremendous gulf that the whole Alpine region affords.'

The foaming torrent of the Hinter-Rhein, rolling and roaring over its rocky bed, at the depth of three or four hundred feet below the road, affords both to the eye and the ear a sublime object; while, above it, a perpendicular and frequently overhanging rocky precipice, of at least as many thousand feet, rises in fearful grandeur. The road itself is a mere shelf cut out of the rock, and in several places tunnelled through the solid projections. There are three bridges, of a single arch each, thrown across this gap. 'The second bridge,' says Mr Barrow, 'bestrides the chasm at a height not less than four 'hundred feet; and the position of it bears some resemblance 'to the old Devil's Bridge at the pass of St Gothard, when I 'saw it before the new one was erected, though the one in ques-'tion is five times the height of the Devil's Bridge.'

They were told by an eyewitness, that the inundations of 1834 tore up, and swept with the current, the remains of several houses and large trees, in such masses as nearly to block up the arches of the bridges, so that the water at the second bridge rose within a few feet of the top of the arch. Had the bridge given way, and a mass of water of four hundred feet in depth broken loose at once, carrying with it the floating debris of uprooted trees and the remnants of houses, the calamity that befell the valley of Martigny must have been repeated; but fortunately it gradually subsided. These two magnificent gorges of the Via Mala and Pfeffers, no doubt, owe their present existence to the gradually wearing away of the looser parts of their enclosing sides; and by repeated inundations, the materials of which, deposited on the plains in a double row of ridges, have formed those expanded valleys which are generally found at the mouths of such chasms.

Our travellers had now arrived at the magnificent mountain scenery branching out from the great chain of the Alps, amidst which is the secluded village of Splugen. This name is also given to the pass over the main chain they were about to ascend, and has recently been made the common route of communication between Austria, Switzerland, and Austrian Lombardy. The village is said to be about 4500 feet above the level of the sea; and the fir, the beech, and the larch forests, which had clothed the valleys and the sides of the mountains, began now to put on a rugged and scraggy appearance, and were soon reduced to a diminutive size. As they advanced into the snow, these trees wholly disappeared; but some pretty rhododendrons, campanu-

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las, and silenes were in full flower, on the verge of the snow; and these, with some tufts of grass, supplied the place of the pines, and shortly, in their turn, gave way to mosses and lichens, where the snow had left any rocky part of the ground bare. The distance, in a direct line, from the village to the crest of the pass is about five miles, and the ascent 2000 feet, making the whole elevation 6500 feet. What the height may be of the two cheeks of the pass, no idea could be formed, as the fog was too dense to see any thing. The crest is so narrow, that the descent may be said to commence on the other side at once. At a short distance below is situated the Austrian custom-house, dreary in the extreme. Here the passports were *visé'd*, and a dirty greasy mark from the oil-pot smeared upon them.

The descent on the Italian side is precipitous; but a newly-made road along the side of the valley now affords perfect ease and security, by zig-zags or meanderings, which did not exist at the time that Marshal Macdonald experienced those deplorable disasters that befell his army, when crossing the old Cardinello pass in the midst of winter, over frozen snow, with frequent avalanches hurling down fragments of rock and large masses of glaciers, which blocked up the passage, and destroyed a great number of his troops and horses. Mr Barrow thinks it must have been in this part of the Rhætian Alps that the Roman general Drusus carried over his army and subdued the Rhætians, (the Grisons,) for which he is complimented by Horace—

'Videre Rhætis bella sub Alpibus,
Drusum gerentem Vindelici.'

The post-house is a little below the Campo Dolcino, where four Italians were found sitting at a table, two on each side, with great vehemence playing at the game of *fingers* called *morra;* that is, one on each side throwing out simultaneously, from a clenched fist, a certain number of fingers, to be guessed at by his antagonist. The Romans must have left it as a legacy to the Italians; they called it *micare digitis;* and Cicero, speaking of it, observes, with much *naïveté*, that great confidence is necessary when you play at this game in the dark. But how did the Chinese get it? Their *Tsoi-moi* is in all respects the same. Signor Pollicinello, a great favourite with the Italians, is also supposed to be a gift of the Romans; at least the commentators of Horace consider—

'Nervis alienis mobile lignum,'

(which Francis translates—

'Thou thing of wood and wires by others play'd,')

to relate to their *marionettes.*

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Among the blocks and boulders are seen growing a vast abundance of Spanish chestnut trees in full vigour, entwining their roots among the rocky fragments, clothed with mosses and lichens, and forming a fine contrast with the dark glossy green of the chestnut leaves. The pretty and pleasing village of Chiavenna is situated in a small retired valley, where grapes and vines, figs, pears, and cherries, were at this time fully ripe and in abundance. The climate, of course, was wholly changed; but the dress of the inhabitants, whether male or female, was not yet Italianized. The small river meandering down the valley flows through the lake Riva into the Lago di Como. This beautiful lake, towards its southern extremity, is divided by the bold promontory of Bellagio into two branches, that on the western side having Como at its termination, and that on its eastern Lecco.

Mr Barrow gives a very lively picture of the enchanting shores of the western arm; the hills clothed with verdure to their very summits, among which are the spreading beech, the broad-leafed platanus, the poplar, and the cypress; and interspersed in these are convents and cottages, and handsome villas of men of rank and fortune, residents of Milan. In the town of Como there is little that is remarkable. An old Roman castle, on the crest of the hill behind it, is a prominent and picturesque object. Como is flanked on either side with woods and hills, on which the mulberry and olive prevail; and close to the town are citron-groves and myrtle hedges. The surrounding country is rich in cattle, affording abundance of butter, parmesan cheese, and flesh meat for the market. The cotton plant and the mulberry supply materials for the cotton and silk mills.

The road from Como to Milan, about twenty-five miles, is level and dusty, and the incessant chirping of the cicada in the hedgerows is represented as somewhat teasing; but the country is beautiful, and well-cultivated with various kinds of grain and maize, the latter being the principal food of the common people. The hedges are chiefly composed of mulberry-trees and acacias, in full flower, among which the white convolvulus, with its multitude of blossoms, creeps up to their very summits.

Milan contains a number of public buildings, of which the splendid cathedral is the most conspicuous; there are several other churches, chapels, convents, and schools, besides various charitable institutions, hospitals, and two public libraries. Mr Barrow gives an interesting account of the Duomo or Cathedral; but we must content ourselves with his general view of it.

'In point of magnitude and massive structure, it is not perhaps to be put in competition with St Paul's of London, or St Peter's of Rome; but in its florid Gothic architecture, its beautiful white marble, its mul-

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titude of pinnacles and statues, its exquisite carving and fretwork, it is, I believe, generally admitted to excel both. The grand entrance is one of the most imposing pieces of architecture to be met with any where. The balustrade of the roof is crowded with pinnacles, each pinnacle having its statue, the merits of which, placed at so great a height, are not to be judged of by the eye as seen from the ground. They are said to amount to many hundreds; indeed, every prominent point rising out of the building is surmounted by a statue. When seen from the top of the building, to which we ascended, they exhibited a *forest* of statues, containing, I should suppose, the whole catalogue of saints in Christendom, and something more. They pretend to say that, within and without the cathedral, there are not less than five thousand statues, great and small.'

Mr Eustace, who piqued himself on the accuracy of his measurement of buildings, has been found to exaggerate that of the Cathedral of Milan; but he has also been incorrect in his accusation of the French with regard to the fresco painting of the Last Supper, in the refectory of the convent of Dominicans, by Leonardi da Vinci. 'The people about,' says Mr Barrow, 'pretend that the French having made this room a sort of barrack or store for artillerymen, and also a place of confinement for prisoners, the picture was constantly shot at, and thus destroyed. I saw no signs of such being the case; several little patches had chipped off, evidently from the effect of damp.' But what says Mr Eustace—'The picture was used as a target for the soldiers to fire at! The heads were their favourite marks, and that of our Saviour in preference to others. Their impiety, though wanton, and to them unprofitable, was impotent, and may be passed over with contemptuous abhorrence; but their barbarism, in defacing a masterpiece which, though in decay, was still a model in the art, succeeded to the full extent even of their mischievous wishes, and has erased for ever one of the noblest specimens in the world.' Believing this to be slander, Mr Barrow applied to that excellent artist Mr Phillips, who kindly allowed him to look over his note-book, made in a tour in the year 1825. After regretting that time and accidents, and damp and repainting, had left but little of the original, he thus proceeds: 'It is but little,' says he, 'but fortunately the head of the Saviour is the most favoured, and though greatly decayed, enough remains to show the grandeur and even sublimity of form and fulness of expression which Da Vinci seems so fully to have conceived, as becoming that divine character. The expression is dignified, with meek submission; the tranquillity of a superhuman mind when conveying intelligence of the deepest and most awful import, impressed with a consciousness of the necessity and value of the great sacrifice he was about to make,

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'and the important object for which it was ordained.' What, then, becomes of Mr Eustace's charge against the French? Their generals, we know, carried off works of art wherever they could find them, but never, we believe, wantonly destroyed them. Mr Simond says—'an old woman residing on the spot 'told him, that when Bonaparte came to look at this picture, 'and found the room used as a prison for soldiers, he shrugged 'his shoulders, stamped his foot, ordered them out, and that a 'wooden partition should be built before the picture.'

The Brera library, containing about 200,000 volumes, annually increasing by a grant from the Austrian government, is an excellent institution, open daily except on Sundays, free admission, and the number of readers about one hundred and twenty on an average. The building contains also a collection of coins and medals, and the upper part is appropriated as an observatory. The Ambrosian library contains about 100,000 printed, and 4600 manuscript volumes. It was here that Maio made his valuable discovery of ancient manuscripts. In these libraries all ranks of different nations assemble; and it is so far from true that the Italians universally hate the Austrians, that the principal inhabitants of Milan send their sons to Vienna for their education; that Catholics and Protestants mingle freely together; and that the Austrian soldiers mix with the population.

The greatest ornaments of Milan were laid out and constructed by Napoleon—the Piazza d'Armi, the forum, and the circus or amphitheatre, communicating with each other. The first is a square of about 2000 feet each side. The amphitheatre, it is said, will contain 45,000 people, in which horse races, theatrical exhibitions, and games of various kinds are performed; the grand entrance to it is called the *Pulvinare.* Anciently the *pulvinarium* was a place for receiving the statues of the gods, but the Roman emperors ejected the deities to witness the Circensian games—*unde Augustus et tota Cæsarum domus ludos spectabant*—and why not Napoleon? The three places above mentioned are supposed to occupy about a sixth part of the city and suburbs. A beautiful white marble gate, named Arco del Pace, opens into the Place of Arms, surmounted in its centre by Victory drawn in a chariot; at the four corners, by four equestrian nymphs; and on the four sides are thirty-six bas-reliefs, exquisitely executed. This noble arch was planned, but not executed, by Napoleon, as a monument to celebrate the conquest of Italy.

Our travellers returned along the eastern shore of the Lake Como, over a recently constructed road, described as 'a work of 'immense labour and consummate skill;' made, in fact, by

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cutting down and levelling the margin of the mountain, and where the masses projected into the lake, boring or blasting galleries; the whole length of which, in the distance of twenty miles, Mr Barrow estimates at 3000 feet.

On leaving the lake, the travellers proceeded up the Valteline, a valley about fifty miles in length, bordered by two mountainous branches of the Alps, with the rapid and destructive river Adda flowing down it. Towards the upper part of the valley is the town and baths of Bormio, near the foot of the pass of the Stelvio, at an elevation of from 4000 to 5000 feet above the level of the sea; 'the highest elevation, I believe,' says Mr Barrow, 'of any town in Europe.' The height of the pass is variously stated. Mr Brockendon says it is the highest in the world traversable for carriages, being 2417 feet higher than the crest of the passage over Mont Cenis. Now, as the crest of Cenis is 6773 feet, add 2417, and we have 9190 feet for the highest point of the Stelvio pass.

'The view that now bursts upon the sight on reaching the summit of the pass, is superior to that of any Alpine scenery I have witnessed—the Simplon, the St Gothard, the Splugen, bearing no comparison with it. It is a view so vast and comprehensive, and of objects so stupendous, as to impress on the mind of the observer a feeling of reverence and awe, and perhaps of humiliation also, to find himself, a mere atom in the creation, surrounded by some of the most sublime among the varied and manifold scenes which the hand of Nature has supplied for the contemplation of man.

"All that expands the spirit, yet appals,
Gather around these summits, as to show
How earth may pierce to heaven, yet leave vain man below."

'A succession of peaked rocks, rising one above another as far as the eye can reach, whose dark masses are seen protruding from the pure white glittering snow, and the frowning glaciers suspended from their sides, the varied hues which clouds and sunshine alternately impart, the magnificent mountain of the Ortler-spitz towering above all the rest, and crowning the head of the valley with its peaked summit, rising to a height of not less than 14,400 feet above the level of the sea—all these grouped together in one cluster as it were—present to the mind of the spectator a picture of grandeur and sublimity that no time can efface, and no description, either with pen or pencil, convey.'

After a long descent, over numerous zig-zags and covered galleries, the hamlet of Trefoi, with its little church, makes its appearance, leaving the traveller in doubt whether most to admire or deplore its elevated and lonely position—embosomed, as it were, amid eternal snows, and in the never-ceasing presence of two huge glaciers sloping down the sides of the gigantic Ortler-spitz,

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with only a deep and narrow ravine between them and the village.

On crossing the Stelvio we enter the Northern Tyrol, and proceed to its capital, Innsbruck, over a fine road, bordered by the rapid Inn, flowing down a beautiful and fertile valley, smiling with numerous towns and villages on either side. We are now in the very heart of the great body of the Alps, rising abruptly from the skirts of the valley in sublime grandeur; their varied features of rock and forest towering up the steep ascent, even to their snowy pinnacles; while gleams and glooms from sunshine and cloud, are seen to play alternately on their chequered sides. Innsbruck is embosomed in a recess of these noble mountains, which are here flanked by rich and picturesque hills. It is an ancient city, chiefly made up of one long wide street, in which are numerous churches and chapels, with other public buildings; and its population is reckoned at from twelve to thirteen thousand souls.

When a stranger enters the Franciscan church, his astonishment is extreme on beholding, in the central aisle, two rows of gigantic bronze statues, above seven feet high, and mostly in armour; and between the rows a noble sarcophagus of marble, bearing on its surface a large bronze figure kneeling. The statues consist of fourteen on each side of the tomb, and are said to have been cast by a native Tyrolese artist, of the name of Löffler, in the early part of the sixteenth century. Among them are eight females. The greater part consists of persons connected with the Maximilian family; but at the head of one of the rows stands old Clovis of France, and just below him, Arthur, called King of Britain—perhaps he of the Silures; but Addison suggests he might be meant for Arthur Prince of Wales, son of Henry VII. Whoever he was intended for, Mr Barrow says, like a true Englishman, he was the best *set up* and the most symmetrical figure in the whole group.

But the tomb is the most attractive object. It is of white Carrara marble, thirteen feet long, and about six high. On the sides and ends are twenty-four bas-reliefs in as many compartments, of very superior workmanship—pictures possessing all the qualities of a finished painting, wanting only that of colour. They are mostly historical subjects, representing the events of the life of Maximilian.

'The skill exhibited in the composition of these medallions is admirable; the figures of men and horses are exquisitely beautiful; the latter absolutely in motion, and all their equipments minutely detailed and brought out. I was particularly struck with that which represents the

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procession of the Princess Margaret on her return from the Court of France to the palace of Maximilian. In this group the horses, the trappings, their riders and their dresses, had the appearance of a picture taken from the life, and all as if in motion.'

These exquisite specimens of sculpture are the work of Alexander Colin, a native of Malines, whose name, says Mr Barrow, is scarcely to be found in any of the historical or biographical accounts of painters or sculptors. Besides these, there are numerous other beautiful pieces of sculpture from the same artist in Innsbruck, and also in Vienna; yet the name of such an artist has never met a favourable notice, except, as Mr Barrow says, 'from 'passing travellers like myself.'—'I have looked in vain for the 'name of Colin in Walpole, Bryan, Ottley, Winkleman, Fuseli. 'In Vasari not a word is to be found in the whole sixteen vo-'lumes; or in Cicognara, or Lanzi, or other Italian writers that 'I have consulted. Even Descamps, who gives an account of 'the Netherland artists, and of those exquisite carvings in wood 'that adorn the churches, and pulpits in particular, in Belgium, 'is silent as to Colin.' It would appear from a German work now in progress by Dr Nagler, that when a boy he was put out to learn the trade of a stone-mason; and being in the habit of seeing works of art, he used to make models of them in wax or plaster—then to cut them in wood, to bring out the sharp points—then to paint them on canvass—and lastly, to sculpture them on stone. Mr Barrow enumerates several of his works, and says, 'I have been 'thus particular in my account of this neglected artist, in the 'hope that, should this little book fall into the hands of some of 'our travelling artists in Germany and Italy, they will not over-'look the Valley of the Inn, nor deem the name of Colin un-'worthy of a place among the lives of the artists.'

There are several other interesting monuments in this church; but we shall only mention one, the statue of Hofer, which surmounts his tomb—his remains being conveyed hither, in grateful remembrance of his services, by the late Emperor of Austria, and in deference to the feelings of the whole people of the Tyrol.

Of the character of these brave mountaineers, and their undeviating devotion to their beloved country, the historical sketch which Mr Barrow has given of the unprovoked invasion of their territory by the combined forces of France, Bavaria, and Saxony, and the repeated defeats and expulsion of the invading forces, affords a spirit-stirring picture, the remembrance of which must remain indelibly stamped on the mind of every Tyrolese now living, or yet to be born. The public testimonial given by a prisoner, a Saxon colonel, speaks of their devotion and irresistible impetuosity.

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He and three hundred of his men had been spared by calling out for quarter; and he says, 'when all lay dead around, and the victory was complete, the Tyrolese, as if moved by one impulse, fell upon their knees, and poured forth the emotion of their hearts in prayer, under the canopy of heaven—a scene so awfully solemn, that it will ever be present to my remembrance. I joined in the devotion, and never in my life did I pray more fervently.' Indeed, a strong religious feeling, and a sense of reverential duty to their Creator, pervade the whole Tyrolese nation. As soon as the vesper bell has tolled, every family assembles for the performance of evening prayer; and then may be heard, in passing the streets of a town or village, the chanting of sacred music, and the low murmurs of the congregated members.

The ancient and romantic city and fortress of Salzburg, the capital of a circle of Upper Austria, stands at the extreme point of the Norican Alps, and overlooks the plains of Bavaria. Eight or ten miles to the southward, along the valley and river of the Salza, is the mountain Deurenberg, in the bosom of which are worked the ancient salt-mines of Hallein, said to have been in constant operation from four to five hundred years. As might be expected, the whole interior of the mountain at this time may be said to resemble a honeycomb—a series of stages or floors, of galleries and cells, with intermediate rocky partitions, from top to bottom. The usual entrance for strangers is by a sloping shaft or adit, from the top of the mountain nearly. The visiter has to slide down this adit, in an angle of about 45°, with his thighs on two parallel poles, the rock close to his head, and on both sides of him. He comes to the first stage, where there is a long gallery; and on each side of this are cells, each just large enough to allow one man to work; and out of these, right and left, proceed others of the same kind. 'At the end of each,' says Mr Barrow, 'was a solitary miner at work, with his glimmering light and a kind of pick-axe, stripped perfectly naked as to the upper part of his body, and nothing below but his trousers.' The materials dug out are a sort of clay mixed with crystals of salt, which, when a sufficient quantity is accumulated in the cell, are closed or built up; water, which is at command throughout the mountain, is then let in upon them; and when the saline particles are dissolved, the impregnated water is let off through a pipe, and received, in the lower part of the mountain, in a large reservoir or lake, from which it is conveyed along an adit to the shallow iron salt-pans, where the salt is crystallized and packed into casks for the markets of Austria and Bavaria. These receiving lakes, with their accompaniments, are curious: one of them is well described by Mr Barrow, to whom we must refer our readers.

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Our limits will not allow us to dwell long on Munich, the capital of Bavaria—a city that, within the last thirty years, from being a small irregular crowded assemblage of old and indifferent buildings, with few exceptions, has risen to that point of eminence which may fairly entitle it to vie with any other of equal magnitude in Europe. It abounds with splendid institutions of every kind for the encouragement of the fine arts, of science, literature, and natural history; with new and elegant buildings admirably adapted for their reception—some for pictures, some for statues—others for mathematical, astronomical, and philosophical instruments; a library that reckons about 500,000 volumes; a picture gallery, to which has been given the pedantic Greek name of *Pinakothek*, (painting repository,) which might have better suited Otho's repository at Athens, if he has one. Another noble building is appropriated to the reception of statues and various marbles of antiquity, called the *Glyptothek*, (repository of sculpture.) Both these buildings are divided into numerous chambers or compartments, for each of which is a well-arranged catalogue. The halls or rooms of the former contain 596, chiefly large, and the side cabinets 673 small, pictures—altogether, 1269—mostly of the best masters of the different schools. The twelve halls of ancient marbles have each their appropriate specimens. Those of the Egina hall, containing the marbles discovered by our countrymen Cockerell and Forester, are enough to make an Englishman blush for the manner in which they were allowed to pass out of our possession.

Nothing can excel in brilliancy and beauty of decoration the numerous apartments, public and private, of the royal palace. The walls of the state apartments on the ground floor are painted in fresco, with a series of subjects taken from a national romance or epic. The walls and ceilings of the king's apartments contain subjects from the Greek poets, commencing with Hesiod and Homer, and ending with the last of the Greek tragedians and lyric poets. The queen's apartments are superbly elegant; and the throne-room, which is also her drawing-room, is really magnificent. In many of the windows, and in those of the churches, are subjects in painted or stained glass—the brilliancy of which is considered much superior to any of the specimens of this ancient art that have been discovered.

If it be asked what new impulse has, in so short a period, converted an old and neglected city into one of splendour and celebrity—the answer is easy;—the taste, the energy, and the liberality of the present King, Charles Augustus Lewis, has done this. As Prince-Royal, out of his private funds, he commenced these improvements; and, as King, has continued and superin-

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tended their execution with the same zeal and indefatigable perseverance as in his more youthful days; and thus Munich was rapidly becoming what Florence once was—'the seat of learning 'and literature, the school for the fine arts and liberal profes-'sions, the resort of the scholar, the painter, the sculptor, and 'the architect, from every part of the continent.' But, alas! for frail human nature! Three short years are said to have produced a lamentable change in the character and conduct of King Lewis. An affectionate and paternal embrace bestowed on him by the old man of the Vatican, has, as it were, consumed his energies, and induced a paralysis of all his faculties—leaving pictures, statues, and love of the fine arts, for priestly discipline, prayers, and prostrations.

We have here but slightly skimmed over a small portion of Mr Barrow's volume; but we can safely recommend it as an useful companion to any one inclined to a summer's excursion over the same delightful and diversified ground which he has trodden, and as good light reading to those who travel not at all.

ART. VI.—1. *The Twenty-Third Report of the Society for the Suppression of Mendicity.* London: 1841.

2. *An Exposure of the various Impositions daily practised by Vagrants of every Description.* 8vo. Birmingham: 1841.

MENDICITY has become an evil of frightful magnitude in every portion of the British empire; but its increase in *England* is pregnant with mighty mischiefs and untold dangers. In this paper we intend to limit ourselves to a *descriptive* account of that evil, and its various aspects, leaving the remedies to the consideration of those whose duty it is to provide them.

Pauperism and mendicity, in ordinary times, must not, and should not be confounded. The law in England provides for pauperism, viz. for want, for sickness, for infirmity, for destitution. But inasmuch as the law of England is generous and paternal, in making such a provision for all who are *really* entitled to its protection, it visits with summary and severe punishment the systematic and persevering mendicant. Does it, however, do this effectually and permanently? Let us examine the facts of the case, and see to what is to be attributed the great increase of mendicity in England; notwithstanding the application of the workhouse system on the one hand, and the pro-

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visions of the vagrant act on the other. For the information of those who may not be accurately acquainted with either 'the 'workhouse system,' or the vagrant act, we shall here briefly state their objects.' The first is that system established by the English Poor Law Commissioners, under the amended poor laws, of requiring all who apply for parochial relief to give the best evidence they can supply of their destitution, by leaving their cottages and houses, and becoming inmates of the workhouse, or, in other words, of *the Union.* The vagrant act was passed to prevent the existence of idle and disorderly persons, vagabonds, and incorrigible rogues. To the clauses and penalties of this act we shall refer hereafter.

Mendicity is of ancient date in England. With its history, and the history of the laws which have been passed for its repression, we are not, nor are our readers, unfamiliar. But there are two general descriptions of mendicity, besides the various sectional differences into which these general descriptions are divided. The FIRST is the mendicity which is the offspring of criminal habits, bad education, indolence, and crime. The SECOND is the mendicity which is momentary, which is the accompaniment of a state of transition from one condition of life or occupation to another, or which is the result of sudden accidents, and, for the time, overwhelming personal disasters.

Thus the drunkard—the offspring of mendicants taught to beg, and prohibited from labour—the man who prefers begging to digging or to spinning—he who chooses a barn for his bedroom, and the shelter of a hedge for his dwelling-place, and who will not rise up early and go late to rest, work with his hands, and support, by honesty and industry, himself and his family—all belong to those whose mendicity is an offence against morals, civilization, the laws of man and of heaven.

But this is not the case with the *second* class; and it is to these that we must draw the attention, more especially, of those who take a lively and deep interest in the movements, progress, and decline of society. We will supply some examples of the sort of mendicity which we mean to point out by our *second* division.

First example.—A woman whose husband was a weaver in Spitalfields, and who earned scarcely sufficient wages to provide himself, his wife, and three children, with potatoes, weak tea, and cold water, is suddenly deprived by death of him on whose labour she relied for her sustenance. She pawns all disposable articles to pay for the modest funeral of her husband, rather than that he should be buried at the parish expense. One of her children is taken ill, and she is obliged to nurse it. The other two are too

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young to labour. Her rent gets in arrear. Her articles of furniture are seized and sold. She is left without means of subsistence; and although the chimney-place and the emptied room are there at her service for a few days more, yet she has no fuel for the one and no bed for the other. 'She should go to the Union,' (*i.e.* she should become an inmate of the building erected in her neighbourhood by the Poor-Law Commissioners, for the residence of all the poor in the surrounding parishes who shall apply for parochial relief,) says almost every one who hears of such a case; and there seems to be no other mode of relief for her. But she has thought of another. In the Union it is necessary for the health, happiness, and morals of the whole of its inmates, that there should be a classification; and she must share the fate of those whose destitution renders it necessary to seek a shelter in the workhouse. This does not accord with that hidden, but active principle of her nature which attaches her to her offspring; and she decides that she will beg—not habitually, not for life, not as a permanent means of existence, but to support herself and her children until she shall reach her own family and friends, perhaps some hundreds of miles removed, and where she will obtain employment in the fields, or on the roads; in houses as a servant, or at a washing-tub as a laundress. The wide world is before her; and if her case could be really known, in all its humiliation, truthfulness, and sorrow, many a hand would be willingly stretched out to add to her means of support, and diminish her load of care. This woman leaves the metropolis, begs her way to some forty or fifty miles from London, asks alms in the presence of a police-officer, is conducted before a magistrate, examined, reprimanded, and allowed, however, to pursue her course on her promising she will beg no more. What a wretched sarcasm, and what deliberate and official lying! How can the woman and her children exist but by begging, until they arrive at the anticipated termination of her journey? There, something in the form of a home will once more greet her, though her lineaments, from want and fatigue, will scarcely be recognizable. But until that period she is a mendicant, and her children are beggar's children. At last she arrives at her own native place; and from that moment the greatest of her sorrows, if she had not lost her husband, would have ceased. This is no imaginary case. It is that of thousands every year in England.

Second example.—A father, with his wife and six children, inhabits a small hovel as an agricultural labourer in Buckinghamshire. One night his cottage is burned down, and every article he has in the world is consumed. Scarcely have

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the sorrowing family an adequate quantity of clothes to cover their nakedness. The landlord lays all the blame to the labourer; and, as the cottage was not insured, is furious with his pauper tenant. The fact was that the roof was a thatched one, and, somehow or other, it took fire; perhaps the little chimney was foul, and lighted soot fell upon the straw. 'They should go to the 'Union!' every one will exclaim on hearing of their sorrows; but they think far differently. Some of their neighbours take them in for the moment; a few second-hand clothes are procured here and there; and then they set about begging from house to house for the means of purchasing furniture for another hovel, and thus continuing to be a family of independent labourers. This is a kind of case well known in the English agricultural districts; but for a certain time the sufferers live by mendicity.

Third example.—A man and his wife are thrown out of employment in a manufactory, by the failure of their employers. They have not long been there. They have not had time to put any money into the savings' bank, and their dwelling is as yet very imperfectly furnished. What are they to do? The failure of this manufacturer has thrown hundreds out of employment, and occupation is not to be obtained in the neighbourhood. What is to be done in such a case as this? 'Oh, that's a fit case for the Union!' most persons would answer. But the man and his wife are not of the same opinion. They sell their goods, pay their rent, discharge the little debts they owe, and have from fifteen shillings to a pound remaining. They set out to seek for work—honestly and truly to do so; and they go from village to village, and town to town, and manufactory to manufactory, to obtain work. They succeed; but before they have done so, not only have they spent their fifteen shillings or a sovereign, but have levied upon public charity. They have been mendicants. There are thousands of such cases every year; and worse than this, where the man and his wife have five and six children.

Fourth example.—A mechanic meets with a sad accident. It lames him seriously. He has been economical; but his sickness is long, and all his savings' bank money is expended. He is not a member of a friendly society; he relied on the savings' bank. The pawnbroker is next resorted to. Every article which can be taken to that receptacle of the sad proofs of poverty and destitution, is converted into money at ruinous interest, until at last there is nothing left but—'the Union,' says almost every reader. No—but to beg; for the mechanic will not go to the union. He will not associate with the idle, the profligate, and the profane; and he prefers asking charity, for the moment, till his health is

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restored, to becoming the habitant of the district workhouse. So his wife and his children ask for alms from house to house, and become, for the time being, mendicants.

These examples of *temporary* or *occasional* mendicancy will suffice. We have enquired much into the miseries of the English poor, and we know them well. It would have been easy to have chosen cases far more disastrous and gloomy, but these are sufficient to illustrate our meaning. There is an infinity of such cases as these.

Now, then, all these parties are mendicants, and on the high-roads of England may be met a vast number—much greater than our readers imagine—of mendicants for the moment, for the month, or for the week—who are yet included in the general sweeping anathema of beggars.

But there are other classes of occasional beggars, who are not so permanently, and do not belong to the tribes of vagrants by education and profession.

In the agricultural counties of the south there are the Irish field labourers, who emigrate from their own country for the English hay harvest, then for the pea harvest, then for the grain and hop harvests, and who, between the periods of these harvests, live principally by mendicity. Their harvest money they often save to take back with them to Ireland, when all the English harvests are over; but in the mean time they must live—and they live by begging. In fine weather they sleep in barns, or under such hedges as shelter them from the wind and rain; and sometimes, when they have been successful in their mendicant applications, they obtain an occasional night's lodgings in those public-houses and private lodgings appropriated to the reception of beggars.

There is another class also of occasional Irish beggars in England—those who have been disappointed in obtaining the employment they were assured was waiting for them in the manufacturing districts of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and generally in the north of that country. The Irish are an excitable people. They love to feast on golden visions, and are not easily to be convinced that labour is not in great demand in their sister country. So to England they repair; but thousands every year meet with vast and heartbreaking disappointments, and, in default of obtaining work, they take to begging; and of all the beggars in England, none are so resolute, so importunate, and so successful, as Irish beggars. They will weep, laugh, scold, run, jump, sing, walk without shoes, and almost without clothes, sleep any where, eat any thing, and still neither pine nor die. They are really astonishing, and almost irresis-

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tible. They are always 'going to go back to Ireland,' whether you find them in the lovely scenery of Buckinghamshire or Berkshire, or strolling through the weald of Kent or the wilds of Sussex, or visiting the southern coast with Dover, Hythe, Rye, Hastings, St Leonard's, Brighton, and other sea-bathing places on its shores. Go back at last they do, many of them, to winter in the Irish Unions.

Unhappily for England, a still larger class than those are now mendicants; much larger, indeed;—and these are the English *agricultural poor*.

It is a deplorable fact that the English agricultural poor, who have large families of very young children, live much better as beggars than they do as labourers. Eight or nine shillings per week, will not support a man with a wife and five children. They find, by experience, that it will not; for a woman who has five or even four children, all under six years of age, cannot, even in fine weather, leave her home; and in wet and wintry weather there is no work to be obtained. When the eldest of the children of a family of that class can keep her younger sisters and brothers in tolerable order, the wages of the labourer are augmented by the earnings of his wife, and to exist is just possible. But existence is impossible in those English agricultural districts where the average rate of wages is under ten shillings; and yet there are many such districts, and multitudes of agricultural labourers are thus becoming mendicants! For there is no mystery in the poor man's housekeeping or expenditure. He may pay his rent to a very kind landlord, indeed, at harvest time. This *is* just possible; and the wages of harvest, of himself and wife, may go much towards that item of his disbursements. In like manner, he may wear old, patched, and very shabby clothing, and himself and family may absolutely refuse to follow the counsels of their vicar or curate to attend at church in spite of their ragged garments; and they may all hide themselves on the only holyday in the week, ashamed of confessing their extreme poverty. This is the case, and we know it to be such, in a great majority of the purely agricultural districts in England. The poor will not attend the temple of God in tattered garments, and out of their scanty wages they cannot afford even shoes for their children. And then as to firing; the children may be put to bed early in winter afternoons, four and five in a small bed, as soon as their stomachs have been warmed with a sort of hot slop of water and brown sugar, with the mere rinsings of a milk-pot; and may sleep from five o'clock in the afternoon till seven or eight next morning. But at last the morning comes, and craving appetites with it, and many mouths to feed, and many

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stomachs to be satisfied, and either the loaf, rice, or potatoes must be provided.

In fact, the stomachs of these five children must be provided with food—and for that food there is no credit. How can there be? The butcher, the baker, the grocer, and the general dealer, must make good their payments to the grazier, the miller, and the wholesale houses; and if they gave credit to the husbandman, ruin must soon come upon themselves. Indeed, since the operation of the new poor laws in England, all credit to the working classes has been withdrawn. Under the old system, the pauperized labourer received so much relief in money, that for the purpose of securing his custom credit would be given, but at prices most exorbitant and injurious. But now, when relief is given *in kind*, and when most of those who used to lay out their parochial money at the general dealer's are subjected to the workhouse system, and receive no out-door relief at all, credit is quite out of the question. We assert this distinctly, because it is undeniable that, in most of the purely agricultural districts, the wages of the labourer are not adequate to his independent existence. The food of each day must be bought and paid for; and it is very easy to calculate that this cannot be done, when the wages of an agricultural labourer, with a family, are under fifteen shillings per week. Yet, in nearly two-thirds of these districts, the wages average scarcely more than the moiety of that sum. A gallon of flour makes 8 lbs. of bread. How many pounds of bread will a father, mother, and four children, require in a week? The gallon of flour costs one shilling and sixpence. Two grown people cannot eat less when they have no meat, no beer, no milk, and no fish—but simply bread, suet puddings, potatoes, and a small portion of bacon as a relish, from Sunday morning to Saturday night—than one pound each per diem, or 14 lbs. per week. Four children will require the same quantity, making a total of 28 lbs. of bread per week. To make this 28 lbs. of bread, three and a half gallons of flour will be required, which, at 1s. 6d. per gallon, amounts to 5s. 3d. But then the bread must be baked—count nothing for the labour, nothing for the salt, nothing for the yeast—still the fagots *must* be paid for; and the baking in the cheapest manner, *i. e.* by two or more families joining together in the expense of the oven, will cost for three and a half gallons of bread, sixpence. Thus the bread alone for a man, his wife, and four children, for one week, will be five shillings and ninepence.

Supposing, then, that the rent of the labourer is paid with the wife's earnings in the field in fine weather; and supposing the

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ragged clothes of this family, and the firing in winter, to be paid with the extra wages and gleanings of harvest time; still we see, that out of the labourer's earnings he has to pay, in ready money each week for second bread, the sum of five shillings and ninepence. A little tea, sugar, butter, cheese, with salted or red herrings, consume the rest of his wages; and at length he becomes exhausted, weak, an easy prey to ague and fever, and he either rushes into the workhouse or becomes a beggar.

It is true, that others, when they find that bread runs away with so much of their money, resort to another kind of diet. They resort to gruel, to potatoes, to suet and rice puddings, and eat not more than half the quantity of bread we have just mentioned in the course of the week. But their health is soon undermined, when they labour in the fields, from the want of adequate nutriment; and the dietary of the union is found actually insufficient without its walls. Yet we affirm, and we know we are correct in our affirmation, that not one-tenth portion of the English agricultural independent labourers are able to obtain, with their wages, half the food allotted to the able-bodied paupers in the unions. A man in a union has seventy-two ounces of bread per week, ten pints and a half of gruel, fifteen ounces of cooked meat, one and a half lbs. of potatoes, four and a half pints of soup, fourteen ounces of suet or rice pudding, eight ounces of cheese, and four and a half pints of broth. Now, we say it fearlessly, that there are not a thousand agricultural labourers in any one English county, who can and do obtain with their weekly wages such an amount and variety of food—substantial food—as this.

We are well aware that all the dietaries of all the unions are not the same as the one we have selected; but let us take another which has been very generally adopted. According to that dietary, able-bodied men have allowed them 125 ounces of bread per week, ten and a half pints of gruel, eight ounces of dressed meat, and five ounces of bacon, one and a half lbs. of potatoes, one and a half pints of soup, and eighteen and a half ounces of cheese. In this dietary the bread, cheese, and gruel, predominate; but it must be remembered, that of bread the pauper eats nearly eight lbs. per week, or more than one pound per diem. Again, we state, that very few of the agricultural poor in England, who labour from before sunrise, very often, till after sunset, are able to obtain such an amount of nourishment as this! Their wages, and the prices of provisions, will not admit of their doing so.

The consequence the most striking, immediate, pressing, and increasing, of this state of things, is the conversion of the in-

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adequately-paid labourer into a mendicant. We have counted in certain districts of England the number of vagrant poor, who, in spite of the vagrant act, still demand alms; and we have taken districts removed from each other, at the same and at different epochs. We have selected spots the most favourable for these statistics; viz. those where the roads in and about the spots in question were at last concentrated near a turnpike, and near a turnpike gate, and the results are as follows:—

		In one Day.
Buckingham,	September 1841,	41
Bury St Edmunds,	August 1841,	37
Brighton,	September 1841,	92
Dover,	October 1841,	53
Hastings,	October 1841,	60
Huntingdon,	August 1841,	42
Leicester,	September 1841,	36
Marlow,	August 1841,	33
Nottingham,	September 1841,	69
Oxford,	October 1841,	31
Portsmouth,	September 1841,	71
Reading,	August 1841,	49
Tunbridge Wells,	September 1841,	69

It will be at once perceived that the object of this table is to show the number of vagrants passing through the towns, selected as examples, in one day. Let these numbers be multiplied by 365 days, and we should have a rough estimate of the numbers passing in the course of a year—still making deductions for bad weather and inclement seasons.

These statistics have been made most conscientiously; and, it is to be observed, include the children as well as the parents or chiefs of each band. If, however, it be borne in mind that these are only the numbers of one day's vagrants at thirteen towns in England, how frightful will the total mass of mendicity appear to those who remember the vast quantity of cities and towns in the counties of England and Wales; in two-thirds of which, at the same moment of time that these vagrants were passing through, others of an equal amount were also living on the alms-giving of others!

It must unquestionably be admitted that, from April to the commencement of December, mendicity in the rural counties is greater than from December to the end of March. Those who go about begging with their children, find it more fatiguing and unhealthy. Besides which, the by-ways, to avoid the police of the towns in the day, are often not traversable in winter; the

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barns, still provided by the farmers for beggars to sleep in, are too cold; the nights are long and dark, and therefore unfavourable to rural and roadside begging; and the expenses at lodging-houses and public-houses are sometimes too onerous to be sustained out of the daily receipts of the mendicants. 'We 'shall return to the unions,' say some, as the winter sets in and the begging trade gets bad: and now it is time we should look to the receipts of these livers upon public bounty.

Unable, we have said, to obtain adequate food and raiment from their *agricultural wages*, multitudes, nay thousands, of the agricultural poor take to begging. And how much more profitable do they find begging than digging, ploughing, or even thrashing! The following table has been drawn out from the most uncontrovertible data, which we have personally procured, or which have been supplied us by those who could not be themselves deceived, and have no interest in deceiving us. The names of the individuals are in many cases supposed or fictitious, since the vagrants would not always give their real names, and even in some cases admitted they were assumed ones. At each of the places mentioned below—Dover, Canterbury, &c.—suitable persons were employed, in the autumn of last year, to watch the vagrants, and obtain, on a given day, the most accurate information as to their proceedings. The rural police assisted likewise in obtaining the best and most detailed data.

Table of Receipts by families consisting of a man, his wife, and from 3 to 4 children, by Mendicity, in Agricultural Distress.

		Average Receipts per Diem. £	s.	d.
No. 1. William Holmes, his wife, 3 children, and an infant at the breast,	Dover and Environs.	0	3	2
2. James Smith, his wife, 3 children,	Canterbury and Environs.	0	3	8
3. Patrick O'Reilly, his wife and 5 children,	Brighton and Environs.	0	4	6
4. Henry Mercer and 3 daughters, all singers,	Hastings and Environs.	0	5	6

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		Average Receipts Per Diem.
5. James Rowe, his wife and 3 boys, all singers and beggars,	Tunbridge and Environs.	£0 4 9
6. Mary M'Arthur, 3 girls and 1 boy, carrying matches, singing, and begging.	Chelmsford and Environs.	0 5 0
7. Samuel Davis and his wife, with 6 children, all carrying on different systems of begging,	Windsor and Environs.	0 6 0
8. David Saunders, and his wife and 4 children, selling lucifer boxes, matches, singing and begging,	Reading and Environs.	0 5 6

In giving the places where they were begging at the time that these data were procured, it must not be supposed that they were *inhabitants* of those places and their environs, but merely vagrants there for the time being. In some districts the average receipts for an English agricultural beggar, his wife, and three or four children, are 3s. per diem, besides stale provisions and old clothes—the latter being soon convertible into money; but in districts which the gentry frequent for sea-bathing, or for the benefit of the mineral waters, they will average from 4s. to 4s. 6d. per diem. And it must not be lost sight of, that whereas the independent able-bodied agricultural labourer has his expenses much increased, but his income never augmented, by an additional number of children, the mendicant's revenue is always greatly improved by having four or five, or even a greater number of offspring. A beggar's family stopping at Windsor, for example, for a night's lodging, would arrive at night, and the next morning, by eight o'clock, his five children would be sent, in at least three different directions, to solicit alms, all with different stories of misfortune and woe; whilst the parents, to avoid the penalties of the vagrant act, would remain at the public-house, waiting the return of their children, and preparing the general breakfast.

And there is another method of checking the accuracy of the data we have procured relative to the receipts of the English agricultural beggars, now so amazingly increasing, in which we cannot err. A man, his wife, and four children, are still the family whose daily proceedings we are examining and explaining, and their average expenditure is as follows:—

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Lodging at a public-house or lodging-house for one night,		£0	0	8
Breakfast.—Tea,		0	0	1½
	Sugar,	0	0	1½
	Butter,	0	0	2
	Bread,	0	0	4½
Dinner.—Bread,		0	0	4½
	Bacon or herrings, (besides the cold meat and provisions they have collected,)	0	0	6
Supper.—Bread,		0	0	4½
	Beer,	0	0	2
	Cheese,	0	0	2
	Biscuits, (for the children,)	0	0	2
		£0	3	2½

If the day has been 'a good one,' and the receipts have been considerable, the supper is improved by more beer, and sometimes by fresh meat broiled on the gridiron. These are not rough estimates, or general outlines, but the result of personal investigation and of private research. Undoubtedly, there are many thousands of beggars who are less fortunate in their applications than others; but the average receipts of an English agricultural beggar, with a wife and three or four children, are not less than 3s. per day; whilst the average receipts of an agricultural labourer, in those very districts, are not more than half that amount.

It is clear, then, that the English agricultural labourer, with the present rates of wages and provisions, finds it far more profitable, and far more easy, to earn his living by begging than by work; and this is unquestionably *one* of the reasons for the enormous increase of mendicity. If the agricultural poor in England could support existence in any thing approaching to comfort with the present rates of wages and food, from an intimate acquaintance with their character and sentiments, we feel justified in saying they would shun the evils and horrors of mendicity; but when, after years of unceasing toil, they find that the fire never blazes, the smoke-jack never turns, and the beer-can never foams for them, but that squalid poverty, and then disease, are their abiding portions, unless they become dependent on '*the* '*unions*' for support, they rush away from the scenes of their sorrow and their ruin, and become beggars.

But is there not a VAGRANT ACT in England? asks the anxious and enquiring reader. Do not the Irish poor law commissioners demand a similar act, in order to repress the mendicity of three millions of Irish beggars? How is it, then, that mendicity should increase in England in the teeth of such an act?

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In order to answer this question, it may be well to look for a moment at the Vagrant Act itself.

The act now in force, which consolidates, amends, and repeals, the prior statutes relative to vagrants, points out three classes of these individuals:—1st, Idle and disorderly persons; 2d, rogues and vagabonds; and 3d, incorrigible rogues.

The idle and disorderly persons are those who will not work and maintain their families—who wander abroad and trade without a license—who walk in the streets as prostitutes—who beg or gather alms, or cause their children so to do—or who ask alms under a certificate or other instrument prohibited by law. Such persons are subject to arrest, and to hard labour, on conviction, for any time not exceeding one calendar month.

Rogues and vagabonds are those who commit any of the before-specified offences, after having been already convicted as idle and disorderly persons. They are also those who pretend to tell fortunes, or by palmistry or otherwise to deceive any of the Queen's subjects. Also all persons living in barns, carts, and unoccupied buildings, and who cannot give any good account of themselves. Also all venders of obscene objects, or exhibitors of indecent exhibitions, (and, by the statute of 1st Victoria, who sell indecent prints in shops.) Also all persons exposing their persons; all individuals seeking to obtain alms by exposing their wounds or deformities; all persons seeking to collect alms by fraudulent representations; all persons running away from, and leaving unprovided, their wives or children; all persons gambling or betting at any table or instrument of gain by games of chance; all persons having in their possession instruments which are used for picking locks and for burglary, or having weapons with the intent of committing any felonious act; all persons found in any dwelling-house or enclosed place for an unlawful purpose; every suspected person or reputed thief frequenting any river, canal, quay, wharf, street, highway, &c., with intent to commit felony. And finally, every person apprehended as an idle and disorderly person, who resists by violence the police-officer arresting him, provided he be convicted of the offence for which the police-officer took him into custody; as well as suspected persons and reputed thieves.

The punishment for rogues and vagabonds is hard labour for any time not exceeding three months.

Incorrigible rogues are those who escape out of any place of legal confinement before the time of punishment has expired; every person who, having been convicted as a rogue and vagabond, shall again, after liberation, perpetrate the same or similar

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offences; and any person arrested as a rogue and vagabond, and who shall violently resist the police so arresting him.

The punishment for incorrigible rogues is imprisonment till the next quarter-sessions, hard labour for any time not exceeding a year, and, in some cases, the whipping of *male* offenders.

The lodging-houses in which vagrants may be suspected of concealing themselves are subject to be searched; the monies and effects found upon vagrants may be applied towards the expense of apprehending and maintaining them; and the laws in force give every facility towards the arrest, conviction, and punishment of offenders. And yet, in spite of this act, England is now infested, in every part and portion of her counties, though undoubtedly more in some districts than in others, with thousands of mendicants.

Before we state the reasons generally assigned by the occasional, or rather non-hereditary and non-professional beggars, for their adoption of this mode of life, it may not be uninteresting or unimportant to look at the terms, practice, and manœuvres of the begging art.

There live, then, in the midst and about all the English population, a distinct population, fearful in numbers, constantly and rapidly increasing, having a language, manners, and customs of its own—living, in nine cases out of ten, in a course of life the most immoral and profligate; and yet so living, and so increasing, in spite of the laws, in spite of the municipal arrangements of the last few years, so favourable to their detection and punishment; in spite of the new poor-law arrangements; and in spite of the general feeling that the poor-rates and the unions ought to provide for all real cases of destitution and misery. This population has its signs, its free-masonry, its terms of art, its correspondence, its halting-houses, its barns still kept open, and even well strawed by farmers and country gentlemen; its public-houses, its well-known, and even recognised lodging-houses; and its manifold plans to extract or extort, to win or to scold, out of its reluctant but deceived victims, sums amounting, we are inclined to believe, to not less than L.1,375,000; being one-third of the total amount of poor-rates! This sum may at first appear utterly extravagant; but it will not be found to be so when it is remembered, that on an average each begging family extorts L.55 per annum from the public. The annual poor law expenditure for the year ending in March 1840, in England, was, in round numbers, L.4,300,000. In England, including the three ridings of Yorkshire, there are forty-two counties. The population of those counties is nearly fifteen

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millions. If we take at this moment a rough and general, though a tolerably correct estimate of that population, with its dense misery in towns and cities, and its diffused but not less individually intense misery in the agricultural districts, we may fairly calculate that one out of every one hundred is a beggar, or lives in a state of practical vagrancy—looking, in one form or other, to alms for support. The one-hundredth part of the population is 150,000; and if each begging family, raising L.55 per annum from the public by alms, be estimated as consisting of six, we shall have 25,000 English begging families, raising L.55 per annum each, or the total sum of L.1,375,000. But we believe that we have underrated, instead of overstated, the facts of the case in these calculations. In London alone and its vicinity, in spite of all the efforts of the police, a very large part of that sum is extorted; and we have not taken into consideration the wholesale mendicity which is now deplorably manifest in the larger English manufacturing towns. We have also omitted all Irish mendicants; and yet they are nearly in the proportion of one to three in the English agricultural districts. Naturally anxious as we are to avoid even the appearance of exaggeration, we are still bound to state, that the estimate we have made is greatly deficient, and that we have understated the real statistics.

This begging population of England, existing and increasing in spite of municipal police, and notwithstanding the penalties of the vagrant act, is divided into several classes; and we now propose to draw upon a little pamphlet, mentioned at the head of this article, which has been recently published at Birmingham, and which contains very accurate details of the mendicant population—written by one who long frequented the haunts of the vagrant community. The portion of the community to which his details extend, belong principally to the hereditary and professional class of beggars.

The writer of this pamphlet thus proceeds with his descriptive details:—

'In order fully to explain each individual character, I shall begin with those vagrants who generally obtain the most, and are considered of the *first class*, and are by some termed "Silver Beggars," but by travellers "LURKERS."

'LURKERS are persons who go about with briefs, containing false statements of losses by fire, shipwrecks, accidents, &c. The seals and signatures of two or more magistrates are affixed to those briefs, and they are so well written, that thousands of persons are daily imposed upon by them. As there are so many different ways used by these persons, it will be necessary to explain each of them separately.'

The writer then enters into details as to '*the Fire-Lurkers*,'

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or those 'who go about begging for loss by fire.' They have false briefs, pretended to be signed by two magistrates and the clergyman of the place where the fire is alleged to have taken place. The documents are accompanied by a sham subscription-book, and the brief is called, in the mendicant's parlance, 'a sham,' whilst the subscription-book they name 'a delicate.' With this 'sham and delicate' the 'lurkers,' or beggars, proceed all over the country; and the author states that one man, with whom he was acquainted, 'had been a fire-lurker 'for fourteen years, and had travelled through every county in 'England, and the greater part of Wales.'

Then there is,

'*The Shipwrecked Sailor's Lurk.*—Persons who go on this lurk, generally represent themselves as captains or masters of merchant ships, which have been wrecked, and they have, of course, lost all their property; and their pretended loss always amounts to many hundred pounds, and sometimes even to thousands. This class of impostors are very respectably dressed, having mustaches, gold chains, &c.; they have either a well-written brief, or one partly printed and filled up with writing, and the seals and signatures of two or three magistrates are placed at the bottom. I have seen briefs of this description from almost every part of the kingdom.'

He goes on to say, that one named Captain Johnstone had 'followed the lurk of a shipwrecked captain for many years, had 'been over every county in England and Wales many times, 'and obtained not only hundreds, but thousands of pounds.' He relates various anecdotes of the most successful 'Lurkers' in this department.

'*The Foreigner's Lurk.*—Considerable numbers proceed on this lurk, representing themselves as foreigners in distress. . . . Of late years, by far the greatest number have represented themselves as *Polish* noblemen or gentlemen, who had been driven by the tyranny of Russia from their native country to seek a refuge. . . . . Their briefs have the names and seals of two magistrates attached, and are always well written. Whenever they present their briefs, they affect not to be able to speak a word of English, and the few words they utter are spoken in broken accents. . . . One of these lurkers, known among mendicants by the nickname of "Lord Dundas," had often got several pounds in a day. . . . There are also many females who go on the foreigner's lurk. . . . I knew a female who went on the foreigner's lurk, who dressed very well; she had a boy with her, and often succeeded in getting two or three pounds in a day. When she called on any one, she *pattered* (spoke) in French, and affected not to be able to converse in the English language.'

4. '*The Accident Lurk.*—Lurkers of this description have a sham and delicate, (brief and book;) and the sham states, that by some dreadful accident the bearer has lost all, or at least the greater part of his pro-

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petty, sometimes by storm, and at other times by a flood, or in some other way; but, in whatever way the accident has happened, the bearer has always suffered a very considerable loss, and is deprived of the means of supporting himself and family. The sums raised, vary from five shillings to a pound per day.'

5. '*The Sick Lurk.*—This is worked in so many different ways, that it will be necessary to say a little on each. It would seem, 1st, That a common method of imposing upon the public is, by applying blistering ointment to the arms, causing them to have the appearance of having been badly scalded. 2d, That others go about with hands and arms tied up, said to be injured by lightning, or by some other deplorable accident. 3d, Others affect fits. 4th, Others affect pregnancy and destitution. 5th, Others obtain alms by the husband remaining at home and affecting indisposition, in case any one should visit his lodgings to examine into the merits of the case, whilst the wife goes out begging for wine, rags, clothes, &c., for the sham invalid. 6th, Others pretend to have bad wounds, and beg for linen-rags and small bottles to contain medicine necessary for their cure. I saw a man who got in one day, by this means, thirteen pounds' weight of white rags, and more than five dozen of phial bottles. Rags and bottles sell well. 7th, Others affect to have children confined with scarlet fever, &c. &c., and beg for *them*. They state that they have obtained a note to take their children to an infirmary or to an hospital, and want a few clothes and a little money.'

6. '*The Deaf and Dumb Lurk.*—I have known many persons of both sexes who have acted as if deaf and dumb, and by this means succeeded very well in obtaining money, food, &c. Many of them pretend to tell fortunes, and frequently get something considerable by such practices. They carry a slate and pencil with them, to write questions and answers.'

It would appear from the pamphlet before us, that sometimes these deaf and dumb lurkers affect even in the lodging-houses to be thus afflicted; but in such cases they are generally found out by their fellow vagrants.

7. '*The Servants' Lurk.*—There are considerable numbers who go on the servants' lurk, or as servants out of place; and both males and females frequently succeed well in imposing on servants and others by false statements and tales of distress . . . . . The greater part of those who go on this lurk are neatly dressed, and have exactly the appearance of servants in gentlemen's families. . . . . Many of them have the *Court Guide*, which, as it contains a list of the nobility and gentry, enables them to do the thing completely.'

8. '*The Collier's Lurk.*—This is followed by thousands who were never in a coal-pit, and numbers of such are daily imposing upon the public as colliers out of employ. They generally say they have been thrown out of work by some accident, such as the flooding of the works or the falling in of the pit. . . . . They often go in parties from two to seven or eight. . . . . Others have printed papers, which are left at each house, and called for again in a few hours. . . . . Others have written statements of the pretended accidents, and the supposed signa-

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tures of the masters of the works are affixed to them. . . . . Some of these obtain as much as fourteen or fifteen shillings per diem.'

9. '*The Weaver's Lurk.*—There are at the present time great numbers who go on this lurk, many of them having printed papers or small handbills, and leave one at each house, and then call again for them, and to receive what persons are disposed to give. . . . . I have seen men who represented themselves as weavers of every kind, and from all the manufacturing parts of the kingdom—men who I well knew had never been near a loom, but had been born and bred vagrants.'

10. '*The Cotton-Spinner's Lurk.*—There are many going on this lurk with printed papers or small handbills also. . . . . Some who go on this lurk carry sewing cotton for sale, alleged to be their own spinning. . . . . One man I know, who travels on this lurk, has been doing so for twelve years. He sometimes obtains as much as from twelve to fifteen shillings in one day.'

11. '*The Calenderer's Lurk.*—Those who go on this lurk represent themselves as calenderers out of employ through the depression of trade and improvement in machinery. They, like sham weavers and colliers, have false papers, which are printed, some in poetry.'

The sums raised by these descriptions of 'lurks' must be immense; especially where the individuals have a good address, and can explain and enforce the written and printed appeals they take with them.

'HIGH-FLIERS,' or begging letter-writers, are, it would seem, the next in order of importance, after the Lurkers. 'These begging letter-writers scribble false statements of their having been unfortunate in business, or suffered great losses, which have reduced them to a state of extreme distress. In London, but especially in the watering and sea-bathing places, these letters procure as much as from five shillings to one pound per day.'

'SHALLOW COVES' are 'impostors begging through the country as shipwrecked sailors. They generally choose winter, and always go nearly naked. Their object in doing so is to obtain left-off clothes. . . . . They have a long pitiful got-up tale of pretended distress, which they shout through the streets, of having been shipwrecked, &c. . . . . Shallow Coves generally go in *companies* (or, technically speaking, in *school*) of from two to ten. There is generally one selected to be the spokesman. . . . . As Shallow Coves only call at respectable houses, they often obtain a great deal of money.'

'*Shallow Motts*' are 'females who, like the Shallow Coves, go nearly naked. They also adopt that mode of begging in order to obtain wearing apparel. . . . . They plead long and severe sickness, but only ask for *clothes*. The clothes are disposed of as soon as possible, none being ever kept for their own use. . . . . I knew one of these who in ten days obtained at Kingston-upon-Thames between seven and eight pounds' worth of clothes.'

'CADGERS' are 'those who make begging their trade, and depend upon it for their support. *Cadgers on the downright* are those who beg from door to door, and *Cadgers on the fly* are those who beg as they

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pass along the tober, (road.) Cadging on the fly is a profitable occupation in the vicinity of bathing-places and large towns. A person of this description generally gets many shillings in the course of the day. Cadging on the downright (from door to door) is, like all other trades, getting worse; but still thousands do very well at it, and frequently get more food than they can consume. . . . . I have often seen food, which many working people would gladly have eaten, shamefully and wantonly wasted.'

'CADGERS' CHILDREN' (kiddies) 'are so well instructed in the arts of imposition by their parents, that they frequently obtain more in money and food than grown-up cadgers.'

'*Cadgers' Screeving.*—There are many cadgers who write short sentences with chalk on the flags, and some of them can do it remarkably well; these are called *screevers.* I have seen the following sentences frequently written by them in places where there were numbers passing by, and where they thought it would be likely to get plenty of halfpence, (browns,) and now and then a *tanner* or a *bob*, (sixpence or a shilling.)

"Hunger is a sharp thorn, and biteth keen."
"I cannot get work, and to beg I am ashamed."

'I have known them by this means obtain seven shillings in a day.'

'*Cadgers' sitting Pad.*—Whenever cadgers *stand* or *sit*, either in towns or by the roadside, to beg, they call it *sitting* or *standing pad*; and this often proves a very profitable method. Some of them affect blindness: whilst others represent themselves as unable to follow any employment, in consequence of being subject to fits. Some cadgers save very considerable sums of money; but these are very few compared with the great number who live by this trade of beggary.

'*Match-sellers* never entirely depend upon selling matches, for they cadge as well; in fact, they only carry matches as a cloak for begging, and never offer them at any house where they expect to get more without them. . . . Match-sellers, as well as all other cadgers, often get what they call "*a back-door cant;*" that is, any thing they can carry off where they beg, or offer their matches for sale.'

'CROSS COVES, though they beg their bread, can tell a long story about being out of employ through the badness of trade, &c., yet get what they call *on the cross*, (by theft,) . . one of their chief modes of getting things *on the cross*, is by shoplifting, (called grabbing,) . . . . another method is to *star the glaze*, (i. e. break or cut the window.')

'*Prigs* (or pickpockets) are another class of vagrants, and they frequent races, fairs, and prize-fights. . . . . Like cross coves, they are generally young men who have been trained to vagrancy, and have been taught the arts of their profession in their childhood.'

'*Palmers* are another description of beggars, who visit shops under pretence of collecting *harp* halfpence; and to induce shopkeepers to search for them, they offer thirteen-pence for a shilling's worth, when many persons are silly enough to empty a large quantity of copper on their counters to search for the halfpence wanted. The *palmer* is sure to have his hand amongst it; and, while he pretends to search for the harps, he con-

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trives to conceal as many as possible in the palm of his hand, and whenever he removes his hand from the coppers on the counter, always holds his fingers out straight, so that the shopkeeper has not the least suspicion that he is being robbed. Sums varying from five to fifteen shillings per diem are frequently got in this way, by characters of that description.'

The pamphlet from which we have made these extracts, concludes with strong and cogent reasons and entreaties for not giving, and for refusing to give alms to such vagrants. It has been circulated, we believe, very extensively in the agricultural districts by the Poor Law Commissioners; and if the recommendations it contains were attended to, and followed up by those for whose benefit the pamphlet is intended, the art or mystery, trade or profession of begging, by those who are brought up to it, would be greatly diminished, if not actually put a stop to. We do not mean to say that begging on the part of the destitute poor would cease; but begging, as a *science of deception* and cajolery, would soon fail.

Here it is necessary to draw the line, which throughout the whole of our observations we have endeavoured to keep steadily in view, between beggars from education and sloth, as well as from immoral habits; and beggars from real destitution and misery. The little work from which we have extracted the preceding observations on this part of our subject, has, of course, been confined to an examination of the cases, habits, and conduct of the former class. But whilst their existence, if not their increase in England is a vast evil, it is not *the* evil which presses upon the English counties; nor *the* evil to which we look with sorrow and apprehension. Undoubtedly it is a vast evil, that in a moral, Christian, and enlightened community, there should be thousands who prefer, from generation to generation, mendicity to labour, and crime to honesty. But this is an evil which belongs to all states, and which we cannot see any possible means of entirely extinguishing. The evil which is now greatly afflicting the English counties, and especially the agricultural districts, is the increase, not so much of hereditary and permanent beggars, as of persons who are really destitute; and who, in default of sufficient food, firing, and clothing, come to the resolution to 'travel,' and to earn their bread by walking from morn to night over amazing distances, and of begging by the way.

And here it is necessary to show of what description of persons these new claimants on public compassion are composed, and what are the means they resort to in order to obtain relief.

No English agricultural labourers migrate for the purpose of begging, when they receive fifteen shillings per week for their

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wages. Very few migrate for begging from agricultural districts where the wages are thirteen shillings and sixpence, or even twelve shillings. But when the English labourer's wages decline from twelve shillings to ten and sixpence, and then fall to nine shillings, and even to seven, the labourer has but three courses to take; viz. to starve on his wages, to enter the union, or to beg. In five cases out of seven he prefers mendicity. The great reason, then, why mendicity on the part of the English agricultural labourers is increasing is, that wages are not high enough for the prices of provisions, or provisions not low enough for the price of labour.

The present lamentable condition of the agricultural labourer in at least nine-tenths of the English counties, cannot be put too strongly, or enforced on the attention of the public in too powerful terms. The continuance of such a state will not only lead to universal mendicity, and a vast augmentation of poor-rates, but will lead likewise to the dissolution of that bond of union which ought to subsist between the labourer and his employer.

And what is the reason that the vagrant act is, in the agricultural districts, and increasingly in towns and village districts, a dead letter? How is it that the English farmers offer, yet more frequently than ever, their barns and their stables to the mendicant poor, supplying them with clean straw or hay? How is it, that when the vagrant act declares that all who wander abroad, and beg, or gather alms, or cause their children to do so, are to be deemed idle and disorderly persons, and may be arrested, brought before a magistrate and convicted, that in the agricultural districts such an expedient is hardly ever resorted to? How is it, that when the vagrant act declares that every person who wanders abroad, and trades without a license, is an idle and disorderly person, yet in the agricultural districts is never treated as such? How is it that gipsies, though rogues and vagabonds under the same act, as well as fortune-tellers, and persons living in barns, carts, and unoccupied buildings, without being able to give any good account of themselves, are yet not arrested, not taken before magistrates, and not condemned?—The reason is obvious; there is such a mass of real misery and destitution in the agricultural districts, that neither the nobility, clergy, gentry, nor magistrates, will enforce the vagrant act against occasional and non-hereditary mendicants.

But besides the agricultural destitute labourers who will not enter the unions, and who, if they did enter, would render further buildings all over the land for their reception immediately necessary, the Irish emigrants, and the English manufacturing

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poor have to be taken into the account. They have been incorrectly told, that the agricultural poor and the agricultural districts are not so badly off as the manufacturing poor and the manufacturing districts; and so they migrate, as beggars, from the north to the south. They migrated to the north for work. Work has stopped; labour is not demanded; and now they return from the north to the south—but as beggars. The agricultural poor become beggars; because, with the wages they receive, they cannot live. The manufacturing poor migrate as beggars, because they have no wages at all.

Thus the tide of mendicity and misery rolls on, and threatens a vast augmentation for the future.

Both the agricultural and the manufacturing mendicants have heard of the vagrant act. In some towns and cities its provisions are partly enforced; that is to say, the policemen are stationed at the extremes of the towns or cities, and conduct vagrants through them without allowing them to beg. To avoid this, however, beggars enter towns and cities in the night, and look about in the daytime to watch the approach of their liveried enemies. A policeman in France is dressed like an ordinary man. In England, his blue coat and plated white buttons are signals to beggars and thieves by which they profit. The vagrant act, however, has to be met; for some of its provisions are extensive and sweeping. For instance, the sellers of songs, of matches, of lucifer boxes, of lace, of little books, and of a thousand other wares, in baskets through our towns and villages, are, according to that act, idle and disorderly persons, unless they have a license. Now, none of these have licenses—not one; and yet thousands are constantly moving about, adopting this form of begging by preference. If a beggar be reprimanded in England for begging, his answer is, 'I 'am not a beggar, sir, you see I have got some matches to 'sell;" or, if he has not matches, he has something else. The total stock in trade is often not worth a shilling; but so long as the man carries something to sell, even the policemen will not ask for the license. Why is this? Is it that the English think the spirit or the machinery of the vagrant act too severe? By no means. The reason is this—no magistrate would convict these people for want of hawker's licenses in the present destitute and deplorable condition of the poor.

We promised to say something respecting the plans resorted to, by the vastly-increasing numbers of English and Irish mendicants in England to obtain alms. The hereditary and the professional vagrants live as lurkers, cadgers, and so forth—*i. e.* by

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fraud, lying, and thieving. This is not the case with the really destitute agricultural labourers and manufacturing workmen who become beggars.

1st, They sing plaintive airs and tunes, and hymns and psalms.

2d, They walk through a town or village proclaiming aloud their wants and sufferings, but still walk on.

3d, They sing songs, and get money for singing.

4th, They play some instrument of music, and solicit aid.

5th, They address you personally at your houses, and tell their real tales of grief.

6th, They apply to you, imploring and beseeching you to purchase some little articles which they have to sell. This is their favourite method. They hate to be thought beggars, though they know they are so.

7th, They apply for work for a day, or half a day, and earn a little money sometimes for a few hours by their labour.

8th, They rush to any public works which may be opening, and offer their labour at much reduced prices in order to obtain employment and wages.

Some of them, of course, become corrupted by their new associates at the houses which receive alike all classes of vagrants who can pay for their beds and their beer; and, when once corrupted, they fall into the categories foreseen and described by the vagrant act. But there is always for a long time a very marked distinction, perceptible to every one, between the hereditary and professional beggar, and the mendicants who become so from want and destitution. In too many instances, indeed, the corruption of the young, and especially of young girls, very soon follows the first steps of a begging life; and those who would have shuddered a few months previously at the commission of even an offence, rush headlong into the perpetration of the worst of crimes.

The magistrates of England have been blamed for not exercising greater severity towards all vagrants. But if all the 'idle 'and disorderly' persons spoken of by the vagrant act were conducted, at this moment, before the English justices of the peace, they would soon be unable to provide prisons and asylums for even a tithe of their number.

It has been said, that if the ticket system carried on in some unions was adopted, with some little alteration, throughout the kingdom, 'begging would receive so great a shock, and become 'such a bad trade, that thousands would no longer follow it, 'but be driven to do what they never would do otherwise— 'namely, work for an honest living.'

But this supposes a state of things which does not exist in

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England. It supposes that there is, with provisions at their present prices, labour and wages enough for all who now beg. We know that this is very far indeed from being the case; and until it shall be so, the *ticket system* would not meet, though it might mitigate, the evil.

With reference to the *ticket system*, as some of our readers may not have examined it in its details, we supply the following explanation.

The ticket system is an expedient hit upon by the Poor Law Commissioners, as well as by other enemies to vagrancy, to relieve real want, and yet provide against imposition. Every rate-payer in a parish it has been proposed to supply with a certain number of blank tickets, to be filled up by him, or her, in favour of any vagrants demanding relief. The tickets are to be addressed to the governors of the Union House to which the poor of the parish are sent to reside, and the governors are to supply the applicant with lodging or food. Some, indeed, propose that the ticket should be valid within twenty miles' distance of the spot where it was given. The author of the pamphlet above referred to, says—

'To carry out the ticket system effectually, it would not only require the sanction of the poor law commissioners, but the hearty co-operation of the guardians and rate-payers. It will be further necessary, that every workhouse be provided with apartments for the reception of tramps, and with labour for them to do; that every rate-payer be supplied with plenty of the following, or some such kind of tickets, to give to persons soliciting relief, and never give money or food; and that such a ticket be a note of admission into any workhouse to which it may be directed within twenty miles of the person's house sending it.

'To the Governors of Union Workhouse.
Admit , who solicits relief in consequence of , and charge it to the account of the overseers of my parish.

D. B.
Rate-payer of the parish of .
Dated this day of 184 .

'On the other side of the note should be printed—"The person using this note (supposing him to go into workhouse in the evening) will be allowed a supper of seven ounces of bread and two ounces of cheese, a bed; and for breakfast, a pint of gruel and seven ounces of bread, for which he must do two hours' work before leaving in the morning. If he presents the note, or remains in during the day, he will not be allowed to go out till the morning following, and will be required to work the hours the other inmates do, and at the usual meal-times have the diet of the house. Children and the sick will be dieted at discretion."'

If the vagrant act be not enforced against the hereditary and professional mendicants of England, at least this ticket system

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should; and if all classes of the English people would resolve on not relieving such mendicants by any other means, their fate would be certain—they must yield. But in the present state of the agricultural and manufacturing destitute poor, who are beggars for the time being, and who are so from a real pressure of want and misery, the English people, as a nation, will not apply the ticket system to them. It will, however, be enquired, 'what 'right have even the agricultural or manufacturing destitute poor 'to complain, when an adequate provision has been made for 'them by the workhouse system of the poor laws? and what right 'have they to refuse the relief offered them by that system, and 'become beggars?'

We have so recently defended the workhouse system, and the conduct of the poor law commissioners in enforcing it, that there is no other answer necessary on our part, than the answer of fact; viz. that there is an immense and constantly-increasing number of destitute labourers and manufacturing poor, who will not, until they have made every other effort to prevent it, become parish paupers. They will sing, sell little wares, tell their tales of misery, and beg; and try all of these expedients before they will consent to enter the unions. Of course, in some cases, this decision is the result of indolence, but in a multitude of others it results from a love of independence.

If those labourers and artisans who decide on rejecting parochial relief according to the workhouse system, and on taking to the life of vagrants, could but foresee the wretchedness, misery, degradation, corruption, and vice, to which, in so many instances, that decision must lead them, we confess we think well enough of the English working classes to feel convinced that they would come to another decision. But with this we have at present no concern. They have wages too low, or no wages at all, or the necessaries of life too dear. Something must be done, but what that something must be, we have no intention at present to discuss; as we have already stated at the commencement of this article.

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ART. VII.—*Journal of a Tour in Greece and the Ionian Islands. By* WILLIAM MURE *of Caldwell.* 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1842.

TOURS by Englishmen in Greece have not been published in numbers so very oppressive as those which have been devoted to Italy; but even they, we fear, have been so numerous, that the public will question strictly the author of every new Grecian tour, whether he has any thing to tell which they have not long ago had an opportunity of hearing. The series of travels in Greece and the adjoining regions, given to the world by our countrymen during the recent period which began with the journeys of Dr Clarke, embraces hardly any work that is quite worthless, and many that possess very distinguished value. A few of them have high literary merit as compositions, or as evidences of scholarship; some have thrown much light upon the classical monuments; and two or three have gone far towards laying the foundation for an accurate acquaintance with the ancient topography of Greece and her colonies. It can make no part of our plan, amidst an overflow of other matter, to aim at appreciating in detail the works which belong to this class. But one group of them may be fitly mentioned, both because it would be unjust to speak of investigations in Greece without naming them, and because the nature of them tends to a further remark which we are desirous of making. We allude to the topographical works of Colonel Leake. These receive but insufficient praise when it is said, not only that in all essential qualities they are models of their kind, but that his researches, prosecuted though they were under manifold disadvantages, must continue to form the basis of all that yet remains to be done, towards completing our systematic knowledge of the interesting subject which has worthily occupied so many years of the veteran scholar's life.

But after all that has been performed, there yet remains ample scope for doing more; and there are, in particular, two purposes which, jointly or separately, travellers in Greece may still warrantably pursue, and the attainment of which will fully justify them in publishing the results of their labours. First, there is abundant room for original observation, both in the departments of research which have been partly cultivated already, and in new ones which, till the recent changes in the state of Greece, it was impossible to approach. Much obscurity still hangs over many points of the classical topography, and of the history and condition of the antique monuments, both in Greece itself

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and in the neighbouring Hellenic countries. The richness of the vein which still remains to be worked in the Grecian colonies, is sufficiently indicated by the valuable researches of Mr Fellows in Asia Minor; and Mr Pashley's residence in Crete has shown how abundant the fruit is which may be gathered even in continental Greece and the islands, by a traveller who, adequately prepared, chooses a narrow range of enquiry, and devotes himself for a long period to personal investigation within its limits. The political and social condition of the Greek nation, again, constitutes a class of facts which, partially investigated before the revolution, has assumed since that event an aspect entirely new, and presents phenomena deserving and demanding close and philosophical observation.

Secondly, while there thus presents itself an abundance of unexhausted matter, the method of using both the new matter and the old, offers opportunities for not less improvement. Works possessing at once high literary merit, and great value as instruments for communicating satisfactory and systematic information to ordinary readers, might be composed by travellers who, although fully qualified for original discoveries, may not have been fortunate enough to make any. Such writers might be entitled to rank far higher than mere compilers; and they might perform for Grecian topography, antiquities, and statistics, a task which our original investigators have failed to accomplish The most picturesque and animated of our tours by Englishmen in those regions, convey information which is either fragmentary or deficient in solidity; those, again, which are most valuable as receptacles of knowledge, are repulsive, by reason of their form or their bulk, or both.

It is time to ask whether Mr Mure has been justified in giving his Tour to the public, by its aptness to serve either, or both, of the purposes thus indicated as worthy of attainment. We have no hesitation in saying that he has. We will not, indeed, venture to assert that in either department he has done all which might have been done; nor that every thing which he has done is performed in the very best manner; but his work possesses no inconsiderable merit, both for the novelty which belongs to a good deal of its matter, and for the manner in which his materials are treated.

His travels occupied two months in the spring of 1838, during which time he visited Corfú and Ithaca, traversed Northern Greece from the mouth of the Acheloüs to Sunium, and made the circuit of the Peloponnesus. The few weeks thus appropriated were of course insufficient for allowing him to observe the country at large with any great minuteness; but he

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appears to have apportioned his time very judiciously; and in a region like Greece, which is so small in extent, and which has been visited and reported upon so often already, previous preparation and activity on the route will enable one to effect a great deal within a very short period. The time at which Mr Mure visited Greece, was favourable for examination both of antiquities and of the existing position of the people; although opportunities yet more auspicious will be enjoyed by future travellers, when the new kingdom shall have attained completely, both internal consolidation and settled relations with its neighbours. He has watched, sagaciously and with lively interest, several of the classes of phenomena which were presented to his view, and upon these he has communicated the results of his observations.

The original merit of his book, however, can scarcely be said to lie essentially in new elucidations, either of classical topography or of classical monuments. At least, such elucidations form but a small part of the work, although several of those which occur are very interesting, and vouch not only for the author's possession of an excellent turn for observation, but for his proficiency in a sound and liberal school of archæological criticism. The facts which, in this department, Mr Mure has been absolutely the first to impart to the English public, are, if we mistake not, just three—the site of the Heræum or Temple of the Argive Juno, near Mycenæ; the existence of two arched gateways, unobserved by Leake, (who, however, had found in the same place another gate of that construction,) among the Cyclopian ruins of Œniadæ; and the existence of an ancient arched bridge at a spot called Xerokampo, crossing a tributary of the Laconian river Eurotas.

The site of the Heræum—an object of fruitless search to preceding travellers—is supposed by our author, and (as we think) justly, to have been identified by the late General Gordon, who, after repeated excursions made in vain for the purpose of discovering the spot, came upon it by chance while out on a shooting party. The principal remains consist of a conspicuous Cyclopian wall. The eminence on which this ruin stands, and the lesser fragments which are to be seen in the same place, are described with minuteness; yet not with more than scholars would expect to find bestowed on one of the most distinguished of the Grecian temples, now for the first time made known. Mr Mure's observations at Œniadæ and Xerokampo bear upon the vexed 'question' of the age and manner in which the ancient Greeks became acquainted with the use of the keyed arch; and the specimens described by him will swell usefully the list of examples which

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call on the antiquaries of art to revise that little section of their science.

We repeat, what we hinted a little ago, that, curious and valuable as are facts like those which are thus pointed out, the collection of two or three of them is hardly an excuse for bestowing on the public any thing more than a contribution or two to some periodical work. They form an excellent basis for such papers as the author has contributed to the 'Rheinisches Museum,' and to the Annals of the Roman Archæological Institute. But they scarcely carry weight enough to ballast two octavo volumes, designed (we borrow a continuation of our metaphor from an eminent professor of the Bathos) to float through the channel of criticism into the haven of public approbation. They might have served, however, as good adjuncts or interludes in a single volume, the staple of which would have been most creditably made up of two other groups of Mr Mure's chapters; by far the ablest and most valuable which he has devoted to the antiquities of Greece. The one group embraces the Homeric topography of Ithaca; the other deals with the topography of Athens, and the present condition of its classical monuments. We willingly dwell for a time upon the elucidations which the author has bestowed upon each of these interesting topics.

For the details of the 'Ithacan Questions,' however, we must refer to the book itself. These classical discussions are conducted not only with great good sense and acuteness, but with much liveliness; and the scenery is described in a clear and extremely pleasing manner. On the points directly mooted in reference to the Ithaca of Homer, and to the proper method of reconciling the poetic description with the naked reality, we unreservedly concur both in the author's general conclusions, and in most steps of the process by which he reaches them. In both respects, Sir William Gell's work on Ithaca stands immeasurably lower. But one article there is in Mr Mure's Homeric creed, which indicates a degree of vagueness not to have been expected from one so familiar, as he evidently is, with the speculations of the best German critics. We are tempted, therefore, to state some views as to the geography of the Odyssey, which, while they may form a supplement to this part of his work, admit of being aptly illustrated from his own pages.

We would say, then, that the geography of the Odyssey cannot be understood, unless the scenes of the poem be regarded as falling into three separate classes—the scenes which the poet described from his own knowledge—the scenes which he described from report—the scenes which were quite imaginary.

To the first section of this geographical system belong those

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few spots of the Grecian continent, to which, for a time, the action is transferred. To it belongs also, beyond question, the rocky isle of Ithaca, the domain in which Odysseus dwelt, and bore sway as an overlord over the tributary princes. All these are scenes not only real, but directly known to the poet—scenes, however, which, as we must not fail to recollect, are treated by him in the poetical and ideal fashion. We must not, like Völcker, deny reality to Homer's Ithaca more than to his Pylus or his Sparta. But, on the other hand, we must not, with Gell, derogate from the royal prerogative of the poet's genius, by endeavouring to discover, in the reality, a counterpart to every feature of beauty with which his imagination adorned what it adventured to describe. In reference to this class of the Homeric scenery, our author's introductory remarks deal justly with both of the erroneous opinions.

'The impression which a personal visit to this island can hardly fail to leave on the mind of the impartial student of Homer is, that so great is the general resemblance between its natural features and those of the one described in the Odyssey, the difficulty is not so much to discover in each case a bay, rock cavern or mountain, answering to his description, as to decide, among the many that present themselves, on the precise one which he may happen to have had in view. In estimating the amount or value of this correspondence, he will also bear in mind how unreasonable it were to exact from the poet of any age, although possessed of the closest personal familiarity with the district selected for his scene of action, the rigid accuracy of the land-surveyor, or to deny him the privilege of his profession, even in his description of real objects, to depart a little from the truth, where a slight variation of site or appearance was necessary to their full effect. To pronounce, therefore, as some have done, in the face of so great a mass of general evidence to the contrary, that Homer had no personal knowledge of Ithaca, because the more fastidious commentator may find difficulty in arranging on his classical atlas, consistently with existing appearances, the hut of Eumæus, the fountain of Arethusa, or the port of Phorcys, were almost as unreasonable as to deny the author of Waverley any personal knowledge of Scotland, because of an equal difficulty of identifying the bay of Ellangowan or the castle of Tillietudlem.

'Equally unwarrantable, on the other side, are the attempts of the more orthodox school of Homeric interpreters, to force on existing objects or localities a closeness of harmony with his descriptions, such as was doubtless as little congenial to his own taste as conducive to the interest of his poem; and this over-subtlety, as displayed in the elegant but not very critical work of Gell, the patriarch of modern Ithacan topographers, is among the chief causes that have led some of his successors into the opposite extreme. For my own part, I confess that, while nothing can be more delightful than to recognize a strong general resemblance between the descriptions of scenery contained in any poetical work

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of deep interest, and the real localities to which they refer, it would tend but little to enhance this pleasure, could I be convinced of the accuracy of all their minutest details, even to the back-door, kitchen, and draw-well of the hero's dwelling.'—(Vol. i. pp. 60-61.)

Thus much for one extreme of the Homeric system of geography. Diametrically opposed to it stands the other extreme, whose distinctive character Mr Mure seems to apprehend less clearly, if we may judge from the hesitating manner in which he mentions the claims of another of the Ionian Islands to be held as representing a prominent scene in the Odyssey. He does not indeed believe that Corfú represents Scheria, and his scepticism is assuredly well founded; but he does not make the denial with sufficient boldness, nor does he, apparently, recognise clearly the principle upon which the denial rests. In the class of Homeric scenes with which we now deal, lie names signifying spots which never existed, and which were never conceived as existing by the poet himself. To this class must be referred the greater number (and some would include in it all, without exception) of the scenes in which the wandering prince of Ithaca appears, till he is landed at the Cave of the Nymphs on the beach of his native isle. These are regions situated in a world of mere imagination—their place as unreal as their dwellers and adventures are wild and fantastical. It matters nothing to us that wrong notions have been entertained as to these poetical spots—notions nourished sometimes by national and local vanity, always by erroneous comprehension of that which is the essence of old poetical tradition. We care not though from the days of Timæus the Sicilians claimed for their own delightful island the consecrated name of Thrinacria, where pastured the sacred herds of the Sun; and though there also Thucydides, and Euripides, and Polybius, placed the Cyclopes and the bloodstained den of Polyphemus. We disregard with equal confidence the belief which (perhaps springing up early in the Post-Homeric days of Greece, caught eagerly by the Roman poets, and echoed by Strabo and the other Greek flatterers of their nation) pointed to the coasts of Southern Italy as containing the Isle of Circe, the terrific ocean-pass between Scylla and Charybdis, the pastoral haunts of the gigantic Læstrygones. Even less ground is there for identifying with Corcyra, or with any spot on this prosaic earth, the poetic region of Scheria, the seat of the blessed Phæacians, the fairyland of Grecian legends, the ideal of Grecian happiness, and beauty, and virtue. This Elysian picture is as unreal as that to which it is a counterpart—the dismal scene at the gloomy frontiers of the earth, where the wanderer offered sacrifice to evoke the shadows of the unhappy dead. If we look for

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any of these scenes on the map, it should be, as Payne Knight sarcastically advised, in the same latitude with Utopia, or Brobdignag.

But lastly, (although neither Nitzsch nor the other Homeric critics, whose views we chiefly follow, have brought out this point with sufficient distinctness,) there are clearly some particulars in the geography of the Odyssey which cannot be satisfactorily explained by a reference to either of these two classes—the scenes real and known to the poet—the scenes invented, whether by himself or by the framers of the older fables. It is easy for us to recognise a third class of cases, in which Homer describes poetically scenes regarded by him in a different light. These, if they did not really exist, were at any rate supposed by him to do so; but they were known to him only from vague rumours, such as the unexact stories of Grecian mariners, or the tales of other travellers, set forth with a rich garniture of distortion and exaggeration. In the question, how many of the scenes in the Odyssey ought to be referred to this intermediate class, lies, as we venture to think, the principal field for controversy which is still fairly open to the geographical annotators on Homer. On the one hand, we may narrow the class by including in it no more than the very first steps in the hero's journey—the Cicones and the Lotophagi; and in this view we might consider the purely fabulous part of the tale to begin with the darkness, in the midst of which the adventurers sail towards the rude haven of the Cyclopes, as it ends with the happy slumber which heralds the restoration of the chief to his native isles. Or, on the other hand, we may doubt, with some show of reason, whether, in separating thus strongly between the purely and the partially invented, we do not take things too strictly, too academically, too *Teutonically*; we may doubt whether, even in the subsequent stages of Ulysses' adventures, and even throughout the marvellous tale which he tells to his believing hosts in Scheria, there do not occur scenes which, to the poet's own mind, presented the same mixed character as the account of the Lotophagi. But, in endeavouring to systematize our notions of the literary questions to which the work before us has invited, we have already, perhaps, travelled a little out of the record. It will be necessary to return ere we altogether lose sight of our traveller and his tour.

We pass to another section of his book, being that which we have mentioned as seeming to us, not less than the chapters on Ithaca, to make good his claim to be held an imparter of original information. At Athens he finds none of those primitive fortifications, amidst which, both in other parts of Northern Greece, and in many parts of the Peloponnesus, he labours with a zeal

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as indefatigable as if he were himself an aboriginal Pelasgian. For more than twenty centuries the turf has grown, and the flocks have wandered, among those solitary rocks where rose the Titanic ruins of Tiryns and Mycenæ. In the heart of Attica, perhaps, where the Cephisus and Ilissus flowed beneath the rock of Athene, no monuments had ever been reared emulating the massiveness of the stupendous piles which yet stand upon the heights of Argolis; and when more civilized generations had crowned the Cecropian Hill with its Ionian Acropolis, nothing was there left of the barbaric times, except some portions of the northern walls, said to have belonged to a fortress erected by Pelasgians; probably by some remnant of that wonderful race, later and less powerful than those who had elsewhere toiled like earth-born giants. The chief antiquities of Athens belong to the proudest and brightest times of Hellenic civilization. They have been visited, as objects of pilgrimage, by men from the uttermost ends of the earth. They have been described and depicted times without number. But both in their state and in the opportunities for investigating their history, the late vicissitudes in the political position of Greece have brought about changes of the most remarkable kind. Of these changes, the work under our notice gives an excellent account, which to most of its readers will, we suspect, be entirely new; while there can be few who will not derive additional matter for thought, both from the facts and from the opinions expressed in regard to them.

Before the emancipation of Greece, our knowledge of Athenian topography, chiefly imparted through countrymen of our own, may be said to have reached the utmost point which it could be expected to attain, so long as the country should remain in the hands of its Turkish masters. The pen had done its best, and in some instances its worst; what remained to be done was the function of the pick-axe. There had been more than enough of dissertation-writing, as well as of tourist-raptures: what was wanted was a scheme of intelligent excavations. That which the French, during their occupation of Italy, began to do for Rome, it was to be hoped that the new rulers of Greece would do for Athens—laying open to the eye the ruins of the classical times, which were built up amidst the Turkish and Frankish fortifications of the Acropolis, or buried beneath the soil and the hovels of the plain at the foot of the rock. The state of Athens was alluringly favourable for such operations; singularly so, indeed, in comparison with the ground containing the relics of Rome.

The precious opportunity was unused. It may be more just to say that, with regard to the lower parts of the city, it was

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deliberately annihilated. The selection of Athens as the seat of King Otho's sovereignty, whether politically right or wrong, was extremely unfortunate for the classical monuments of the place. Indeed, it may be doubted whether it was likely to be most disadvantageous on account of the risks to which it exposed the architectural works already known, or on account of the obstacles which it threatened to interpose in the way of further investigations. But a second error was added to the first. Even if Athens must be the seat of government, the new metropolis might, it should seem, have been so placed as to interfere little, or not at all, with the buried ruins of the ancient city. This wise abstinence was not practised. The Greco-Bavarian Athens lies entirely within the Athens of Theseus, Themistocles, and Hadrian; and in that space it occupies precisely the spots where many of the finest ancient structures stood, and where many of their ruins must still lie buried. In the plain, therefore, all hope of further discoveries is at an end. Little or nothing, also, has been added to our knowledge of the lower eminences about the city, where were the Areopagus, the Pnyx, the Museum. The identification of Mount Saint George with Lycabettus, which our author rightly considers to be satisfactorily made out, was first stated, if we mistake not, by Dr Wordsworth. In the case of the Theseion, as it would appear, the German antiquaries in Greece have indicated a tendency to that revolutionary system of archæology which, with various success, they have applied to monuments and sites in Rome. The summary with which we are favoured, of the arguments by which Dr Ross strives to support his transformation of the Temple of Theseus into a Temple of Mars, have not as yet convinced us that there are, for this change, reasons so strong as those which justified M. Bunsen in twisting the Roman Forum back into the attitude which it occupied in the eyes of the antiquaries of the seventeenth century.

On the Acropolis much has been done. The operations have already brought to light a great deal that is both new and valuable; and nothing is wanting but the demolition of the picturesque square tower of the middle ages, which is so prominent a feature in the landscape, to put this classical rock almost beyond the recognition of those who saw it a few years ago.

'The exertions of the Greco-Bavarian government towards the discovery, maintenance, or restoration of ancient monuments, have hitherto been concentrated almost exclusively within the limits of the Acropolis, and thus far, it must be admitted, the result of its measures reflects credit on the zeal, industry, and judgment of this department of administration.

'The walls of the Propylea, with the extant columns of its portico, are in a great measure disengaged from the unseemly masses of Turkish masonry in which they were formerly imbedded; the original plan of

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the structure, which was before matter of doubtful speculation, can now be recognised nearly in its whole extent; and the square bulwark forming its left flank, which was lately the basement of a Turkish bastion, presents at least the skeleton of the celebrated Pinacotheca or Picture-gallery, mentioned in the description of Pausanias.

'But the object which, on nearer approach, can hardly fail, by its novelty as well as beauty, most forcibly to attract the attention of the traveller familiar with the Acropolis only through the medium of the older drawings or descriptions, is the little Temple of Victory, situated on the south-west edge of the precipice, immediately below the tower. This building, which was still in existence when Wheler and Spon visited Athens in 1676, had long disappeared before the days of the present or even the last generation of travellers. Some fragments of masonry, however, supposed to belong to it, still remained visible on the ground in the neighbourhood of its former site; and four slabs of its sculptured frieze, which had been built into a neighbouring wall, found their way, in the course of Lord Elgin's operations, to the British Museum. One of the first undertakings of the Royal Conservators of Antiquities, was the excavation and recomposition of its materials. It has now, under the magic auspices of Messrs Ross and Schubart, risen like a phœnix from its ashes; and, as seen from a little distance, has much the appearance of a new but unfinished edifice: its white marble columns and walls glittering in the sun, with a splendour little short of that which they displayed when fresh from the chisels of their original constructors. The materials were found nearly complete, buried under an upper story of rubbish belonging to Turkish buildings on the same site, ruined posterior to itself. This temple is of very small dimensions, and of the class called by Vitruvius amphiprostyle; consisting of a cell with four Ionic columns at each front, but none at the sides. The walls of the cell, with the two porticoes, have been re-constructed in their integrity. The remains of the entablature, comprising nearly the whole frieze with the exception of the pieces in the British Museum, were lying in a neighbouring shed, preparatory to being replaced. The reliefs are of the most perfect period of art, representing Greeks triumphant over Persians or other oriental barbarians, in a style somewhat more easy and lively than that of Phidias. The epoch of the construction of this temple is doubtful: some place it earlier, but it cannot well be brought lower, than the Periclean era.

'A somewhat similar process of restoration was carrying on in the case of the Erechtheum. Many of its lost fragments had already been disinterred and replaced; and, as I understood, it was the intention of the government to make good the remaining deficiencies to the extent of a complete reconstruction of the building—walls, porticoes, and roof. In a neighbouring workshop, a Swiss sculptor was engaged in the execution of a new caryatid of Pentelic marble, to supply the place of that removed by Lord Elgin. Capitals of columns and other ornamental pieces of masonry were also in progress. * * * *

'The only considerable relic of modern structure now in the Acropolis, besides the tower at its south-western angle, is the mosque in the centre of the Parthenon; the removal of which would not probably be

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detrimental to the general effect of the ruin. Upon the whole, though the summit of the Acropolis, since its area has been cleared of its other Turkish appendages, presents a somewhat bare and desolate aspect, and is probably a far less picturesque scene than it was in Turkish times, yet hitherto it may be said, that what has been done has been done well. But if the square tower be pulled down—if the Erechtheum and the Parthenon be restored and roofed in upon the new renovating principles—if the surrounding area be then levelled, paved, and appropriated, as will doubtless be the case if the system now in vogue continue to be acted upon, to displays of modern Hellenic taste in architecture—the result will hardly be such as to afford matter of congratulation to any true lover of art or antiquity.'—(Vol. ii. pp. 65, 68, 73.)

It is time to quit the purely antiquarian section of the work, upon which, it may be, we have already bestowed what to some will appear an undue share of attention. We hasten to say, that this is by no means the only portion of the author's labours in which he is entitled to claim the praise of original observation. There has not, till now, been communicated to the British public, from any competent source, a view of those singularly interesting features which have been superinduced both upon the face of the country, and upon the character and social condition of its inhabitants, by the recognition of the national independence, and the attempt to assimilate the political state of Greece to that of the other European kingdoms. Mr Strong's volume, recently published, treats these new relations in an aspect strictly statistical; and presents a mass of documents, and figures, and tabular results, which must prove singularly valuable as the first materials for speculation on these important topics. But upon these we have at present no fit opportunity of entering. We remark only, by way of parenthesis, that we have found the Athenian Banker's systematic survey to throw much necessary light upon Mr Mure's travelling sketches.

We have said, then, that both in this interesting department (to which he devotes a large portion of his work) and in that of classical antiquities, Mr Mure appears to us to have contributed not a little to the stock of real knowledge in regard to Greece. The amount of the acquisitions which, in the two branches together, he has presented to his readers, would have been amply sufficient to justify the publication of his researches; even if these had been communicated in a manner inferior to that in which he has been able to communicate them.

In regard to the manner of communication, the second qualification which we laid down for intending travellers, our opinion is, upon the whole, extremely favourable. The work must be regarded as one addressing itself to an extensive circle of readers, and aiming at conveying information in a popular and agreeable

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form. We are justified in considering it from this point of view by several features in its plan and execution, which, if it had been designed for a very narrow and highly-instructed class of students, could not have been introduced by a writer possessing so much tact as well as knowledge. As a popular book of travels, then, it is disfigured by some serious faults. It has two in particular, which run greatly into each other: a strong tendency to diffuse description—a tendency, not less strong, to controversial digression.

The author has an excellent eye for natural scenery and its adjuncts—a quick apprehension of those salient points of human character which strike a passing observer, and a turn for meditative, half poetic reflection, which we cannot prevail upon ourselves to think unbecoming his character, whether as an accomplished scholar or as a Colonel of Militia. But his manner of expression is equally long-drawn in description and in meditation; and the picture of a group clustered round a hostelry fire, the sketch of a landscape seen from a commanding height, and the enunciation of the sentiments inspired by a celebrated ruin, are alike temptations to a fulness of petty detail, which mars severely the effect of the whole. Amusing examples of this tedious circumstantiality are furnished by passages dealing with the animal kingdom; such as the apparition of the six vultures among the Acarnanian ruins, the song of the Bœotian owl at Chæronea, and the conversation with the camel beside the Attic khan of San Vlasio.

Where the objects observed tempt to the discussion of disputed questions, the same tendency is annoyingly active; but it is not to such cases that its exercise is confined. There are repeated dissertations (such as a philosophical speculation on the effects of climate upon national character) which cannot be said to have even the excuse of arising naturally out of the matter immediately in hand. This itch for digression is common enough in unpractised writers; but it is unworthy of one who does not here make his first bow to the public. For our own part, we like to see an author ride his hobby with spirit, and can make ample allowance for vagaries which may lead him now and then aside from the proper path. But when he not only gallops down every cross-road, but incessantly indulges himself in a steeplechase ending at the point where it began, it becomes a duty to warn him, that the reader (who may be regarded as having accepted a seat on the crupper) will, if once thrown, be hardly persuaded to mount again.

Notwithstanding all this, the book will, if we mistake not, prove agreeable to every one who can by any means be excited to

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take an interest in the topics of which it treats. Its defects are far more than atoned for by many good qualities.

We wish it were in our power to use fully the materials which it furnishes, for aiding us to form a conception of the present aspect and position both of the Greeks and of their country. Some we cannot leave unnoticed.

The half-ruined town of Mesolonghi, and the surrounding plain with its scarred stumps, the remains of olive groves destroyed by the Turks during the siege, presaged in like manner the gloomy features of a picture which he was to see repeated at almost every step of his route, and which he has described with much liveliness and feeling. It is a frightfully instructive example of the calamities which attend on war, and from which the justice of the cause is no protection to the inhabitants of the land that is its scene. Some of the facts collected in Mr Gordon's statistical work, to which we formerly referred, aptly illustrate and explain the casual observations of the traveller.

At the termination of the war, the territory erected into the kingdom of Greece, was one from which those were expelled who had previously constituted, almost exclusively, the higher classes—the Turkish landholders and the functionaries of the Turkish government. They who remained, they who had resisted for years the combined strength of the Turkish empire, and had at length compelled the powers of Europe to interfere for saving them from annihilation, were a race who had, till then, been but the slaves of barbarous masters. Of this fact—a fact indispensable to be considered by those who would fairly estimate the difficulties of establishing order and civilization in Greek society—we speak at present in its relation to the occupancy of the soil. The lands which had belonged, either to the Turkish government or to private persons of that race, were in the end forfeited, and became the property of the Greek nation. Accordingly, the government of King Otho, although its claims are not yet wholly adjusted, has come into possession of a vast proportion of the whole country. Not more than an eighth, perhaps not more than a ninth part of the lands, is private property. Both the government and the individuals found their domains almost utterly destroyed by the ravages of the war; and, when we have regard to the formidable difficulties against which the whole nation have had to struggle since the acquisition of their independence, and to the energy with which, in various quarters, these difficulties have been combated, we shall find cause for hope, even in the midst of the desolation which all accounts agree in representing as still paramount over the greater part of a region so highly favoured by nature.

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The centuries of Turkish misrule had converted a very large proportion of the country into uncultivated and uninhabited wilds. The exterminating and bitter contest which raged for years after the first rising, severely aggravated these evils; and the independent kingdom can acquire but slowly the population and the wealth which are requisite for enabling it to redeem its statistical position. A country said to be capable of supporting five millions of souls, is inhabited by less than nine hundred thousand; and the poverty of its present agricultural resources may be estimated in some measure from the fact, that there is calculated to be but one yoke of oxen for every four persons engaged in tillage.

In the rural districts, one scene of ruin presents itself after another—relieved, however, in many quarters by the cheering aspect of reviving prosperity. The olive-trees were almost every where cut down and burned by the Turks; the plain of Argos, and the neighbourhood of Navarin, which had been covered with groves of this useful tree, were left without a growing plant. The currant vineyards were chiefly destroyed, and those which remained had grown wild. Patras, once imbedded in orchards, stands completely bare. Birds of prey prowl every where; and in the defile of Tretus, and between the citadel of Corinth and the sea, the bones of an army of slain Turks still lie mouldering away. The towns of Greece, almost without any exception, were, at the close of the war, mere heaps of ruins; and upon these the new towns are gradually rising. Livadìa, as Mr Mure approached it, seemed to him to be composed of small herb-plots or kitchen-gardens: on his arrival, these were seen to be the areas and foundations of the ruined houses. Thebes, having lost the plane-trees of its bazar, its domes and minarets, is a group of 'hovels, wooden sheds, ruins, and rubbish,' with a high square tower of the middle ages standing at one extremity of its ridge, the sole remnant of its former state. Tripolizza and Argos are rising from similar devastations; and Athens itself presents its new and handsome buildings in humiliating contiguity to hillocks of overthrown masonry. The destruction of Misitra, instead of having been followed by its reerection on the same spot, has led to the foundation of a new Sparta, on, or close beside the site of the ancient city. The name and the act are good omens. With them we gladly close this enumeration of articles included in the price which a brave nation has been made to pay for its freedom.

To the character of the nation, Mr Mure shows every disposition to do frank and hearty justice. The excellent spirit which pervades his work, where the Greeks themselves are the objects

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of remark, is one of the most agreeable of the qualities which recommend it to favour. It is a spirit of good-will and kindness towards the people, and of warm sympathy with them in their past struggles and their present condition. Their character is commented upon with an allowance, not less just than kindly, for the causes of deterioration which have so long operated upon it; and the pleasing features which came under his notice are depicted with a friendly yet discriminating hand.

Very early in the wild journey along the coast of Acarnania and Ætolia, which is the first stage of his tour on the continent of Greece, he is led to speculations of a kind which he delights greatly to institute, and which, in more than one instance, are not only interesting but new and ingenious. He compares the modern race with the corresponding class in ancient times; and, upon this analogical kind of illustration, he brings to bear very much sound and minute learning.

His first remarks of this sort are elicited by a meeting with a community of Wallachian shepherds, who lie encamped on the desert banks of the Acheloüs, not far from the ruins of Œniadæ. The encounters with these wandering herdsmen, and with others of the same class who come in his way afterwards, give rise to many intimations of analogy between pastoral life in ancient Greece, and that which is still to be found in the same regions. One of the most curious of these—and to travellers the most practically interesting—is the fierceness of the native dogs, who every where in Greece are represented by all tourists as being in spirit genuine representatives of those Ithacan dogs, that would fain have slain Ulysses as he approached the lodge of Eumæus the swineherd. Our author brings into amusing relation with this point the χερμαδια of Homer—the rough, jagged, large stones which he sees scattered every where over the surface of the soil; and which are alike available for pelting off a pack of savage hounds, and, in case of need, for supplying the place of more formidable missiles in the hand of a hard-pressed warrior.

Another class of antique recollections to which, in one place, we are introduced very pleasingly, are those which regard the navigation of the Mediterranean. The voyages of Ulysses are brought strikingly, and, in some particulars, not without novelty of aspect, into juxtaposition with the modern traveller's creeping sail from the Piræus to Cape Colonna and Corinth. Elsewhere ancient and modern dwellings are compared; although on this point too much has been done by others to have left much for any new observer to accomplish. There is a whimsical liveliness in the manner which our author treats another classical topic, to which he recurs again and again. This is the

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prevalent Grecian filth, with its natural accompaniment of vermin, the plague of all tourists from the north; and (as we are pathetically informed) peculiarly hostile to the writer of these two volumes. He makes a half serious attempt to derive the pedigree of some of his nightly tormentors in a direct line from those poetical *reptilia* which were anathematized by the Aristophanic disciple of Socrates. There is a more real seriousness in the rational observations which are made upon the points of difference between ancient and modern Greeks in the matter of personal cleanliness generally; and much discrimination is shown in the use of the classical materials which are applied to the elucidation of the question. The present state of the Greeks at large, in respect of this quality of civilization, is amusingly illustrated by the deliberate approval which Mr Mure pronounces upon an apartment offered to him as a lodging in Mesolonghi. It was (comparatively) clean, *because* it had been recently inhabited by fowls *only*. These unpleasing habits—to which it is needless to say the sufferings endured by the bulk of the nation for so many years in the present generation must have added greatly—contrast singularly both with the prevalent fondness of the Greeks for showy dresses, and with the well-known picturesqueness which most of their national costumes so strikingly display.

But the 'fustanella' and the dirty bed-rugs were by no means the only modern objects which attracted the notice of our traveller. Several even of his lightest sketches of scenes and characters, lead us onward to a more intimate acquaintance with the state in which the lower orders of Grecian society have been left by the convulsions whence they have lately emerged. One of the most complete groups of personages presented to us is that by which the writer found himself surrounded in the khan of Livadia, where he was detained for several days by a characteristically Bœotian deluge of rain. The description of the khan (made to illustrate the fatal fall of Homer's Elpenor,) and that of the torrent of rain (which, in its turn, illustrates some classical superstitions,) are followed by portraits of the tourist's fellow-lodgers, from which we select a few of the most striking traits. These bear more or less directly upon several very important questions as to the present aspect of society in the country:—

'Four of the small private apartments were occupied besides my own; one by a leech merchant from Athens, who spoke bad though intelligible Italian, and was more civilized in appearance and manner than the other guests. He complained bitterly of the wet weather, which, by raising the waters of the lake to an unusual height, prevented his fisher-

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men from pursuing their comfortless avocation, and suspended his own business. The animals are caught by country people in his employ, who wade with bare feet and legs into the water, and seize them as they fasten on their skin. Another room was occupied by a couple of Argive cotton merchants, of rude demeanour and uncouth ponderous persons, enveloped in a vast quantity of coarse white woollen drapery. A third was the quarter of two Albanian veterans, belonging to a party of irregular light infantry stationed in the town. These troops are distributed in detachments through the different provinces, as a sort of moveable armed police, liable to be called out to pursue brigands, or otherwise support the civil authorities or the regular gendarmerie. But from any thing I could learn or see, I was not led to form a high opinion of the value of their services; and their employment seemed generally to be considered as little better than an expedient to prevent them from relapsing into those habits of predatory life from which they had, most of them, been previously reclaimed. They were, like others of their cloth whom I happened to meet, wild, ferocious-looking fellows, and offensively dirty, in spite of their beautiful though soiled and greasy uniform, of native fashion but Bavarian colours, white and blue. Nicóla [the traveller's servant] was very amusing on the subject of his two countrymen, speaking of them, with a mixture of compassion and contempt, under the title of "questi poveri Chimariotti." Chimariote is the title they usually bear, derived from the town and district of Chimara, on the Adriatic, distinguished for this class of warriors; and which has been extended in popular use to those of the whole Acroceraunian range. He gave a moving account of the shabbiness of their pay, as well as of the filth and misery of their persons, quarters, and mode of life, which was indeed too self-evident to require any commentary. They seemed to be very much their own masters, and subjected to little either of discipline, duty, or authority, that I could perceive.

'The other palikar, who seemed to be the man of the greatest consequence of the two, at least in his own estimation, a fine athletic fellow, with a fierce sinister countenance and a free and forward manner, paid me a visit on the second afternoon; and after shaking me cordially by the hand, uttered, with much vehement gesture, a long and energetic harangue, scarcely one word of which I understood, but which I interpreted to convey certain anathemas against brigands and klephts, with offers of his protection and services in case of emergency, and an assurance of their value. My reason for putting this construction on his address, apart from the tenor of the few expressions I comprehended, was, that about the time of our arrival, reports had reached the place of a renewal or increase of brigandage in the neighbouring districts, especially towards Thermopylæ and the Turkish frontier, always the more especial theatre of predatory warfare, and in which direction he supposed we were bound. These reports were in so far confirmed by the arrival of the post-rider from Tálanta at the Khan that forenoon, on foot, having been plundered of his horse, and stripped of every article on his person, with the exception of a few woollen rags scarcely sufficient to cover his nakedness. Nicóla, on communicating this part of intelligence, observed in his sar-

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castic way, that the travellers across the Turkish frontier, if they wished to ride in security, had better wait until the season was a little further advanced, when the government would probably send up Generals Church or Gordon, or some other of their commanders, to enlist the bands in their own service, and bestow commissions of colonel, major, or captain of light infantry, on their chiefs. I took this for a jest at the moment: but I afterwards found, to my surprise, that there was as much truth as satire in the remark, having been informed on high authority, that this strange method of encouraging the evil it was sought to check had in fact been frequently resorted to, and to a considerable extent. As regards the proffered services of the Chimariote warrior, considering the mode in which the corps to which he belonged was habitually recruited, they did not seem calculated to afford much comfort had I really been likely to require them.

'But the most curious inmates of the establishment were my own next-door neighbours, a party of students at the Academy of Livadia. They were five in number, brothers, or near relatives of each other; the eldest a fine tall handsome youth of about seventeen, the youngest a boy of about twelve years of age. Their room contained, as usual, no article of domestic furniture; but amends were made by four oblong wooden chests of such bulk as to cover the greater portion of its area. These were the repositories of their clothes, books, provisions, and valuables of all kinds; and also served them as desks for writing their exercises, and for pillows when asleep. On the intermediate space, they reclined, squatted, romped, and reposed, upon their shaggy goat-skin cloaks or hair capottes, which protected them from the storm by day, and formed their mattress and bedding by night. They never undressed, much less changed their attire, during the period of my residence, nor probably in the course of the year, unless when the decay of the suit they wore, or the obligation of some great religious festival, might require its partial or complete renewal.

'In the midst of all this filth and misery there was something exceedingly engaging in their temper and demeanour. We were only separated by a thin partition of boards, full of chinks, through which each party could hear every thing, and see a good deal of what was going on on the other side; and although, from daybreak until about nine or ten o'clock at night, with a short interval of absence at school hours, they kept up a perpetual clatter, swelling every now and then into boisterous screaming and romping, I never heard a cross word, or observed a symptom of quarrel or disagreement among them. Their lessons, which were all carried on in common—*viva voce*—and conjointly with their chattering and merriment, comprised, in as far as languages were concerned, the Greek, ancient and modern, and the Italian, but no Latin. One of their chief exercises was repeating and learning by heart portions of an Italo-Greek vocabulary. In the performance of this task, as indeed of all others imposed on them, they had instinctively resorted to the system of mutual instruction, rehearsing to each other in turns their separate allotments, every third or fourth sentence of which gave rise to a jest and peals of laughter. The older ones acted the part of tutors or monitors to their

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juniors, and occasionally assumed—though throughout palpably in jest—the functions of pedagogue, even to the extent of administering chastisement with the slipper, to this day as in ancient Greece* a common mode of infliction, accompanied with the proper amount of angry words on the part of the castigator, and of entreaties, expostulations, or lamentations on that of the chastised. They seemed all to be gifted by nature with a quickness of capacity, in the inverse ratio fortunately of the wretched means employed for its cultivation. Half an hour was occasionally devoted to reading aloud, subject of course to the same interruptions. The works selected for this exercise were chiefly in the Romaic, the exact matter of which I could rarely follow, but they appeared almost exclusively of a religious tendency.

'It was with much regret that I was obliged to forego cultivating their closer acquaintance; but after having been at such pains to free my own quarters from filth and vermin, the terror of fresh contamination, while it effectually excluded my visits to them, rendered me little disposed to encourage any similar compliment on their part. I therefore was for confining my intercourse with them to a little conversation during our occasional walks on the portico. But the elder one of the party, observing me one day reading by the fireside, took courage, and approaching very respectfully, asked to look at the book. It was a volume of the small Leipsig stereotype edition of Pausanias. He both read and understood it tolerably, was much delighted with the topographical description of his own native district of Phocis, and seemed lost in admiration of the beauty of the volume, although of very ordinary paper and homely binding. I was sorry I could not spare him a present of a number or two of my set, which I certainly would have done, had I known, as I afterwards discovered, that I could easily have replaced them at Athens. After this first inroad he renewed his visits each successive day; but had the good taste not to make them very long, and when disposed to get rid of him, I very easily succeeded by resuming my walk in the gallery. The younger ones, emboldened by his example, also once or twice attempted to effect a lodgement; but, observing with ready tact the signs of disapprobation on my countenance, he put them to flight in an instant by emphatically pronouncing the words "Exó, tetrápoda"—"get out, you brutes!" literally, "you quadrupeds." He informed me that two of them were his brothers, the other two his cousins, also brothers of each other. His father was a Papa of Distomo, the ancient Ambrysus, in Phocis. He himself had been two years at the Academy, the others a proportionally shorter time. They had hired the room in the Khan as their permanent lodging. They visited the Academy at stated hours; but in other respects lived quite independently, subject to no apparent control except an occasional visit from an old black-bearded Papa of the town, who seemed to have, or rather to fancy he had, some charge of them, either in the capacity of private tutor or

* Aristoph. *Lysistr.* v. 657. Terent. *Eunuch*, v. 3, 4. Persius, v. 169. Lucian, *Dial. Deor.* xi. 1; xiii. 2. Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. *v.* 612.

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religious instructor. The only perceptible effect of his presence was a certain addition to their habitual merriment, of which he was himself not unfrequently the butt, but always in the same spirit of good-humour that pervaded their intercourse with each other.'—(Vol. i. p. 239–246.)

This long extract conveys no inadequate impression, both of the temper in which Mr Mure speaks of the Greeks, and of the comparative amount of notice bestowed by him upon the several classes which together make up the Greek nation.

To the state of the rural districts, and to some sections of the rural population, he gives, as we have already had some occasion to remark, much and repeated attention. And certainly close observation is merited by a class who constitute, according to Mr Strong's returns, about one-half of the male adults of the nation. In regard to the state and prospects of agriculture in Greece, the general impression left upon the reader's mind by Mr Mure's casual glimpses will not differ materially, in its results, from the more specific one conveyed by the former observer's tabular and numerical details. In regard to commerce, however, to which, even before the emancipation of Greece was attained, her most intelligent friends looked with sanguine hope as the most promising source of her future prosperity, the volumes now before us afford, it may be said, no information whatever; and an impression very far from accurate might be made by one or two incidental allusions, which alone are to be found in relation to the subject. Of the state of native manufactures in Greece, it does not indeed seem easy to speak in terms too disparaging. Every thing has yet to be done: the country is but rising out of the slough of barbarism into which tyranny had plunged it. But, in regard to commerce, even at this earliest stage in the new order of things, and in spite of errors here, as elsewhere, committed by the government, there is abundant room for cheerfulness and hope. The Greek mercantile navy—the school in which Canaris was trained to execute vengeance upon the Turks —continues to be a school both for sturdy independence and for steady and enterprising industry. Mr Mure's book, however, is our text; and we must not go beyond it for the matter which would be required for illustrating this assertion.

His curiosity seems, like that of most travellers, to have been strongly attracted by the wildest portions of the nation—those who have, by a discouraging crossness of destiny, been at once the most active instruments in working out the liberation of Greece from her Turkish despots, and the most serious hinderances in the way of establishing that good order, which is a preliminary condition towards her enjoyment of the liberty she has attained. Much interest attaches to the incidental illustra-

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tions of that system of irregular tactics, which—employed under the Turkish rule in a marauding warfare, chiefly directed against the oppressors of the race, but occasionally against fellow-countrymen—was devoted usefully to the noblest purposes during the war of liberation; but which, sullied even in that contest by abuses betokening its impure origin, has, since the recognition of Greek independence, threatened, more than once, to plunge the country into an unmitigated anarchy. In the volume under notice, however, we see the character of the irregular Greek warfare treated only in its development towards one quarter, in which it ends by producing downright robbery. We should have liked well to receive illustrations of it in another light. The 'Klephts,' who have professionally practised that profession since the peace, are very mean rogues indeed; but among the 'Klephts' and 'Armatoli' of the Turkish times, were bred, as we must never fail to recollect, the leaders who maintained, unflinchingly for years, the most desperate national conflict recorded in the pages of modern history. Looking back to the scenes which have been caused by the wild temper of the Colokotronis, and Mavromichalis, and others, since the expulsion of the Turks—to the misrule and rebellions of the interim republic, and the bloody act of Mainote revenge which closed the reign of its wily chief—and to the more recent ebullitions of the same spirit, since the accession of King Otho—we have felt, we must own, less interest in perusing the travelling sketches of Klephtic tactics and adventures than in glancing at those parts of the other book, which give details like those of an almanac. It is interesting in the extreme, to those who are familiar with events not many years old, to see such names as Mavromichalis, and Colokotronis, and Palamedes, and Manginas, and Mavrocordatos, and Colettis, set down together as belonging to men who are members of the same Council of State. But we must wait for another opportunity, and for a few articles of information supplementary to those which we already possess, before entering upon the field thus presented.

Nor does Mr Mure's book either tempt or entitle us to treat the state or prospects of Greece in a political point of view. He himself carefully shuns politics—thus excluding himself, perhaps, from affording some information of a kind that might have possessed both use and interest. However, if he had dealt much in speculations of this nature, it is not impossible that we should have found it necessary to enter a pretty strong dissent to some of his conclusions. At least, such is the suspicion we are tempted to entertain from the perusal of that which is almost the only passage purely political throughout his work—a passage in which

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he speaks of the Greek Revolution in comparison with the abortive revolutions of Italy. But, in the mean time, we will not interpret his political opinions by implication. We thank him for the good spirit in which the social relations of Greece are treated generally, and decline going out of our way to seek for themes of censure.

The last quotation we made does but justice to that universal zeal for education, of which, from various sources, we receive the most cheering accounts, and which is one of the fairest auguries we could desire for the future. The past history of the struggle for independence is, in itself, an augury to the same effect; and is spoken of by Mr Mure with much enthusiasm. We gladly quote, in conclusion, part of the animated discussion which serves as the introduction to his narrative of the fall of Mesolonghi:—

'I remember at Athens to have heard a veteran Philhellene, who had borne his share in the brunt of the war, and of whose name honourable mention occurs in the narrative of its vicissitudes, maintain, that the acts of prowess by which it was distinguished fell no way short of those which shed the greatest lustre on the most brilliant period of old Hellenic history—that of the Persian invasion. The remark, though acquiesced in by some of his comrades, struck me at the moment as a paradox or an exaggeration; but, on a fair estimate of all the specialties of the two cases, it was difficult to see how it could be controverted. Apart from individual displays of valour or patriotism, it is necessary, in order to a just balance of the merits of any such comparison, that we should consider, in each case, the whole circumstances under which the struggle commenced and was carried on. In the Greeks of the present age we find a people who, after having, at a remote period of history, passed through the successive stages of decline, decay, and death, to which the body politic, like the human frame, is inevitably destined—who, after having lain for upwards of a thousand years in a state of corruption and torpor, though in the enjoyment, it is true, of a species of mock independence—had been finally reduced to little better than abject slavery, by the most cruel race of foreign tyrants that ever planted its settlements in a conquered country. During more than four successive centuries, they had been habituated to be buffeted and spit upon, to see their laws set aside or violated, their religion trampled under foot, their industry blighted, and their substance absorbed by the most grinding system of taxation; and, under the influence of these accumulated causes of debasement, had become, perhaps not undeservedly, a by-word among the surrounding nations for all that is contemptible and worthless in our species. That any people under such circumstances should have preserved a national character at all, is perhaps a rare phenomenon; but that they should at this last hour suddenly shake off the spirit of tame submission which had become to them a second nature, and rise to a man against the overwhelming power of their oppressors, and with all the native energy of a young and vigorous

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race of fierce barbarians, is an event unexampled in the history of mankind.

'How stands the case on the other side? The Greeks, at the period of the Persian war, were a people in the flower of youth and vigour, flushed with recollections of ancient glory, filled with the loftiest spirit of national pride and independence. The whole population was regularly trained to arms, and inured to the dangers and duties of military life. Their lower classes were practised warriors, their upper ranks skilful commanders. Their armies and fleets were in a high state of discipline and equipment, and were opposed to comparatively undisciplined and unwarlike hordes. They were invaded, it is true, by the whole force of a mighty empire, of which their native country, in point of extent, would scarcely have furnished a petty province; but it was at that time fully peopled, and the single state of Attica probably contained a population little short of that of the whole of Greece proper at the present day. Their enemies were at a distance, and full time was given to prepare and concentrate their means of defence. In the case of the modern Greeks, all these favourable circumstances were reversed. In addition to the disadvantages already noticed, the wealthier classes were either merchants or servants of the Porte—a timid and time-serving race. Their warriors were brigands and outlaws, or raw unpractised peasantry; their mariners, fishermen or pirates. Commanders they had none, above the rank of a captain of bucaniers or of mountain banditti. Funds they could scarcely be said to possess at all. Their enemies were not only a race of approved valour and powerful resources, comparatively disciplined, experienced, and well equipped, but were cantoned in the heart of their country, and in possession of all its principal fortresses. In respect to numbers, the disproportion between the Christian population of Greece and the Turkish empire, may be considered virtually as great as that between the dominions of Xerxes and the states of the Hellenic confederacy. But besides this, during the two or three first years of the war, they had not only the force of their declared enemy to contend with, but the still more galling hostility of his European allies, many of whom, under the name of neutrality, used every means consistent with the shadow of its maintenance, to favour the Turks and browbeat the Greeks. Driven from their fields and homes, to make their abode for months or years "in deserts and in mountains, in dens and caves of the earth;" astonished and appalled to find themselves denounced as the common enemy of civilized Europe, in those very quarters to which they had most confidently looked for sympathy and support—under all these afflicting discouragements they never lost heart; and a few raw levies of squalid mountaineers or unwarlike fishermen, by the unaided resources of their own valour or conduct, successively overpowered the garrisons, dispersed the choicest armies, and baffled or discomfited the ponderous navies, of one of the mightiest empires of modern times.'—(Vol. i. p. 145–148.)

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ART. VIII.—*Das Nationale System der Politische Oekonomie*, von Dr FRIEDRICH LIST. (*The National System of Political Economy*, by Dr FREDERIC LIST.) 8vo. Volume I. Stuttgart and Tübingen: 1841.

BEFORE we proceed to our examination of our author's pretended system, we must state the contents and the purpose of his volume, with the motives which induce us to notice it. We must preface the statement with an explanation of the causes in which this volume has originated; and, in order to this explanation, we must advert to the origin and the objects of the 'German Customs-Union.'

Before the continental system, established by Napoleon, closed the ports of Germany against English manufactured goods, Austria and Prussia, the principal German states, protected their own manufactures by prohibitory or restrictive tariffs. Each of the states of inferior importance, into which the rest of Germany was then divided, had its separate system of import-duties as well as Austria or Prussia. The several tariffs of these numerous inferior states opposed the most mischievous obstacles to the internal commerce of Germany; but they permitted the importation of foreign manufactured goods, including those of England. It appears, moreover, from a statement made by our author, that the Prussian government had begun to perceive the mischiefs of its prohibitive and restrictive policy. In consequence of its growing tendency to a liberal commercial policy, it had considerably reduced its duties on foreign manufactured articles; and, in consequence of these reductions, its tariff no longer afforded to its own manufacturing subjects a complete protection against English competition.

From 1806 to the general peace in 1814, English manufactured goods were nearly excluded from Germany; the exclusion being caused by Napoleon's continental system, and by other obstacles to commerce which arose from the general war. In consequence of this exclusion, manufactures were created in parts of Germany which had not previously manufactured for themselves; and manufactures were extended in parts of the country in which a manufacturing industry had previously arisen.

After the general peace in 1814, English manufactured goods were again imported into Germany—the Austrian states being the only parts of the country from which they were excluded by a prohibitory tariff. As the English manufacturing capitals

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were larger than the German, and England was superior to Germany in the arts of manufacturing industry, this renewed importation was disastrous to the German manufacturers; and it threatened to destroy the unnatural manufacturing establishments which had been created by the war, and by Napoleon's continental system.

The manufacturing distress which generally affected Germany, in consequence of the renewed importation of English manufactured goods, fell with peculiar severity on the Rhenish provinces of Prussia. During the war, those provinces had been French departments; and, in consequence of their incorporation with that extensive country, the vast markets of France had been open to their manufactured products. Accordingly, on the transfer of the Rhenish provinces from France to Prussia, the manufacturing population of those provinces were visited with a double calamity. They were excluded from vast markets which had lately been open to their products; whilst the incompleteness of the protection afforded them by the Prussian tariff, exposed them to the crushing competition of the English manufacturers.

In consequence of the distress inflicted upon them by the renewed importation of English manufactured goods, the manufacturing subjects of the Prussian government were deeply discontented at its commercial policy; and they vehemently demanded a tariff of import duties, calculated to protect them completely against English competition. The Prussian government (if we may believe our author) was inclined to the principle of free international trade; but there were motives, arising from its position, which urged it to comply with the demand. In the first place, the Rhenish provinces at that time were dissatisfied with the transfer to Prussia; and the severe distress of their manufacturing population, sharpened their desire for a reunion with France. In the next place, laws had been recently passed by the English legislature for the protection of the landed interest. In consequence of these laws, Prussian corn and other raw products were excluded from the English markets; and, assuming that the Prussian government (agreeably to its secret inclination) had permitted the free importation of English manufactured goods, it is manifest that this exclusion (to the extent to which it operated) would ultimately have compelled its subjects to manufacture for themselves. It appears, therefore, that the English restrictions on the importation of raw products, weakened the inducement of the Prussian government to reject the demand for a more protective tariff. By rejecting the demand, it would have inflamed the existing discontent of its dis-

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tressed manufacturing subjects; and, owing to the tendency of those restrictions to force Prussia to manufacture for herself, it would not have secured to the body of its subjects the full advantages of free international trade.

Determined by the motives to which we have adverted, the Prussian government, in 1818, issued a new tariff of import duties; and this tariff (afterwards copied by the German Customs-Union) amply protected the Prussian manufacturers against their English competitors.

But though it amply protected the Prussian manufactures, it increased the distress of the manufacturers in the inferior states of Germany. The new policy of the Prussian government excluded these manufacturers from the Prussian territories; as the prohibitory systems of the Austrian and French governments had previously excluded them from the Austrian and French dominions. The effect of these exclusions from the Prussian territories, and from the Austrian and French dominions, was aggravated by the obstacles to the internal commerce of Germany, which arose from the separate tariffs of the inferior German states; so that the manufacturers in each of those small communities were nearly confined to their narrow domestic market.

The distressed manufacturers in the inferior states of Germany, naturally turned their minds to the means of curing the evil; and, in 1819, a number of manufacturers and traders, subjects of those states, formed themselves into an association for devising and promoting a remedy. After various consultations, they determined to direct their labours to the accomplishment of the following objects:—the establishment of a tariff common to Germany, instead of the separate tariffs of the several German states; and the complete protection of the German manufacturers against English and other foreign competitors. As this association consisted of 6000 members, and represented the manufacturing interests of a large portion of Germany, they had naturally much influence with the German public, and, through the German public, with the German governments. According to our author, Germany is indebted to them for the 'Customs-Union;' and, by their labours to diffuse their opinions, and to determine the governments to adopt their objects, they seem to have brought about the establishment of the Union, or to have contributed materially to that result. Be this as it may, their objects were ultimately accomplished. Three confederacies, tending to the promotion of those objects, were successively formed by various German states. Bavaria and Würtemburg were parties to the first; Prussia, with certain states contiguous to the Prussian dominions, were parties to the second; and certain states in

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central Germany, were parties to the third. The three confederacies were subsequently united; and the 'German Customs-Union' is the confederacy which resulted from the fusion. Most of the German states are now members of this Union; the Austrian states, the Mecklenburgs, Holstein, Hanover, and the Hanse Towns, being, we believe, the only states still refusing to join it.

The several states which are members of the Union have relinquished their separate tariffs;—a tariff of import duties, common to all the states, has been established by their joint authority; revenue officers, empowered by the same authority, levy the duties which the tariff imposes; and the share of each state in the proceeds of the tariff, is proportioned to the amount of its population. These financial and commercial provisions have been followed by important effects on the internal commerce of Germany. Though the several countries which are members of the Union are sovereign and distinct states, they are nevertheless, for the purposes of the Union, one country with one frontier. Accordingly, few of the fiscal obstacles, naturally lying in the way of international trade, obstruct the mutual commerce of these independent communities.

Important effects on the foreign commerce of Germany have resulted from the duties imposed by the Union tariff on foreign manufactured goods. Generally speaking, these duties are proportioned to the weight, and not to the value of the article. Accordingly, they admit the importation of the finer and dearer commodities, which are exclusively consumed by the wealthier classes; and they prevent or impede the importation of the coarser and cheaper commodities, which are objects of general consumption. Considered as duties *ad valorem*, the duties imposed by the tariff on the coarser commodities vary from 20 to 60 per cent; so that commodities of this description, manufactured in England and other foreign countries, are nearly excluded by those duties from the states belonging to the Union. One principal object of the Union tariff is the protection and encouragement of German manufacturing industry; and in preventing the importation of the coarser, and permitting the importation of the finer commodities, the authors of the tariff adopted a measure well calculated to accomplish the purpose. As the manufacturing industry of Germany is comparatively rude, she has few or no aptitudes for producing the finer commodities; and the branches of manufacturing industry which are devoted to the production of articles generally consumed, are incomparably the most important.

It appears from the preceding statement, that the authors of the Union had two principal objects:—The removal of the ob-

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stacles to the internal commerce of Germany, which arose from the separate tariffs of her several states; and the exclusion of foreign manufactures from German markets, for the protection and encouragement of German manufacturing industry. It is manifest that the two objects have no natural connexion; and accordingly the members of the association of 1819, who were not directly concerned in manufacturing enterprises, aimed exclusively at the first. Indeed, the principle which prompted the exclusion of foreign manufactured goods, is not consistent with the principle which required the abolition of the separate tariffs; inasmuch as the benefits which accrue to the people of Germany from freedom of commerce between her several states, would be enhanced by freedom of commerce between Germany and foreign countries.

Dr List, the author of the volume before us, was an active member of the association, to whose labours we have adverted. It appears, indeed, from a statement in his preface, that he started the idea of such an association, and even the idea of a 'German Customs-Union.' He was then a professor (we believe of Political Economy) in the University of Tübingen; and he has since devoted his life to economical speculations, or to practical pursuits tending to suggest them. Strong in study and experience, he contemptuously rejects the principle of free international trade; and he looks upon Turgot and Adam Smith, with the other political economists by whom the principle is maintained, as drivelling and ridiculous dreamers. He thinks that the benefits conferred on the German people by the Customs-Union, chiefly arise from its prohibitory and restrictive tariff, and not from the freedom of commerce which it gives to the interior of Germany; and he zealously maintains the expediency of protecting German manufacturers, by excluding their foreign rivals from German markets. As English manufacturing industry is superior to German, it would crush the unnatural manufactures created in Germany, if the commerce between the countries were freed from prohibitions and restrictions; and as Dr List (like too many other zealots) loves his cause less than he hates its enemies, the vehemence of his passion for promoting German manufactures, is surpassed by the fierceness of his antipathy to the manufacturing greatness of England. It appears, from his preface, that he left Germany in 1821; that he did not return to that country till 1833; and that he resided in the United States of North America during the interval, or the greater part of it. It seems that his hostility to the manufacturing greatness of England was not softened by his absence from his country. In a series of letters published in American Newspapers in 1827, he sup-

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ported the cause of those American manufacturers who aimed at the exclusion of English manufactured goods. It seems that these letters did good service to the cause, and got him the favour of its partizans; for they were published as a pamphlet, entitled 'Outlines of a New System of Political Economy,' by the Pennsylvanian Society for the encouragement of Manufactures and Arts. Since his return to Germany in 1833, he has tried to confirm his countrymen in the false economical principles which prompted the prohibitory duties imposed by the Union tariff; and he has laboured to abase the manufacturing greatness of England, by inciting other nations to exclude her manufactures from their markets. These are the principal objects of numberless articles which he has published in Newspapers and Reviews; and they are also the principal objects of the volume before us, though it wears the name and form of a System of Political Economy.

We have stated the origin and objects of the 'German Customs-Union,' and explained the origin of our author's volume. Before we proceed to our examination of his pretended system, we must offer a few remarks on the title of his volume, its contents and purpose, and its method and spirit; and we must state our reasons for our careful review of a production which intrinsically is not worthy of serious notice.

It has been discovered by our author, that the theories of political economy, which embrace the principle of free international trade, are properly theories of *cosmopolitical* economy. Overlooking the international wars and the various other causes by which international trade is actually disturbed, they suppose that nations, for commercial purposes, are practically one community; and the economical interests of nations, as forming this community of mankind, are the subject with which they are concerned. But his own system of political economy, which rejects the principle of free international trade, is a theory of *political* or *national economy*, in the proper sense of the expression. It keeps in view the various causes by which international trade is actually disturbed; and it treats of the economical interests of the separate and contending nations into which the world is actually divided.

Proud of a discovery which was reserved for his own sagacity, he is eager to distinguish his political system from all cosmopolitical conceits. Accordingly, he gives his treatise the title (somewhat tautologous, it cannot be denied) which stands at the head of the present article: namely, 'The National (or political) System of Political (or national) Economy.' His poor misconception of the doctrines which he tries to brand with the nickname of cosmopolitical economy, we cannot examine in the present place;

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but we shall make some remarks upon it in an after part of this article, if our limits will permit us to insert them.

Assuming that our author's treatise is entitled to the name of a system, it is not a system of political economy, but a system or theory of international trade. The present volume is limited to this subject; and if the contents of the unpublished volume may be inferred from a sketch of them which is given in the preface to the present, they will chiefly consist of subjects special in their nature, and relating exclusively to the economical interests of Germany.

Considered as a system of international trade, his treatise is unworthy of notice; as will appear sufficiently from the following statement of its contents, and the subsequent remarks upon them. He states, in his preface, his motives to undertake his enquiry; he gives, in a subsequent introduction, the principal conclusions to which his enquiry has led him; and he then affects to consider the matter of his volume, under the four books into which he divides it. The ostensible subject of the first and second books, is his system of international trade; as that of the fourth is his system of commercial policy; the professed purpose of the third book, is a review of the systems of international trade which certain preceding economists have given to the world. Now, if the contents of his volume fulfilled the promise of its ostensible plan, its substance will consist of two parts: a system or theory of international trade, and a corresponding system of commercial policy. Whether the latter system would essentially differ from the former, is a question foreign to our purpose. Although the systems might essentially differ, it is manifest that the matter of each of them would nearly correspond to that of the other. They would mainly differ in respect of the aspects from which they severally considered their common subject. The former might consider it from a speculative point of view, or treat it as the subject of a science; the latter might survey it from a practical point of view, or treat it as the subject of an art. Now, as every speculative and every practical system is intended for general application, it consists of general principles or general rules, and is not directly concerned with particulars or singulars. Accordingly, the economical interests of nations (or nations considered generally) should form the subject of our author's treatise. If his treatise be limited to the economical interests of certain particular nations, it is neither a system of international trade, nor a system of commercial policy; but it consists of applications of principles or rules (which it expressly or tacitly borrows from such system) to the particular interests with which it is really concerned. Notwith-

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standing its pretension to the name of a system, such is the true character of our author's treatise. It is concerned with the particular interests of the principal nations of continental Europe, with those of the United States of North America, and, above all, with those of his own country; and it is addressed to those particular nations for a special and practical object. He labours to inculcate on them, (though he occasionally extends his arguments to all nations able to manufacture for themselves,) that they ought to adopt or adhere to that policy which he styles *the protective system;* that they ought to plant manufactures on their own territories, or foster the manufactures which they have already created, by forbidding or restricting the importation of foreign manufactured goods. To this particular and directly practical object, all the contents of his volume which partake of a general and speculative character are subservient and accommodated. It is prominent in all the departments, and in most of the sub-departments, into which he divides his treatise;—in those which he affects to devote to his system of international trade, as in those which he professes to assign to his system of commercial policy. Indeed, we cannot perceive that the divisions of his volume are distinguishable by their subjects or purposes; or that it has any divisions at all, but those which are made by the titles prefixed to his books and chapters. Nor are the spirit and the tone of his treatise more scientific than its scope and method. He regards the manufacturing and commercial greatness of England with envious and bitter hostility; he anticipates the decay of that greatness with inhuman exultation; and for the purpose of promoting the cause to which his volume is devoted, he misrepresents her commercial policy, and appeals to vulgar and malignant prejudices. In fine, though his volume pretends to the name of a system, and (including the preface) runs to the length of 660 pages, its object, manner, and spirit, are those of a popular pamphlet. It is the work of a zealous and unscrupulous advocate, striving to establish a given practical conclusion, and not the production of a dispassionate enquirer, seeking to promote the improvement of a science or an art.

Dr List's treatise, as a theory of international trade, is, therefore, unworthy of grave criticism; but the practical purpose for which it is published, and the temper of the public which it is intended to influence, give it an importance which entitles it to serious notice. Feelings of hostility to the manufactures and commerce of England, and opinions favourable to the protective system, are widely diffused in Germany as well as France; and they are rapidly spreading in the other nations of continental Europe, in the United States, and even in Brazil and the South American republics. The extensive prevalence of these opinions

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and feelings, mainly arises from the restrictive policy pursued by England herself; and unless she roots them out, or stops their rapid spread, by adopting the principle of free trade, they may lead to a conspiracy of nations against her manufactures and commerce, far more formidable than the continental system of Napoleon. Napoleon's system of exclusion was limited to a part of continental Europe; and being odious (as well as mischievous) to the generality of his subjects and vassals, was extensively evaded. But all the principal countries of continental Europe, with many of the countries of the New World, may join in the conspiracy against our manufactures and commerce, which our own suicidal policy tends to provoke; and, since the governments of those countries would exclude our commodities in compliance with the wishes of their subjects, the exclusion would probably be enforced with comparative strictness. As our author continually appeals to these prevalent opinions and feelings, and is no contemptible hand at a popular pamphlet, we fear that his volume will extend them in Germany, if not in all the countries which it is intended to influence. That it will circulate widely in Germany, and make a mischievous impression on the German public, may be presumed from the rapid sale which it has already met with—a second edition having been demanded before the end of the autumn of 1841, though the first edition was not published till the close of the summer in the same year. As articles in English Journals, relating to the interests of Germany, are frequently noticed in those of that country, a dissection of his volume in this Journal may do something to counteract the impression. We have found it no easy matter to detect the drift of his system, and to give a tangible shape to his loose and desultory arguments; but if we shall attract the attention, and influence the opinions, of a small number of German readers, we shall think ourselves well rewarded for the painful and disgusting drudgery. We think that our notice of a writer so hostile to England will not be uninteresting to the English public; since his volume reflects opinions widely diffused, and is a laboured expression of the arguments by which they are commonly maintained.

In reviewing this desultory volume, we shall put the substance of such of its contents as our limits will permit us to notice, in a form and order of our own. If we attempted to follow our author through his pretended plan, the article would run to intolerable length; and for the purpose of confuting his pretended system, to the satisfaction of such of our readers as may be acquainted with his volume, we must endeavour to extricate his arguments from the confusion in which he involves them. Though

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many of his arguments conflict with one another, and all are impertinent to the purpose of his treatise, the desultory manner in which he presents them tends to conceal their nothingness; but if they were arranged in a regular and perspicuous series, the bare arrangement would nearly suffice to confute them. A rabble of men is powerless or feeble, because it is undisciplined and disorderly; but a rabble of contradictory and impertinent arguments is strong in its confusion.

The following is the order which we intend to observe in our review of this volume. 1. We shall first examine our author's system of international trade. 2. Certain of our remarks on his misrepresentations of the commercial policy of England, could not be inserted in that examination without breaking its continuity; and we, therefore, shall place those remarks in a second part. In this part, we shall shortly state the causes of the prevalent hostility to her manufacturing and commercial greatness; we shall shortly state the mischiefs with which it threatens herself and other civilized nations; and we shall notice the policy which she will speedily adopt if she be anxious to avert them.

I. We introduce our examination of his system with the following statement of its general purport; dividing our statement into two parts, corresponding to the two theories of which his system is compounded:—1. The interests of the individuals who compose a nation are promoted by the perfect freedom of its internal trade. The interests of the nations which compose the community of mankind would be promoted, to a still higher degree, by perfect freedom of international trade; for the division of labour is extended as the field of commerce is enlarged; and every extension of the division of labour augments the productiveness of labour and capital. As a nation is formed of individuals subject to a common government, the freedom of its internal trade is protected from interruptions; and if nations were as closely united by an universal confederacy as the members of a single nation are united by a common government, freedom of international trade would be equally secured from disturbances. At present, however, the foreign trade of every nation is exposed to disturbances, arising from international wars; and also to disturbances arising from restrictions which other nations may impose upon their own external commerce. Till nations are united by a universal confederacy, having the purpose and effect of obviating such disturbances, the freedom of their mutual commerce will remain imperfect, though the freedom of their internal trade be rendered complete. At present, therefore, it is the interest of every nation which possesses the means of manufacturing for

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itself, to adopt or retain the protective system. By embracing or adhering to this policy, it sacrifices some good, but it obviates more evil. Although it rejects the advantages arising from freedom of international commerce, it escapes the preponderant mischiefs arising from the causes by which that freedom is troubled and abridged. 2. The principal nations of the European continent (an expression including, for the present purpose, the nations of European origin which form the United States of North America) may be divided into two classes. Of the nations in question, some are nearly in the state of a purely agricultural country; the others are more advanced from the purely agricultural condition, but are still inferior to England in manufacturing industry. As a purely agricultural country has no manufactures of its own, it has no considerable trade, internal or foreign, no skilful and highly productive agriculture; and since the state of a nation, in respect of civilization and power, is mainly determined by its economical condition, such a country is condemned by its poverty to semi-barbarism and political weakness. Accordingly, though perfect freedom of international trade were possible at present, the nations in question would consult their present interests by declining the proffered opportunity. Such of those nations as are nearly in the state of a purely agricultural country, would plant manufactures on their own territories by forbidding or restricting the importation of foreign manufactured goods; such as are more advanced from the purely agricultural condition, would protect their rising manufactures by a similar policy; and each would persist steadily in this system of prohibitions or restrictions, until her own manufacturers, unsupported by such factitious helps, could compete with any other manufacturers in her own and in foreign markets. In consequence of her past protection to her own manufacturers, England is now pre-eminent in manufacturing and commercial industry. Having ascended to this pre-eminence, she would promote her present interests by adopting the principle of free trade, and by persuading the nations in question to follow the specious example. At present, however, the perfect freedom of trade which would be advantageous to her, would be ruinous to them. As she could manufacture at a cost lower than that at which they could manufacture for themselves, she would supply them with goods for their own consumption, as well as exclude their manufacturers from third countries. By deluging their markets with her cheap goods, she would prevent them from planting manufactures on their own territories, or crush the rising manufactures which they had created; and she thus would keep them in the state of a merely agricultural country, or force them to re-

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trograde to that poor and feeble condition. In fine, England would monopolize the manufactures, and therefore the commerce, of the world; she would abase the principal countries of continental Europe, as well as the countries which are less civilized and powerful, to a state of helpless and degrading dependence on her own manufacturing and commercial supremacy; by the peaceful and insinuating arts of manufactures and commerce, she would establish an empire more extensive, and more opposed to the general improvement of mankind, than that which was forced on reluctant nations by the warlike policy of Rome. At present, therefore, the nations in question would consult their interests by adopting or retaining the protective system; though when they had risen, by means of that system, to the manufacturing and commercial prosperity which England already enjoys, they would consult their own interests, and the general interests of nations, by adopting the principle of free trade. Perfect freedom of international trade would then be advantageous to the community of mankind; for, as many nations would be nearly equal in manufacturing and commercial prosperity, it would not enable England, or any single nation, to monopolize the manufactures and commerce of the world. It appears, therefore, in the last result, that the nations in question, by adopting or retaining the protective system, would pursue a policy liberal in its tendencies, though restrictive in its immediate effects. By steadily adhering to the system until they equalled England in manufacturing and commercial prosperity, they would gradually prepare the way for the only freedom of international trade which enlightened citizens of the world can deem desirable;—the freedom of international trade which would promote the interests of mankind, and would not exalt a single nation at the cost of all other communities.

It appears from the preceding statement, that the system is compounded of two theories which flatly contradict one another. According to the first, freedom of trade would promote the present interests of all nations, if it were secured from certain disturbing causes; according to the second, it would *not* promote the present interests of the principal nations of continental Europe, though those causes were completely obviated. If we wrote for no higher purpose than that of confuting our author, we should content ourselves with stating the contradictory theories and pointing out the contradiction; but, since the opinions of which these theories are formed are widely diffused, notwithstanding their incoherency, we shall waive this preliminary objection, and proceed to our analysis of his system. We shall begin our analysis with an examination of the *second* theory; and having com-

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pleted this examination, we shall briefly consider the first. We shall try to prove, in the former part of the analysis, that freedom of trade would be useful to all nations, if it were secured from the disturbances to which we have just adverted. We shall try to prove, in the latter part of the analysis, that its liability to those disturbances does not affect the hypothetical conclusion.

We commence our explanation of the second theory with a statement of certain objections to which it is liable; since this preliminary statement will shorten our dissection of the arguments by which our author supports it. These objections, which are founded on mischiefs produced by the protective system, may be conveniently stated under the three following heads:—

1st. In every nation in which this system obtains, the government gives a direction to the national labour and capital, which they would not take spontaneously. In so far as the system operates, the protected manufactures are forced into existence by the interference of the government with the economical concerns of its subjects. Public prudence is substituted for private; the wisdom of an unwieldy and badly-constituted joint-stock company, for the discretion of individuals. The economical concerns of the nation are not managed by the government, as those of a joint-stock company are managed by a board of directors; but the government determines the articles which its subjects shall produce, though it leaves them to produce those articles in their own way.

Now, every interference of a government with the interests and concerns of its subjects, ought to be founded on sufficient special reasons. Of those numberless interests and concerns, there is a vast and indeterminate multitude with which the government ought not to intermeddle. There is always, therefore, a general presumption against the expediency of such an interference; and unless there be special reasons sufficiently showing the contrary, the general presumption ought to prevail. There are certain cases in which the interference of the government is necessary. It is manifest, for example, that the business of legislating, or of administering justice, or of defending the nation against foreign enemies, cannot be left to the voluntary principle. In other cases, the interference of the government, if not necessary, is expedient. It is often expedient, for example, that public roads, or other means of public transport, should be created by public resources; and it is expedient (at least in our opinion) that government should provide their subjects with secular and religious instruction. But, in the last-mentioned cases, there are good special reasons for the intervention of the state, since private individuals, from want of means or motives,

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would not accomplish the end for which the government interferes. Our author objects to the arguments in favour of freedom of trade, that they would prove the inexpediency of various restraints universally admitted to be useful; as, for example, the inexpediency of checking the industry of thieves. But the freedom which is advocated by the partisans of free trade, is the freedom of pursuing ends which are useful or harmless, by beneficent or innocuous means; and in all the cases produced by our author, in support of his pitiful objection, the ends or the means are so palpably pernicious, that there are good special reasons for imposing the restraints.

It appears from the preceding remarks, that we are not bound to prove, in an affirmative or direct manner, the expediency of freedom of trade, since there is a general presumption against the interference of governments with the interest and concerns of their subjects. On the other hand, our author was bound to prove, by sufficient special reasons, the expediency of the protective system; and if it appear, from our dissection of his arguments, that he has not produced such reasons, it will follow that his arguments have not touched the presumption, nor proved the conclusion which he endeavours to establish by his treatise. That the interferences of governments with the economical interests of their subjects are commonly inexpedient, is repeatedly admitted by himself. For example, he says that there are certain countries which have no aptitude for manufacturing, or (to use his own expression) no *vocation* to manufacture. He admits that such a country misapplies its labour and capital, if it creates a manufacture by means of the protective system; and he admits that the inaptitude of the country for the protected manufacture, may be sufficiently presumed from the mere fact of the protection. He therefore admits in effect, (though he does not perceive the implied consequence,) that *every* branch of industry *which has not arisen spontaneously*, is presumptively an evil to the country which has forced it into existence.

2d. The nations of continental Europe, and the United States of North America, are the nations to which he recommends his protective system. Now, if it were adopted by these nations, and also by England, all the more civilized countries of the old and new world would be prevented from exchanging their products. The extent of this mischievous consequence, which would equally affect all of them, would be proportioned to the degree of consistency with which they adopted the foolish and malignant policy. If they adopted the system to the full extent of its logical consequences, it would nearly extinguish their mutual commerce. None of these countries could sell her manufactures to the others;

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inasmuch as the others would refuse to buy them; nor could she sell to the others any considerable quantity of her raw products, inasmuch as she, in her turn, would reject their manufactured goods. It is manifest that their mutual commerce would be limited to exchanges of raw products; and since their raw products are nearly similar in kind, these exchanges would not be numerous or important.

A division of labour amongst nations is one of the beneficent consequences of international trade; and the extent of the division, with the magnitude of the good which it produces, are proportioned to the freedom of their mutual commerce. If all the countries in question fully adopted the principle of free trade, each would take the part in the common business of production for which it is best qualified by its natural and acquired aptitudes. In consequence of their thus co-operating to the common end, the aggregate product of their industry would be greatly augmented; and as each would have a share in the aggregate product, commensurate with its contribution to the joint result, the productiveness of its labour and capital would be greatly increased. But if they fully adopted the protective system, it would nearly prevent the concert which we have just described, and each would debar itself, by its own elaborate folly, from most of the advantages of that spontaneous co-operation.

Our author perceives occasionally, that his theory is open to the objection which we have just stated. To obviate the objection, he suggests a scheme of international trade which is not less absurd than his protective system. Each of the civilized nations of the temperate zones, (*i. e.* the nations of Europe and the United States of North America,) is to carry on a direct trade with the nations of the torrid zones; directly exchanging its own manufactured products for the raw products of the torrid zones, which are styled *colonial wares.*

To show that the scheme obviates the objection, he resorts to the following argument. He supposes that the mutual commerce of those civilized nations is of small account; he supposes that their trade with the torrid zones is of far greater importance; and he argues that the extinction of the former, caused by his protective system, would be amply compensated by the great extension which the scheme would give to the latter. Now, this argument conflicts with a proposition which forms an essential part of his protective system. According to this proposition, it is the policy of those civilized nations to feed their manufacturing industry by encouraging the importation of agricultural products; and England is sapping her manufacturing prosperity by exclud-

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ing agricultural products, for the protection of her landed interests. It is manifestly assumed by this proposition, that, if those civilized nations adopted his protective system, they would import one another's products to some considerable extent; and this assumption conflicts with the argument which supposes that their mutual commerce is of small account. It is true, that his protective system would nearly extinguish this commerce, as we have shown above; and that he suggests his scheme of international trade, for the purpose of removing an objection raised upon that consequence. Accordingly, his argumentation concerning the matter in question, is a tissue of contradictions. He assumes that the mutual commerce of those civilized nations would *not* be extinguished by his protective system; suspecting that the system *would* extinguish the commerce, he suggests his scheme as an answer to the objection; and the principal argument by which he maintains the scheme, supposes the consequence on which the objection is founded.

According to our author, the nations of continental Europe would enlarge their motives to industry, by enlarging their consumption of colonial wares. This assumption, which he advances as an argument in support of his scheme, is impertinent to the purpose for which he produces it. From the assumed tendency of the enlarged consumption to invite them to greater industry, it will not follow that they ought to manufacture for themselves, and carry their manufactures to the torrid zone. As their aptitude for manufacturing are inferior to those of England, they would naturally turn their industry to the raising of raw products; and they would naturally exchange these products for colonial wares which England had purchased with her cheap manufactured goods. By this roundabout process, their consumption of colonial wares would be more enlarged than by the direct process which our author recommends; since a quantity of their labour and capital, applied to the raising of raw products, would command a larger amount of foreign commodities than the same quantity applied to manufacturing. One of his arguments in support of the protective system, admits of a similar answer. He says that the consumption of manufactures invites to industry; and he infers that the protective system stimulates the industry of a nation by which it is adopted. Now, unless the nation has aptitudes for manufacturing, (or can produce manufactures more cheaply than she can buy them,) the protective system, instead of stimulating her industry, tends to discourage it. The capital and labour which she unnaturally turns to manufacturing, would be more productive if they were otherwise

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applied; and consequently their products would exchange for a quantity of manufactures larger than the quantity which they actually produced.

He further argues, in support of his scheme, that the international trade which he suggests is recommended by nature herself. He says that the civilized nations of the temperate zones are called to manufacturing industry by their aptitudes for it; whilst the nations of the torrid zone, as wanting the intelligence and energy which that industry requires, ought to confine themselves to the raising of raw products. Without pausing to examine his assumption concerning the natural character of the last-mentioned nations, we will notice the reasoning to which it leads him. He infers, from their assumed unfitness for manufacturing industry, that they would not consult their interests by adopting the protective system: he says that their unfitness for any manufacture which they might create by dint of protection, might be presumed from its factitious origin; and he affirms that the respective vocations of various nations are determined by their several aptitudes. Now, though he applies it partially, this reasoning will hold universally. It is not more applicable to the nations of the torrid, than to the civilized nations of the temperate zones. These civilized nations have different aptitudes, calling them to different branches of productive industry; some, for example, being inland countries, or being scantily furnished with the means of manufacturing, whilst others are maritime countries, or possess those means in abundance. Our author, moreover, admits by implication, that there is always a presumption against the fitness of a country for a branch of industry which it creates by protection. Accordingly, the several branches of industry for which these civilized nations are respectively fitted, ought not to be settled by protective systems; but each should take the part in the business of production, which the principle of free trade would spontaneously determine.

Our notice of the scheme to which we have just adverted, is merely incidental to our design. We have stated the arguments by which he maintains it, for the purpose of proving, by his own admissions, that his protective system is untenable. Accordingly, we shall not prolong our examination of that project, but shall proceed with our objections to his second theory.

3d. He exhorts the nations of continental Europe, and the United States of North America, to manufacture for themselves to the utmost of their physical means. In giving them this advice, he invites them to a conspiracy against the interests of England, but is far from showing them the way to promote their own. By fully adopting his protective system, they would

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abridge, to a great extent, the efficient demand for her manufactures; and they would annihilate, to the same extent, the manufacturing capital and skill which she has laboriously acquired. But in doing this harm to her, they would bring down evil on themselves. Generally speaking, her manufacturing industry is more productive than theirs. Accordingly, it is generally their interest to abstain from manufacturing, and to turn themselves to other employments. By producing manufactures for themselves, when they could get them from her at a smaller cost, they would abridge the general productiveness of their labour and capital, and their general command of raw and manufactured commodities. Nor would it be their interest to manufacture for themselves, though their natural means of manufacturing were equal to hers. The acquisition of factitious means equal to hers, would cost them an enormous outlay of labour and capital; and the labour and capital applied to the purpose would be expended to mere waste. If the trade between her and them were perfectly free, the manufacturing capital and skill which she has acquired, would be (in effect) theirs as well as hers; since her instruments of production would yield them all the products which they could get by instruments of their own creation. By rejecting the products of her accumulated instruments for the fancied advantage of creating instruments for themselves, they would (in effect) destroy a capital of their own for the fancied advantage of replacing it. If England and the nations in question were connected by a free trade, the capital and skill which she has accumulated would be the common property of all the parties to the commerce; so that, if those nations adopted the policy which this writer inculcates, they would commit the stupid atrocity of cutting their own throats, for the diabolical satisfaction of destroying a prosperous friend.

Having stated certain objections to his second theory, we shall consider the principal arguments by which he maintains it.

1*st*. He asserts that a country which is purely agricultural (meaning a country which has no manufacturing industry) is necessarily poor; that the civilization of a country in that condition is necessarily low; and that her poverty and low civilization condemn her to political weakness. If our readers will turn to the statement in which we have given the purport of his system, they will see that the assertions to which we have just referred are the corner-stone of his second theory. Accordingly, we shall examine the principal arguments by which he endeavours to establish them, as well as our limits will permit.

He says that a country not possessed of manufactures, cannot possess a skilful and highly productive agriculture; the demand for agricultural products, which arises from manufactures, being

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a necessary condition of agricultural advancement. The argument confounds ideas which are palpably different, and proceeds on an assumption which is perfectly gratuitous. It confounds a demand arising from manufactures, with a demand arising specifically from domestic manufactures; and it assumes that the necessity for the former implies a necessity for the latter. From the necessity for a demand arising from manufactures, it will not follow that the country is poor because she is not possessed of manufactures of her own. If her soil be fertile, and if her capacities for agriculture be otherwise great, the quantity of her agricultural products, and the quantity of the manufactured articles which she imports, may be proportionally large. Nor will it follow, from the same necessity, that the country would improve her agriculture by adopting the protective system. Unless she could manufacture to advantage, (on which supposition she would produce manufactures spontaneously,) she would misdirect her labour and capital by forcing a manufacturing industry—she would abridge the general productiveness of her labour and capital, and her general command of raw and manufactured commodities. The demand for her agricultural products, arising from manufactures, would therefore diminish; and since the forced manufactures would be more costly than the articles which she imports, the value of her agricultural products, as exchanged for manufactures, would proportionally decrease. He says that the agriculture of Germany has extended and improved, in consequence of the protection afforded to her manufacturing industry by the tariff of the Customs-Union. Granting that her agriculture has extended and improved since the establishment of the Union, it will not follow that the extension and improvement are consequences of the forced manufactures. The freedom given by the Union to her internal trade, with the peace which she has enjoyed since the establishment, would sufficiently account for the fact. Although her policy in relation to foreign commerce were worse than it actually is, those advantages would naturally have been followed by a general improvement of her industry. If he would use the fact as an argument for the protective system, he must show that the extension and improvement have been greater than they would have been if she had adhered to the principle of free trade.

And here we may conveniently advert to the partial and inconsistent manner in which he would apply his protective system. Though he advocates the protection of manufactures, he condemns the protection of agriculture. The prosperity of agriculture depends (says he) on the prosperity of domestic manufactures; by the impolitic exclusion of foreign agricultural

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products, domestic manufactures are crippled; and, consequently, the protection of agriculture defeats the end for which it is specifically given. Assuming that the country can manufacture to advantage, this reasoning is just. The extension of domestic manufactures, which is consequent on a free importation of agricultural products, enlarges the general demand for the products of domestic agriculture; although it may abridge the demand for the domestic agricultural products, which are identical in kind with the products principally imported. If agriculture is protected, the extension of domestic manufactures is stopped or retarded; the general productiveness of the labour and capital of the country is proportionally abridged; and, consequently, the enlargement of the general demand for domestic agricultural products is prevented to the same extent. But the protection of manufactures is liable to the same objections. Unless the country can manufacture to advantage, (on which supposition the protection is impertinent,) she misdirects her labour and capital by forcing a manufacturing industry; and, consequently, she abridges the aggregate of her productive powers, and the general demand for the products of her agriculture. Speaking of the exclusion of German cattle from the French dominions, he says, that France, by this exclusive policy, abridges the general productiveness of her agricultural labour and capital. He says, that she turns them from productive employments to an employment comparatively barren; since it must be presumed, from the protection which she affords to this branch of her industry, that she is not fitted by nature for the rearing and breeding of cattle. But the objection lies to his own system, and to all protective policy. If agricultural labour and capital receive the best direction, when their direction is determined by free trade, the direction of labour and capital of every description ought to be abandoned to the guidance of the same beneficent principle.

To prove that a country which has no manufactures of its own is necessarily poor and rude, he resorts to an induction from instances. From the poverty and rudeness of certain countries not possessed of manufactures, he concludes that poverty and rudeness are consequences of the agricultural condition. For example, he refers to the European countries which, in the middle ages, were purely agricultural states; and he says, that Poland and Russia hardly began to emerge from semi-barbarism before the beginning of the last century. Now, in these instances, (and in the others which he produces,) the poverty and rudeness of the country manifestly arose from causes which had no necessary connexion with her purely agricultural condition.

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In each of the countries particularly in question, the political and legal institutions were unfavourable to the security of property; the working people were serfs, in a state of abject dependence on their lords or owners; and there was no sufficient demand from other countries for the products of her agriculture. Owing to these causes, (and others of a similar tendency,) there were no sufficient inducements to industry and accumulation; and accordingly the nation was indolent, indigent, and barbarous. This induction proves, beyond controversy, that a poor and rude nation is necessarily poor and rude; but it does not prove (what he was bound to prove) the necessary poverty and rudeness of a purely agricultural country. To the instances which he produces in support of his conclusion, we could easily oppose instances showing its futility; and, by an induction not more absurd than his own, we could show that the *want* of domestic manufactures is a necessary condition of opulence and civilization. The only instance which our limits will allow us to produce, is that of the United States of America. During the last fifty years their capital has accumulated with unexampled rapidity; and, if an extraordinary proficiency in the arts of productive industry suffices to constitute a high civilization, it will not be disputed that they are highly civilized. Now, till the beginning of the present century, these states were purely agricultural countries; previously to the tariff of 1828, their domestic manufactures were of small amount; and even at present they may rank with agricultural rather than manufacturing nations. We are not bound to multiply instances for the purpose of refuting his conclusion; since it conflicts with the part of his theory which concerns the *vocation* of a country to manufacturing industry. In this part of his theory he says, that an agricultural country in a state of poverty and rudeness has not the vocation, and that she ought to confine her industry to the production of raw products, until she reaches the degree of opulence which fits countries for manufacturing to advantage. He supposes, therefore, that some agricultural countries are not poor and rude; and that an agricultural country in a state of poverty and rudeness, may advance to opulence and civilization by mere dint of agriculture.

The *tests* of a vocation to manufacture, as they are determined by our author, are nearly related to the subject which we have just considered; and we, therefore, may notice them conveniently here. No country (says he) has a true call to manufactures, unless she is gifted with the following capacities for manufacturing to advantage:—A large and well-rounded territory; a large and manifold provision of the natural means of manufacturing;

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an agriculture pretty far advanced, (*ziemlich weit vorgeruckte ;*) a general diffusion of mental cultivation amongst the individuals composing the community; political and legal institutions, which afford security for person and property, and allow a free use of bodily and mental faculties. It appears sufficiently, from the bare statement, that his tests are too indeterminate to admit of application in practice. Indeed, the various applications of them, which are made in various parts of his chaotic theory, are inconsistent and contradictory. Occasionally, some of the principal nations of continental Europe are excluded from the class of *called* countries ; as, for example, Spain and Russia. But, in a chapter specially given to Russia, the monstrously foolish policy which has led her to force manufactures, is mentioned with decided approbation ; and it is supposed, therefore, that Russia has a true call. It seems to be assumed, in most parts of his treatise, that most of the principal nations of continental Europe are fitted for manufacturing ; and, accordingly, we have supposed that his system is generally recommended to those nations, and the United States of North America. We will remark in conclusion, that the necessary vagueness of his tests proves the absurdity of his system. Whether a country be fitted for manufacturing, is a question of infinite extent and invincible difficulty. In pretend ing to resolve the question, and in giving a forced direction to the national labour and capital, a government falls inevitably into great and pernicious blunders. If the direction be left to the determination of the principle of free trade, the question is settled with comparative certainty, and a comparatively small amount of loss and suffering. This is sufficiently shown by the close approach to precision with which the principle (where it is allowed to operate) proportions the supply of commodities to the efficient demand.

2*nd.* To prove the expediency of his protective system, he produces a theory of his own invention, which he styles *the theory of productive powers.* Wealth, says he, is distinguishable from its causes ; the possession of wealth, from the powers of producing it. Accordingly, the opulence of a nation is not proportioned to her wealth ; *i. e.*, to the quantity of objects having a value in exchange, which the nation actually possesses. Her opulence is proportioned to her powers of production ; and she is rich, though her wealth be small, if her productive powers are numerous and extensive. But, according to the economists of the cosmopolitical school, the opulence of a nation is proportioned to her wealth, and not to her means of creating it. According to the theory of production, advanced by the same economists, her productive powers consist of the wealth which she has re-

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served as *capital;* and this theory of theirs, which is a main source of their numerous errors, may be styled *the theory of exchangeable values.*

Now the capital of a nation is the part of her wealth which is destined to the production of further wealth; and it includes those talents of her members which are subservient to that purpose, and which have been acquired and accumulated by an expenditure of capital and labour. Accordingly, her capital consists of productive powers which she has acquired or made. Besides these, she has powers of production which are gifts of nature. Such, for example, are the natural powers of her soil; and such are the powers, bodily and mental, with which her members are naturally endowed. It is manifest, therefore, that her powers are partly factitious and partly natural; nor was it ever maintained (to our knowledge) that her means of creating wealth lie entirely in her capital. But, though her productive powers are larger than her capital, those powers would be merely latent unless her capital called them into action. For example, the powers of body and mind which her members have received from nature, would not be productive to any considerable extent unless they were trained to the business of production; and they cannot be trained to the business of production without an expenditure of capital. When trained, they could not be applied to the business with any considerable effect, unless they were supported and aided by further capital; as, for example, by capital expended in the payment of wages, and by machinery and other adminicles of labour. Accordingly, the productive powers of a nation, *which are active and applicable,* are nearly co-extensive with her capital; and when it is said by the economists in question, that the productive powers of a nation lie in her capital, that is their manifest meaning. The theory produced by our author, with a ludicrous air of originality and depth, is absolutely futile; or, at the best, it is nothing more than a captious correction of a hasty and loose expression.

To show that his protective system would promote the interests of the nations to which he recommends it, is the object of his theory of productive powers; but, granting that the theory (if such it can be called) is just as pregnant as it is shallow and futile, it is impertinent to the purpose for which he produces it.

If a country (says he) is purely agricultural, many of her natural powers are latent and useless; those specially applicable to manufacturing are not applied to the production of manufacturers; and if she would avail herself of all the powers with which she is endowed by the bounty of nature, she must create a manufacturing industry by means of the protective system.

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The argument which we have just stated amounts to this: that a country which does not manufacture, does not manufacture. Such, however, is the importance which he attaches to the argument, that he regards it as the corner-stone of his protective system. To the tendency of the system to turn to account latent powers, he chiefly ascribes its marvellous efficacy in raising nations from poverty to opulence.

It is clear that a country which does not manufacture, does not manufacture; or (as our author hath it) that her natural powers specially applicable to manufacturing, are latent and idle. Whether the country, by allowing them to lie idle, does or does not promote her true economical interests, depends on the extent of her aptitudes for manufacturing industry. If she can produce manufactures more cheaply than she can import them, she does not promote her interest by neglecting her manufacturing powers. If she can import manufactures more cheaply than she can produce them, she does promote her interests by neglecting her latent capacities. If she called them into action, she would acquire *manufacturing* power which she had not virtually possessed; but, since she would make the acquisition by a misdirection of her capital and labour, she would abridge the aggregate of her productive powers and her general command of commodities. A similar answer may be given to an allegation which is made by our author for a special purpose. In defending the protective tariff of the German Customs-Union, he alleges that German manufactures have flourished under the protection. If he means that they have extended in consequence of the protection, he virtually condemns the tariff, although he intends to praise it. From the forced creation of the manufactures which have arisen under the protection, it may be presumed (according to his own admission) that Germany wants aptitudes for those branches of industry. The high protective duties by which they are saved from destruction, with our author's importunate clamour for further protection, turns the violent presumption into perfect and satisfactory proof. The unnatural manufactures in which our author exults, are, therefore, an evil to Germany. The labour and capital which she has expended upon them, have been forced from more profitable employments. In acquiring manufacturing powers by dint of protection, she has abridged the aggregate of her productive means.

In dismissing his theory of productive powers, we will notice a theory, also of his own invention, to which it is closely related. Besides the productive powers (natural and factitious) to which we have already adverted, there are various remoter causes (not within the purview of political economy) by which production is

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stimulated and increased. Such, for example, are political institutions favourable to the security of property; an intimate union between the districts into which the country is divided; political power sufficient for its effective defence against its external enemies; and the diffusion of sound knowledge and sound morality amongst the individuals and bodies of which the community is composed. By securing the fruits of industry and frugality to those who work and save, the remoter causes in question incite to labour and accumulation; and by quickening and enlarging the intelligence of the productive classes, they augment the productiveness of labour and capital. These stimulants to labour and accumulation occupy a large portion of our author's treatise. He dwells again and again on their great productive effects, though those effects (we may safely assert) were never disputed or doubted. On account of their productive effects, he insists that they ought to be ranked with the productive powers which fall within the purview of political economy; and he censures the incidental and slighting manner in which they are noticed by Dr Adam Smith. Now, assuming their productive effects, (which nobody ever doubted,) they are foreign to the purpose of his treatise. From the tendency of the causes in question to promote the wealth of nations, he cannot infer that his own protective system has a similar tendency; and this is the thing (we are compelled to repeat) which he undertook to prove. In ranking the causes in question with those productive powers which fall within the purview of political economy, he betrays his small knowledge of this particular science, and his small acquaintance with the nature of science in general. Every science has its own subject; though such is the tendency of every subject to branch out into infinity, that every science touches occasionally on the subjects of other sciences. If every subject to which a science adverts were properly within its purview, each of the sciences would embrace the others, and the advantage of their division would be lost. Although political economy frequently touches upon them, the causes in question lie beyond its province. For example, good political institutions promote the wealth of nations; but they cannot be ranked with the productive powers which political economy directly contemplates. They are properly the subjects of sciences (politics and legislation) which are distinct from political economy, although they border upon it.

3d. To prove that the nations of continental Europe would consult their interests by adopting his protective system, he asserts that the system, by extending their manufactures, would extend their trade. It appears to us, however, that the system

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would abridge their trade as well as their agriculture. As we have shown by our preliminary objections, it would nearly extinguish their mutual commerce; and if it were adopted by the United States and England, as well as by the nations of continental Europe, it would nearly extinguish the mutual commerce of all the most civilized countries of the Old and New World. Nor is this the only answer to his groundless assertion. If a country has no aptitudes for manufacturing to advantage, she promotes her commercial interests, as well as her interests generally, by exporting raw products and importing manufactured articles; inasmuch as the export and import, if carried on to a considerable extent, form of themselves a considerable internal trade. Nor is the possession of a large manufacturing industry a necessary condition of a large external commerce. If a country has an extensive and accessible coast, an extensive coasting trade, great facilities for building and sailing ships, and numerous raw products fitted for exportation, her foreign commerce will naturally be large, although her manufacturing industry be next to nothing. For example, the foreign commerce of the United States of America is only inferior to that of England; and yet their manufacturing industry is not considerable, and till lately was extremely small. Till the beginning of the present century, they were purely agricultural and commercial countries; and yet it is admitted by our author, (whose inconsistencies are endless,) that their shipping increased, during the interval between 1789 and 1801, from two hundred thousand to a million tons. But granting that a country, which cannot manufacture to advantage, enlarges her trade by protecting her manufacturing industry, it will not follow from this admission, that her general interests are promoted by the forced manufactures. By forcing manufactures she misdirects her labour and capital; and the addition to her trade, as being an effect of the unnatural creation, is a subtraction from the sum of her economical prosperity.

It is also asserted by our author, that a purely agricultural country must force manufactures, if she wishes for the possession of colonies; since colonies come of commerce, and commerce comes of manufacturing. Without disputing this very disputable reasoning, we will remark that the possession of colonies would be useless to the country possessing them, if freedom of trade were universal and perfect. Dependent colonies are useful to the dominant country, as affording a vent for her products, and giving her products in return; and if freedom of trade were universal and perfect, the colonial markets would be open to all nations. Accordingly, other nations would share with the dominant country in all the advantages arising from the colonial trade;

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whilst the expense and trouble of governing the colonies would fall exclusively upon her.

4th. A purely agricultural country, by adopting the protective system, turns to use her natural powers specially applicable to manufacturing; and in consequence of the manufacturing industry which she thus forces into existence, her commerce is enlarged, and her agriculture is extended and improved. Such are the advantages which she obtains by the system, according to the arguments which we have stated and dissected. Nor are these specific advantages the only fruits of her policy. If we may trust our author, they are followed by another advantage of a general description. By the creation of the forced manufactures, by the consequent enlargement of her commerce, and by the consequent extension and improvement of her agriculture, *her productive powers are balanced or harmonized.*

He may possibly mean, by this somewhat metaphorical argument, that her labour and capital are duly distributed amongst the several branches of her productive industry; and consequently, that their general productiveness is enlarged by the distribution, to the utmost extent of her capacities for production. If this be his meaning, we have answered the argument already; having shown that the creation of the forced manufactures abridges the aggregate of her productive powers.

He may mean that the country, previously to her adoption of the system, is merely agricultural; but that she becomes, by means of the system, a manufacturing and commercial as well as an agricultural state. If this be his meaning, he supposes that the country would gain by the transition, although she had no aptitudes for manufactures or commerce—although she abridged the aggregate of her productive powers, by turning her labour and capital to those branches of industry. He supposes, therefore, that manufactures and commerce are invaluable.

Indeed, most of his arguments in support of the protective system are tacitly founded on two fallacious suppositions. According to the first, manufactures and commerce are not means to ulterior economical objects. They are not means of augmenting to the utmost the productive powers of the country, or of enlarging to the utmost its general command of commodities. They are in themselves ends; and they possess an inestimable utility, or an absolute and transcendant worth. Accordingly, a purely agricultural country, which consults its own interests, will strive with all its might to acquire manufactures and commerce; regardless of the extent of its aptitudes for these branches of industry, and of the quantity of labour and capital which the acquisition may cost. According to the second supposition, the

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poorest country may become, by means of the protective system, as rich as the richest. This illusion is not confined to Dr List. It is widely spread in the countries to which his system is recommended. It has chiefly arisen from the protective system so long pursued by England;—the matchless prosperity of her manufactures, and of her commerce and agriculture, having naturally made her an authority on questions of economical policy. In these countries they naturally reason thus:—'England has protected her manufactures—England is rich; if we protect ours, we shall be as rich as she.' They forget that England has unrivalled natural capacities for manufacturing and commercial industry; that these capacities might possibly have produced her prosperity, although she had adhered to the principle of free trade; and that no country with capacities decidedly inferior, can ascend to an equal prosperity by any policy whatever. Such a country, if she were reasonable, would try to make the most of her natural aptitudes; and would not waste her resources, and vex her spirit, by vainly grasping at an opulence which nature has denied her. Whether the protective system, or the principle of free trade, would turn her natural aptitudes to the best account, may possibly admit of a doubt; but she certainly would not ascend, by means of the protective system, to the opulence of the richest nation.

5th. We close our examination of Dr List's second theory, with a few remarks on his crowning absurdity. If freedom of trade were universal and perfect, England (says he) would monopolize the manufactures, and, therefore, the commerce of the world; she would conquer a manufacturing and commercial empire more extensive and pernicious than the military empire of Rome.

Now, granting that England would exclusively supply the manufactures consumed by all other nations, her exclusive power of supply would not resemble a *monopoly*. She would have an exclusive power of supplying all other nations with the manufactured articles which they needed; as a monopolist has an exclusive right of selling his article to all who are bound by his monopoly. So far the cases are analogous; but in every other respect they are directly opposed. *He* is protected by a law from the intrusion of competitors. *She* would be liable to the competition of every nation which could produce manufactures as cheaply as herself. *His* exclusive right is commonly hurtful to the consumers; for, in consequence of his security against competition, he can raise the price of his article above its natural value. *Her* exclusive power would be advantageous to her customers; since it would arise entirely from her matchless capaci-

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ties for manufacturing, and the matchless cheapness of her manufactured products.

If her power of supply would have little analogy to a monopoly, the acquisition of the power would have no analogy whatever to the conquest of an empire by force of arms. The military conqueror thrusts his dominion on the conquered, and (commonly) to their great detriment; but England would acquire her power with the free consent of her customers, and to their great advantage. It would not be her interest (as our author supposes) to crush or depress their industry; inasmuch as the Fifth Monarchy which haunts his imagination, would rest on no other basis than their ability to purchase her goods. In fearing that England, by force of manufactures and commerce, would erect a tyranny in the other nations of the earth, he betrays a confusion of ideas which may pass for a psychological curiosity. He fears that England, in selling them cheap goods, would inflict a benefit upon them with their own unconstrained consent.

We have tried to prove, in our examination of his second theory, that freedom of trade would be useful to all nations, if certain disturbing causes were completely obviated. We shall try to prove, in our examination of his first theory, that those causes will not affect the conclusion which we have endeavoured to establish by arguing on that hypothesis. By the theory in question, he admits that the conclusion would hold if the hypothesis were true; and his arguments for the protective system, and against the principle of freedom of trade, are exclusively drawn from the causes by which that freedom is disturbed. Of those arguments, the following are the principal.

1*st*. If a country imports manufactures, her intercourse with the countries from which she is supplied may be stopped by international war. In this event, she is forced to manufacture for herself during the continuance of the stoppage, although she may want capacities for manufacturing to advantage. If she adheres to the principle of free trade, her markets are deluged, after the restoration of peace, with the cheap products of the countries which are fitted for manufacturing industry; and the domestic manufactures which the war had compelled her to create, are crushed by the renewed importation. These derangements of her economical condition may arise from every war in which she is engaged or implicated. She, therefore, consults her interests by adopting the protective system, if she possesses the means of manufacturing for herself; the good which she gains by avoiding the derangements, far surpassing the good which freedom of trade could afford her.

We answer, in the first place, that the argument exaggerates

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the derangements arising from war. No ordinary war would prevent the importing country from obtaining manufactured articles from other countries; although the supply might be narrowed, and the prices of the articles might be raised, in consequence of the obstacles which the war would oppose to her commerce. Assuming that an ordinary war would force her to manufacture for herself, the destruction of the forced manufactures, consequent on the restoration of peace, would not be the terrible disaster which the argument supposes; since the evil might be much mitigated by a temporary protective system, calculated to let them down by gentle degrees. It appears to us, therefore, that she would suffer incomparably less from these contingent and passing derangements, than from the certain and permanent mischiefs of a restrictive commercial policy.

In the next place, freedom of trade tends to prevent war, and, therefore, to prevent the derangements on which the argument is founded. If the interests of nations were thoroughly interlaced by perfect freedom of trade, disturbances of their mutual commerce would be followed by intolerable evils; and, as being the most pernicious of all the disturbing causes, war would be feared and detested by the productive population of the world. The commerce of civilized countries is limited at present by numberless prohibitions and restraints; and the derangements which war creates, with the consequent fear which it inspires, are, therefore, comparatively slight. But if our limits would allow us to produce the proofs, we could show that the prospect of the wars with which these countries have recently been threatened, filled their industrious classes with anxiety and alarm; and that the rage for fighting which had seized on a part of their population, was opposed and subdued by those pacific dispositions. If freedom of commerce would tend to extinguish war, a restrictive commercial policy tends to perpetuate the evil. The policy is founded on pernicious misconceptions of the economical interests of nations; and having been sanctioned by the example and authority of the most thriving and influential state, the misapprehensions are widely diffused. According to these conceptions of national interests, the interests of different nations are distinct and opposed; one nation's gain is another nation's loss; and the nations which have risen to prosperity, by means of manufactures and commerce, have built their opulence and power on the poverty and depression of the rest. These misconceptions of nations, concerning their economical interests, inflame the hatred with which they regard one another, in consequence of their childish longings for military conquest and glory; and they aggravate the stupid antipathies springing from differences of races,

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or from differences of religions, institutions, or manners. And whilst the restrictive policy strengthens their motives to quarrel, it weakens the motives to amity and co-operation which are presented by their economical interests, as rightly understood. This malignant policy tends to sever their interests, and to extinguish the pacific dispositions which arise from international commerce; and if it were adopted by all nations to the full extent of its logical consequences, the world would be plagued with universal and incessant war.

Before we dismiss the argument now in question, we must notice the form in which it is commonly put by the advocates of a restrictive policy;—by those who (like our author) advocate the exclusion of manufactured articles, and by those who (like the partisans of our own corn laws) advocate the exclusion of raw products. In consequence of war, (and the other disturbing cause which we shall consider presently,) every nation which adheres to the principle of free trade, is liable to derangements of her economical condition, like those which are described above. It is argued, therefore, that every nation should make herself independent of others, by preventing the importation of manufactured or raw products, and by producing the former or the latter on her own territory.

If human malignity and folly were as active and irremediable as the argument supposes, it might be the interest of a nation to make herself independent of others, by surrounding her territory with a brazen wall of prohibitions; since safe mediocrity, or even secure poverty, is better than opulence constantly liable to reverses. Whether it would or would not be her interest to make herself independent of others, is, however, an idle question; in as much as the independence is not to be attained to, by any policy which any nation will adopt. All men see or feel, distinctly or obscurely, that the good which they get by international trade far surpasses the evil which it occasionally brings upon them; and they are not to be coaxed or frightened into a total relinquishment of the good, by any fallacy or bugbear. A nation may be led, by false conceptions of her interests, to adopt a prohibitive policy to some extent; but so glaring would be the evil of a complete system of prohibition, that the governing classes would never seek to establish it, nor could they ever force it on the rest of the community. For example, the importation of raw products of some descriptions is prevented by the English landlords; but there are raw products of many other descriptions, (as sugar, coffee, tea, tobacco, wine, cotton,) which they would never desire, nor ever be able to exclude. Nor is our author

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consistent in the scheme of prohibitions which he designs for the protection of German manufactures. Not to mention that he would permit the importation of raw products, he sees the necessity of permitting the importation of certain manufactured articles; as, for example, machines and other articles used in manufacturing, and not producible in Germany. Now, where the prohibitive policy is adopted partially, (and that is the only way in which it can be adopted,) the nation is liable to the derangements which the policy pretends to obviate. For example, a war between England and America, by hindering the supply of American cotton, might hinder the manufacturing of cotton in the former country. It, therefore, might lead by consequence to a general derangement of her manufacturing industry; and it might also lead, by further consequence, to a similar derangement of her commerce and agriculture. It is manifest, therefore, that the argument in question is untenable. By adopting a restrictive policy, a nation does not avoid the economical derangements which the policy pretends to obviate; whilst she narrows her productive powers and her command of commodities, by the vain endeavour to attain to an impossible independence. If they would avoid the derangements arising from war, nations will not aim at independence of one another; but they will fully adopt the principle of free trade, and extend their mutual *dependence* to the very utmost. If it were adopted universally and completely, that principle would extinguish war; and it, therefore, could extinguish the economical evils in question, with the numberless other evils which war inflicts upon mankind.

2nd. A nation which imports manufactures is liable to similar derangements, on account of the possible exclusion of her raw products by the country (or countries) from which she is supplied. In the event of that country excluding her raw products, she loses her power of purchasing manufactures, and is forced to manufacture for herself. In the event of that country abandoning the exclusive policy, she suffers from another and a greater evil. If she adheres to the principle of free trade, that country deluges her market with cheap manufactured goods; and the domestic manufactures which the exclusion has forced her to create, are destroyed by the renewed importation. Rather than submit to the hazard of these repeated derangements, she ought to elect the smaller evil of adopting the protective system.

This argument of our author's is advanced in Germany and America, to show the expediency of the protection which they give to their domestic manufactures; England (as it is pretended) having driven them to that policy, by her previous exclusion of

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their raw products. The first half of the argument is manifestly fallacious. The necessity of manufacturing to a disadvantage, which is forced on the importing country by the exclusive policy of the other, is a miserable reason for her adopting the protective system. By rejecting the manufactures of the excluding country, she probably aggravates the evil which provokes her to retaliate the exclusion. If the exclusion of her raw products has not been complete, she has partly preserved her power of purchasing foreign manufactures. By adopting a system which entirely prevents their importation, she foolishly completes the necessity of manufacturing to a disadvantage, which the folly of the excluding country has partially imposed upon her. It may happen that the necessity which she lays upon herself does not aggravate the necessity proceeding from the excluding country; and in this event her retaliating policy is harmless in fact. Its tendency, however, is mischievous, although it is harmless by accident; and, consequently, it is not even entitled to the negative commendation of being an innocent absurdity. At the best, her policy is superfluous and impertinent, since her manufactures are protected, in substance and effect, by the exclusion which she idly retorts.

With regard to the destruction of the forced manufactures, consequent on the renewed importation, the evil might be much mitigated by a temporary protective system calculated to let them down by gentle degrees.

And here we must advert to a fallacy which Dr List often insinuates, though we cannot affirm that he any where puts it expressly. He often confounds the protection which is granted to an unprofitable manufacture for the purpose of breaking its fall, with that which is granted to a similar manufacture for the purpose of creating it, or perpetuating its existence—leading his careless readers to infer the expediency of the latter from the obvious utility of the former.

II. We shall briefly consider the subjects of the second part of this article under the following heads:—1st. The misrepresentations of the commercial policy of England which frequently occur in the volume before us. 2d. The causes of the prevalent hostility to her manufacturing and commercial pre-eminence, with the mischiefs which the spirit has produced and threatens to produce. 3d. The nature of the commercial policy which (in our opinion) she must speedily adopt, if she would obviate the present, or avert the contingent evils.

1st. He says that England preaches to other nations the prin-

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ciple of free trade, without any serious purpose of abandoning her restrictive policy. Now the policy pursued by her legislature, and the opinions held (till lately) by the majority of her people, have conflicted with the opinions of Dr Adam Smith and her other eminent writers on political economy; and consequently, the majority of her legislature, and (till lately) the majority of her people, have opposed the policy recommended by her enlightened statesmen. On this inconsistency he raises a fallacy which appears again and again in the course of his volume. The enlightened minority which has contended for a liberal policy, and the majority which has stuck steadily to the wisdom of our ancestors, are, according to him, one party; and out of the one party formed by the confusion of two contending parties, he makes a fictitious personage whom he calls England. Accordingly, England is playing the part of a double dealer. She preaches the principle of free trade to the other nations of the world, and would fain persuade them to take her manufactures; but she sticks and means to stick to her own restrictive policy, and has not the smallest wish for their raw products. Now he knows, as well as we do, that this representation is false and absurd. Whenever another representation is demanded by the purpose of his volume, he says, that the great majority of our manufacturers and traders are opposed to the laws for the protection of the landed interest; that they are willing to relinquish the prohibitions and restrictions intended for the protection of their own branches of industry; and that all enlightened Englishmen are partisans of free trade, as knowing that the principle would promote the interests of their country. He imputes the exclusion of foreign raw products to the blundering selfishness of the landlords. He says, that they are ruining the manufactures, and, therefore, the agriculture of the nation; thus killing the hen which yielded them the golden eggs. He rejoices at the blind obstinacy with which they have persisted in their suicidal policy; since the policy has created, and is cherishing, the manufactures which have sprung up in other civilized countries. The purpose of his fallacy is plain. He fears that just opinions concerning commercial policy are rapidly spreading in England; that the wiser portion of the landed class are getting correct notions of their own interests; that the demand for freedom of trade will become general and resistless before the lapse of many years; and that this demand will force the majority of the class to relinquish the laws designed for its protection. He, therefore, labours to persuade his countrymen, that England is invincibly attached to her restrictive policy; and that even the Englishmen who talk

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against it have no intention of giving it up. If this notion should get possession of the German people, it may confirm them in their attachment to the protective system; and if the protective system were firmly rooted in Germany, she would find it no easy matter to return to free trade, in the event of England reverting to that principle. The absurdity of his fallacy is as plain as its purpose. Suppose that England were preaching free trade, with the intention of keeping to her restrictive policy, what could she gain by her double dealing? Could she hope that her praises of free trade would persuade other nations to adopt the principle, when her own adherence to her own prohibitions and restrictions betrayed her conviction of its inexpediency? Assuming that she did persuade them, what would she get by her success? She would induce them to open their ports to her manufactured goods. That is true; but since she would exclude their products from her own markets, she would send them none of her goods, or give them her goods for nothing. She, therefore, would labour, by her deep dissembling, to get the precious privilege of working for others gratuitously; a project (it must be owned) truly Machiavelian, and worthy of the grasping and perfidious Albion.

He says that England abolished slavery in her own colonies, for the purpose of crushing the industry of other slaveholding countries. She hoped that the abolition would provoke a rebellion in those countries, resembling the servile insurrection in St Domingo; or that their fear of the terrible consequences would compel them to follow her example. She hoped that their industry would perish or decay in either of the two events; since, in the last event, the emancipated slaves would probably be unfit for their suddenly acquired freedom, and would refuse to work for their former owners in the capacity of free labourers. Though varnished over with the cant of philanthropy, and the cant of Christian benevolence, the abolition was suggested by calculating selfishness. She thought that the measure, by destroying the productive powers of the slaveholding countries, would confine the production of colonial products to her own possessions in India; thus helping her to the acquisition of the commercial monopoly and tyranny at which she grasps with insatiable avarice and ambition.

We cannot stay to examine the construction which he here puts upon her motives; since a statement of the gratuitous assumptions and the extravrgant absurdities which it implies, would occupy a considerable portion of our limited space. We, therefore, must confine ourselves to a passing remark. If the destruc-

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tion of the other slaveholding countries was the object of the measure, she contemplated the destruction of her own slaveholding colonies as an incidental consequence of her policy; and as some of the countries whose ruin she designed are her best markets for her manufactured products, she also designed the ruin of her own manfacturing industry. The mental state which his construction betrays, is so poor and pitiable, that our resentment merges in compassion. By doubting the benevolence which manifestly determined her to the measure, and by his blindness to her generosity in making the sacrifices which it required, he shows that his moral perceptions are as confused and obtuse as his understanding.

In thus misrepresenting her motives, he is doing his best to invite the slaveholding countries to hatred of England; hoping (like other partisans of the German protective system) that their resentment may get the better of their pecuniary interests, and may lead them to transfer their custom from England to Germany.

And here we must express our deep regret at the course which has been taken by some of the English abolitionists. In seeking to perpetuate the exclusion of foreign slave-raised products from the markets of England, they are postponing superior to inferior interests; for we do not hesitate to affirm, (though we admit the importance of their object, and respect the zeal and ability with which they have pursued it,) that the interests of humanity would be more promoted by general freedom of commerce, than by a speedy extinction of slavery. Nor would the exclusion of those products from the markets of England have any considerable tendency to advance their particular purpose; since it must be plain to all who have observed the opinions and feelings prevalent on the continent of Europe, that other countries would not abstain from the use of them, in consequence of her example. If the digression were permissible, we could show that the exclusion would rather retard than promote the accomplishment of their object; since it would retard the operation of the economical laws by which slavery must be ultimately extinguished.

2nd. The misrepresentations which we have just stated, (and which are a few of those occurring in Dr List's volume,) sufficiently show his hostility to the manufactures and commerce of England. The hostility (we are sorry to say) is not limited to him, or the German manufacturers, whose representative and organ he may be deemed. Some of the German States have deliberative chambers, whose debates are occasionally reported; and in

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all the German States, (excepting the Austrian,) the Newspapers and other Journals, though subject to a Censorship, enjoy, in fact, a certain freedom of discussion. Those debates, and the discussions in these Journals, are a good index to the opinions and feelings of Germany; and they will (we think) convince any one who may read them regularly and attentively, that the hostility is widely diffused amongst Germans of most classes. Indeed, the popularity of the volume before us would suffice to establish the fact; since such a tissue of absurdities would not have been received with favour by the German public, unless it had reflected prejudices which they already entertained.

The misapprehensions of national interests which lie at the bottom of the restrictive commercial policy, are undoubtedly one cause of this hostile feeling. It is commonly believed in Germany, (even by men who are otherwise instructed and unprejudiced,) that England has acquired her manufacturing pre-eminence at the cost of her foreign customers; and that Germany must persist in the protective system which she has recently adopted, in order to avoid the evils formerly inflicted upon her by English monopoly and oppression. The German manufacturers, who have been led by the system to risk their capitals in unnatural manufacturing enterprises, have appealed to these mischievous prejudices, and laboured to strengthen and extend them; —the Newspapers and other Journals, which are apparently organs of the manufacturing party, being filled with declamations against England, and misrepresentations of her conduct and motives. But in spite of the prevalence of these prejudices, and the efforts of the manufacturers to strengthen and extend them, the body of the German people would have resisted the protective system, if England had admitted the raw products of Germany. The system is mischievous to the body of the German people, and to the German agriculturists; and if their hostility to England had not been confirmed by her own policy, it would have yielded to their pecuniary interests. But in consequence of this policy, the motives which would naturally have led them to resist the protective system were extinguished or weakened. Seeing that German products were excluded from English markets, and that the exclusion imposed upon Germany the necessity of manufacturing for herself, they listened to their prejudices against England, and to the fallacies of the German manufacturers. They were persuaded by the partisans of the protective system, that forced manufactures would promote the interests of Germany; and that these manufactures would create a demand for the raw products of the country, greater than the foreign demand arising

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from freedom of trade. We have been assured by many Germans, well acquainted with the state of the country, that this is the course which has been taken by the public mind in most parts of Germany; and the fact might be fairly inferred from its intrinsic probability, independently of testimony or other extrinsic evidence. We believe that a similar course has been taken by the public mind in all the other countries which would naturally import manufactures; as, for example, Russia and the United States. In these countries, hostility to English manufactures, springing from misapprehensions of national interests, is more or less prevalent; but if England had opened her ports to their raw products, the interests of the public, with those of the agricultural classes, would have got the better of the senseless antipathy.

The mischief done by their own protective system to the countries of continental Europe and the United States of America, has been described in preceding parts of this article. It has abridged the natural productiveness of their labour and capital; and if the prejudices on which it is founded should acquire additional strength, the stringency of the system, with the mischief consequent upon it, will be proportionally aggravated. The same mischief has been done to England by her own restrictive policy. It has counteracted the tendency of her matchless facilities for manufacturing and commercial industry; and it, therefore, has retarded the rate at which her capital would naturally have accumulated. If she persist in the policy, she will probably be visited with the terrible evils which afflict a country whose economical condition is declining. She may provoke the countries of continental Europe to increase the severity of their protective system; and she may provoke her best customers, the United States and Brazil, to exclude her manufactures by prohibitory tariffs. If the nations of continental Europe, with the United States and Brazil, should adopt a protective system altogether or nearly prohibitory, the present demand for her manufactures will be greatly reduced; and the reduction will be followed by the destruction or exportation of a large portion of her manufacturing capital. As a further consequence, her commerce will proportionally decline, and a large portion of her commercial capital will be destroyed or exported. As an ulterior consequence, her agriculture will proportionally recede, and a large portion of her agricultural capital will be annihilated; since the extension of her agriculture (with the consequent rise of rents) has arisen from the demand for her agricultural products, created by the extension of her manufactures and com-

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merce. The distress of the capitalists and landlords will be accompanied by a calamity which it is impossible to contemplate without dismay. A large portion of the working people will be thrown out of employment, and the wages of the rest will be greatly reduced; the evil being aggravated by the rate at which their numbers increase, in consequence of the past increase in the demand for their labour.

3d. The remedy for the evils which she has brought upon herself, and the preventive of the evils with which she is threatened, is an absolute abandonment of the prohibitory and restrictive policy. She must abolish all the laws by which importation is directly prohibited or restrained, with all the import duties which are calculated for that purpose, and not for the legitimate purpose of raising a public revenue. Though we cannot notice the provisions which the measure would require, we will advert to two of the principles by which it ought to be guided. A protected branch of industry might suffer permanently or for a time, in consequence of the transition to freedom of trade; and in every case of this description, the protection ought to be prolonged for the purpose of softening the evil, in so far as the prolongation would consist with the end of the measure. But a protection granted to a domestic product, for that temporary and limited purpose, ought not to be granted to an extent or in a manner which would prevent a regular importation of the corresponding foreign commodity.

A vent for our manufactured products in the countries which now exclude them, would be the end of the measure; and protections granted to domestic products would manifestly defeat the end, if they prevented a regular importation of foreign commodities. For example, by the present English corn laws, foreign corn is excluded from England in ordinary seasons; and so long as the English demand for foreign corn shall be exceptional and capricious, there can be no considerable demand for English manufactures in foreign corn-growing countries. Compared with this obvious objection to the present corn laws, the other objections to which they are liable are nearly insignificant.

Temporary protections, intended to soften the transition, and not inconsistent with the end of the measure, would clearly be expedient; for, though the good of the public demands the abolition of mischievous laws, it demands that every regard, compatible with the abatement of the nuisance, should be shown to the interests which they have called into being. In reference to the interests which have been created by the corn laws, we may

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remark, that there are natural causes which would mitigate the evil of the transition. Though many of the countries which exclude our manufactures are fitted by nature for the growth and exportation of corn, they could hardly export a considerable quantity without a previous extension and improvement of their agriculture. As this extension and improvement (with the increase of capital and population which they suppose) would not be the work of a moment, none of those countries could supply us with a considerable quantity for some considerable time after the opening of our ports. To this it may be added, that the extension and improvement would enhance the cost of production; and owing to this cause, and to the cost of transport, the price of foreign corn in English markets would be necessarily much higher than is commonly imagined. If these natural causes were aided by a temporary protection, the evil of the transition would be unimportant, as compared with the probable mischief of persisting in the restrictive policy; and it would be amply compensated, at the long run, by the increase in the general demand for domestic agricultural products which freedom of trade would create.

The end of the measure would be very imperfectly accomplished, unless the nations of continental Europe and the United States of America followed the example given them by England. We believe, however, that these countries would relinquish their protective system, if England abandoned her restrictive policy; and we will shortly assign the reasons on which our conviction is founded.

In the first place, we believe that the governments of these countries are inclined to the principle of free trade. We presume that most of the men by whom these governments are conducted, are men of superior abilities and superior acquirements; and we infer from this reasonable presumption, that they see the mischiefs and absurdities of the opposite policy. With regard to the German (and especially the Prussian) statesmen, our conviction is confirmed by incidental admissions occurring in the volume before us. It is manifestly the opinion of Dr List, that they are infected, to a lamentable extent, with cosmopolitical errors; and he manifestly fears that they would abandon the protective system, unless the opinion of the country compelled them to adhere to it. Although the governments in question thought the protective system advantageous to their subjects, the financial difficulties by which they are generally embarrassed, would incline them to the principle of free trade; for, if their import duties on foreign manufactured articles were considerably reduced, the re-

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duction would be followed by an importation which would yield them a considerable revenue.

Nor would the inclination of the government be thwarted by the dispositions of their subjects, if England were wise enough to abandon her restrictive policy. If she offered a steady demand for the raw products of the countries in question, the people generally, and the agricultural classes in particular, would soon perceive the inexpediency of their protective system. Their misapprehensions of national interests, their resentment at her exclusion of their raw products, and the errors instilled into them by their own manufacturers, would speedily yield to their pecuniary interests. They would soon tire of a system which deprived them of cheap manufactures, and excluded them from the best market for the products of their agriculture. With regard to Germany, our conviction (we are happy to say) coincides with the opinion which is visibly entertained by our author. To prove that Germany should adhere to her protective system, though England relinquished her restrictive policy, is one of his principal objects; and we fairly presume, from the desperate energy with which he labours the topic, that he thinks the German agriculturists would sicken of the system if the markets of England were constantly open to their products.

If England adopted the principle of free trade, her mere example would determine the countries in question to relinquish their protective system. The misapprehensions of national interests which lie at the bottom of the system, have been propagated or strengthened in those countries by her authority; since it is commonly imagined by the majority of their people, that she owes her economical prosperity to her prohibitory and restrictive policy. If she abandoned the policy, her authority would extinguish the errors which it has propagated or confirmed. Disabused by her wisdom of the mischievous illusions into which they have been led by her folly, the majority of the people in those countries would arrive at just apprehensions of their own interests; and having lost the support which it finds in their present misconceptions, the protective system would rest upon nothing but the sinister interests of the manufacturing classes.

We have been provoked by its pernicious tendency, and still more by its malevolent spirit, to do unsparing justice on this incendiary volume. It may possibly be supposed by our general readers, that the unceremonious manner in which we have handled the author, evinces a want of that respect which is due to his country. We should merit the contempt with which we have

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treated his book, if we were capable of retorting upon Germany the slightest of the insults which he has heaped upon England; and we therefore beg leave to assure them, that the possible supposition would be groundless. Germany is one of the countries which we respect the most, and to which we are the most attached; having found in the works of her philosophers, her historians, and her scholars, exhaustless mines of knowledge and instruction, and exhaustless sources of pleasure or consolation. Above all, we admire the spirit of comprehensive humanity which generally runs through the writings of her classical authors; and it is one of our causes of quarrel with Dr List, that he labours to diffuse a spirit of exclusive and barbarous nationality in the country of Liebnitz, Kant, and Lessing.

Leibnitz

ERRATA.

Page 311, line 6 from top of the page, *for* Malabar, *read* Coromandel.

... 313, line 19 ... ... *for* Coromandel, *read* Malabar.

... 422, and throughout the Article, *for* Mellingen *read* Millingen.

Number CLIII. will be Published in October.

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INDEX.

A

Agassiz, Professor, quoted as to the rate of motion in glaciers, 59, 60, and 72, 73—his work on the *Etudes sur les Glaciers*, 87, 88.

Agricultural Labourers, state of.—See *Mendicity*.

America—resembles France in her pride, 10, 11—intelligence and condition of her people, 11, 12—vanity of, 12—sources from which she takes her opinion of England, 12, 13—is not characterized as ambitious, 13—her territory too extensive, 14—not influenced by fear, or by sufficient prudence, 14, 15—her public morality and litigiousness, 15, 16—has little national sympathy, 16—irritable, and apt to take offence when none was intended, 17—negotiation with Great Britain as to the suppression of the slave trade, and the right to visit and search her vessels, 24-28 and 41, 42—as a nation, her character seems to deteriorate, 44.

America, Central, ruins of, those of Copan, 398, 399—accuracy of the drawings given in Mr Stephens' book, 399, 400—remains found in Copan and Palenque differ decidedly in their character, 400—colossal carved blocks at Copan, 401-404—remains at Palenque are immeasurably superior to those of Copan, 404-408—their hieroglyphics show to all appearance a system of writing, 408—this confirmed by Mexican manuscripts, 409, 410—geographical distribution of these characters, 410, 411—great uncertainty of the language ever being known, 411-416—the ruins indicate a people further advanced in taste than in intellect, 416, 417—their history a mere blank, 417—appear to have been built near the time of the first Spanish invasion, 418—laws of the inhabitants, as stated by Juarros, 419, 420—the study of such antiquities of little value, 420, 421.

Athens—lower parts of the ancient city deliberately annihilated, to make room for the modern buildings, 499, 500.

Auldjo, Mr, quoted as to the ascent of the Glacier of Bossons, 64.

Austria—settlement of the female line of the House of Hapsburg by 'the Pragmatic Sanction,' 229—personal qualities of the Empress Maria Theresa, 229—Silesia invaded by Frederic the Great—conduct of Frederic, 230-232—enthusiasm of Hungary towards Maria Theresa, 234-235—policy of the Court of Vienna, 254-258—Maria Theresa's letter to Madame de Pompadour, 258. See *Frederic*.

Australia, South—Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 140—settlement of this Colony tried as an experiment, 140—failure of, and expense to, the mother country, 141,

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142—account of the negotiations with government, 142-148—three principles of colonization involved in its settlement, 149-155—series of miscarriages exhibited in its management, 155-157—recommendations of the Committee, 157—raising of the minimum price of land objected to, 158, 159—Colonel Gawler's expenditure, 160, 161—conflicting testimony as to the natural productiveness of the Colony, 161, 162.

B

Barrow's Tour in Austrian Lombardy, &c., 454—sight of the Righi Mountain, 454—warm-baths of Pfeffers, 454, 455—town of Coire, the capital of the Grisons, 455—anecdote of Louis Philippe of France, 456—road of Via Mala in Switzerland, 456, 457—elevation of the village of Splugen, 457, 458—Lago di Como, 459—cathedral of Milan, 459, 460—Leonardi da Vinci's picture of the Last Supper, 460, 461—the libraries of, 461—public buildings of, 461—height of Stelvio pass and view from, 463—city of Innsbruck, 463—exquisite statuary in its cathedral, 463, 464—salt mines of Hallein, 465—city of Munich, 466, 467.

Begging, number of the families in England who subsist by this art, and the amount they collect, 480, 481. See *Mendicity*.

Borgia—Don Francis—elected General of the Jesuits, 347—his noble birth, 347, 348—his early renown, 348—great epoch of his life, 349—appointed viceroy of Catalonia, 350—death of his duchess, 351—renounced his worldly honours and wealth, and entered as a member of the Jesuits, 352, 353—character of, 355-357.

Britain—pride and high estimation in which she regards herself, 17, 18—her foreign affairs attract but seldom the attention of her people, 18, 19—apt to be arrogant and unjust, 19—her endeavours to suppress the African slave trade an illustration of, 20-29—as an European power cannot be considered as ambitious, 29, 30—indifferent to extending her influence, 30, 31—prudent in keeping out of war, 31, 32—but difficult, when once engaged, to get her out of it, 32—angry feelings of, not easily roused, 32—case of Macleod, 33—placable and generous in her resentments, 33, 34—sympathy for the misfortunes of her neighbours, 34—her treatment of enemies, 35—is pertinacious in confiscating an enemy's property, although private, when taken either at sea or in port, 35—acts with justice and forbearance towards them when at war on land, 35, 36—her unjust treatment of Norway, 36, 37—as a belligerent ally, her conduct has been exemplary, 37—towards neutrals it cannot be exempt from severe censure, 37, and 40, 41—behaviour towards Denmark in 1807, 38-40—assumes the right of search for English sailors in American vessels, 41, 42—her conduct with respect the "Russo-Dutch Loan," 43—her position with America, France, and other Powers, 44-48.

Budget (the) of 1842, 187-218. See *Corn*.

C

Campbell's, Thomas, Life of Frederick the Great, 218. See *Frederic*.

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Charpentier's Essai sur les Glaciers, &c., quoted, 66—defends the dilatation theory of glacier movement, 70-78—his *Essai* noticed, 88-89.
Coal, tax on the export of, 207, 208.
Colin, Alexander, his exquisite specimens of sculpture in the cathedral of Innsbruck, 463, 464.
Colonies, of no use to a mother country were trade free and universal, 540-541.
Copan, ruins of, in Central America, 398-404.
Corn Laws—motives which induced Sir Robert Peel to bring in his alteration on, 190-191—his measure prohibitory, 192—price of foreign wheat at Jersey, 192-193—fixed duty infinitely superior to that of the sliding scale, 194—What effect would a permanent prohibition have had upon Great Britain, compared with the rates of duty since 1828? 194-195—effect of a moderate fixed rate, 195-196—principle on which the rate of wages depends, 196-201—effect of the Tariff on pasture lands, 209.
Criminal Jurisprudence, French and English, compared, 359-396.—See *Lafarge*.

D

D'Argens—associate of Frederic the Great—character of, 245.
Denmark, conduct of England in 1807, towards, 38-40.
Duelling, altogether peculiar to the modern world, 422—trial by ordeal, 422—judicial single combat, 423-426—instances of, 426-428—sketch of the duels, heroes, and men of honour, in the days of chivalry, 428-435—edicts issued against, 435-438—mania for, after the Restoration in England, 438-440—after the accession of George III., 440, 441—duelling in Ireland, 441, 442—present state of, 443, 444—laws against, 445, 447—severity of the law rather tends to excuse than to prevent, 447-449—in all cases of duels, parties should be tried before a jury, as in the case of other offences, 449-451—England should follow the example of Prussia and Austria, in having various degrees of imprisonment for both principals and seconds, 451-452.

E

Education, minutes of the Committee of Council on, 105—formation of the Committee a most important step, 106—outcry at first raised against the Committee, both in and out of Parliament, 107-109—utility of the reports, 109, 110—inspectors appointed by the Board to investigate the mode of teaching, 110—objections raised to the inspection by the high church party, 111—conduct of the Church of Scotland, 112—arrangement between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Committee regarding the religious instruction of the children, 112—inspectors well qualified for their office, 113, 114—defective character and quality of instruction given in schools, 114—general ignorance and incompetency of the teachers, 114-116—M. Tremenheere's report on the state of education in various parts of England, 116-122—report of Mr Allan, 122-127—of Mr Baptist Noel, 127-132—of Mr Gibson in Scotland, 132, 133—Sunday schools, 134—proceed-

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ings of Sir Robert Peel's government on this subject, in accordance with the views held by the former government, 134-136—institution of Normal Schools one of the necessary steps to be taken, 136-138—gratuities should be given to well-qualified teachers, 138—compilation and publication of a complete set of school-books also necessary, 139.

England, her manufacturing prosperity believed in Germany to have been attained by her protective policy, 542—free trade desired by the people of, 547-549—was slavery abolished in its colonies in order to crush the industry of other slave-holding countries? 549—absurd course pursued by abolitionists to exclude foreign slave productions from the English market, 540—hostility to its manufactures and commerce, especially in Germany, 540—evils likely to result from her restrictive policy, 552, 553—nature of the commercial policy she must adopt to avert her declining trade, 553-556.

England, her position with France, between 1748 and 1756, 261.

Eustace, Mr, charge against the French for having destroyed Vinci's picture of the Last Supper in Milan, not correct, 460, 461.

F

Fancy and Imagination, analysis of the distinction between, 164-174.

France, causes which have influenced the public conduct of, 4, 5—national character of her pride, 5, 7—ambition, 7—is not checked by any feeling of justice, faith, or public morality, 7—warlike propensities 7, 8—is in a constant state of anxiety and apprehension, 8—cause of, 8, 9—prides herself in her sympathy, 9, 10—mode in which she is influenced by resentment, 10—conduct in regard to the abolition of the slave trade, 21-23—in regard to neutral vessels trading with England, 40, 41—her present character, 44—position and prospects of, 44-47—her criminal law deficient, 359.

France, state of duelling in the days of chivalry, 429-431—Brantôme's, account of Duprat, the paragon of France, 434-435—edicts issued against duelling, 436.

Francis, Father, third General of the order of the Jesuits, 348. See *Borgia*.

Frederic the Great, 48—sketch of his grandfather, 219—of his father, Frederic William, 219—treatment of, till his 25th year, 221-223—his abode at Rheinsberg—pursuits and amusements, 223—education and abilities of, 224—partiality for the French language, 225-226—correspondence with Voltaire, 226—succeeds his father, 227—accession of Maria Theresa to the throne of Austria under the Pragmatic Sanction, 229—Frederic invades Silesia without apprising the Queen of Hungary of his design, 230—evils produced in Europe by this step, 232—his first battle at Molwitz, 233—state of Europe till the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 238—his character—slavish application to public business which he displayed, 238-242—vices of his administration, 242-243—sketch of his associates—manner he spent his time with them at Potsdam, 243-247—eccentric friendship with, and treatment of Voltaire, 249-254—policy of the Austrian court, 254—of France,

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255-258—Coalition of the great European powers against Frederic, 258—position of Frederic, 259-262—disputes between France and England, 261—the Seven Years' War—battle of Prague, 263, 264—battle of Kolin, 264, 265—state of Frederic's mind, 265, 266—reconciliation with Voltaire, 266-268—battle of Leuthen, 269—high position this victory placed him in, 270, 271—enthusiasm of England in his favour, 271, 272—surprised and defeated at Hoch-kirchen, 273—conduct of Pope Benedict XIV., 275—defeated at Kunersdorf 276—campaign of 1760, 277, 278—policy of England after the death of Pitt, 278, 279—of Emperor Paul of Russia, 279—peace of Hubertsburg, 280—appalling state of Prussia, 280, 281.

G

Gawler's, Colonel, profuse expenditure of money on the Colony of South Australia, 156-160-161.

Geology—revolution in the views held in regard to, 49-51—the Glacier theory, 52-53. See *Glacier*.

German (The) nations considered as individuals, review of, 1.

German Customs-Union, origin and objects of, 515-519.

Glacier Theory, 4—meaning of the term, 53—appearance of a glacier in a diminishing and progressive state, 54, 55—torrents which proceed from them, 55, 56—MORAINES, or accumulation of *debris*, 56-58—illustrate the movement of the glacier, 58-60—rate at which they move, 60—the theory of the glacier tables, 60, 61—formation of pools of water on the ice, 61—formation and magnitude of the gravel cones, 61-63—difficulty in ascending some of the glaciers, 63, 64—the *névé, firn*, or unconsolidated glacier, 65-68—difference between the *crevasse* of the glacier and that of the névé, 66, 67—chasm of separation between the glacier and the névé, called the *Berg-schrund*, 67—awful position in which M. Hugi and his companion was placed, 68—De Saussure's theory, 69—the gravitation of glacier motion considered, 70-73—the dilatation theory reviewed, 73-78—veined appearance of the ice, 75—application of the glacier phenomena, to account for certain changes in the earth's surface, 79, 80—on the transportation of masses of rock from great distances, 80-95—on the figure, polish, and states of surface, which glaciers are capable of giving to the rocks over which they move, 95-101—objections which have been, and may be urged against the glacier theory, 101-105.

Greece—travels in Greece. See *Mure*.

H

Hieroglyphics, those on the ruins of Palenque in Central America, 408-412—knowledge of Egyptian not very encouraging, 412, 413—no key yet discovered to those of Central America, 414-416.

Hullah's school in London for instructing schoolmasters in singing, 110.

I

Ignatius Loyola, 297. See *Loyola*.

Imagination and Fancy, what difference exists between? 165-175.

Digitized by Google

Income Tax, fallacies which have led Sir Robert Peel to bring this measure forward, 202-210—to be a just tax, it should include all who could be held able to pay it, 210, 211—the tax should be confined to that portion of income fairly called revenue, 211-213—case of precarious or temporary investments, 213—incomes derived from trusts, 213, 214—is a tax upon the creation of capital, 214, 215—a direct tax upon every man's declared expenditure would be the best, 215—opposition of Lord John Russell was not sufficiently immediate, 216—Lord Brougham's views on, 216, 217—will ultimately be fatal to Peel's administration, 217, 218.

Innsbruck, city of, 463—exquisite sculpture in its cathedral, 463, 464.

Irish Beggars, classes of, and their characteristics, 471, 472.

Jesuits, rise and progress of, 297-358. See *Loyola, Xavier, Laynez, and Borgia.*

Judicature, end to be obtained by, as a *means* of ascertaining truth, 360-362.

K

Keith, George, Earl Marischal—associate of Frederic the Great, 224—death of, at the battle of Hoch-kirchen, 273.

L

Lafarge, Trial of Madame—law of criminal jurisprudence in France most imperfect, 359-362—procedure at her trial, as contrasted with a criminal trial in England, 362-364—the *acte d'accusation*, or indictment, an extraordinary document, 364—marriage of Madame Lafarge, as stated in the indictment, 367, 369—language used to the jury by the Avocat-Général, as if, before conviction, the prisoner was guilty, 369-373—by the law of England, two felonies cannot be proved under one indictment, 373—examination of the prisoner by the presiding judge, 374—the prisoner's account of her marriage, 375—irrelevant evidence led on the trial regarding the death of her husband, M. Lafarge, 377-389—analysis of the evidence, 389—the evidence, when carefully examined, proves that Denis, the clerk of M. Lafarge, was the murderer, 390-392—did the chemical experiments made on the body prove whether poison had been given *during life* or not? 394, 396.

Laynez, Iago, elected General of the Jesuits, 343—his character, and influence he had on the prosperity of that holy body, 344-347.

Leake, Colonel, his works on Greece, models of their kind, 492.

List, Dr Frederick on the Principles of the German Customs-Union, 515—origin and objects of, 515-519—false principles inculcated in his work, 519—analysis of, 519-524—his system of international trade expounded, 524-527—interference of a government with the affairs of its subjects is inexpedient, 527—recommends his protective system to the continental nations of Europe and America—528-531—recommends these nations to manufacture for themselves, 531—arguments by which he maintains his theory, 532—advocates the protection of manufactures, and condemns the protection of agriculture, 533-

Digitized by Google

536—his theory of productive powers, 536-539—asserts that by continental Europe adopting the protective system, their manufactures and trade would be extended, 539, 542—fallacy in holding that, if freedom of trade were universal and perfect, England would monopolize the commerce of the world, 542-547—misrepresentations of the commercial policy of England, 547-556.

Loyola, Ignatius, majestic appearance of, 297—religious enthusiasm with which he was seized, 298, 299—spiritual visions he saw, 299, 300—nature of his work, entitled "Spiritual Exercises," 300-302—his pilgrimages, 302—studies he pursued, 302, 303—method of making converts, 302—self caused tortures he and his disciples suffered on their journey to Rome, 304, 305—an admirable judge of human character, 305—mode of training his disciples, 305, 306—received with great reluctance, from Pope Paul III., the Magna Charta of the order of Jesus, 336—elected General of the order, ib.—scheme of government he laid down and pursued, 336-339—his character, contrasted with that of Luther, 340-342.

Luther, character of, contrasted with Ignatius Loyola, 340, 341.

M

Manufactures, analysis of the German Protective Theory, 524-556.

Maria Theresa, Queen of Austria. See *Austria*.

Mendicity, state of, in England, and to what attributed, 467—divided into two classes, 468—examples of the second class, *i. e.*, of temporary or occasional mendicancy, 468-472—condition of the agricultural poor in England, 472—food of, and quantity required for each individual, 473—able-bodied paupers in the unions are better fed, 474—contrast in their dietaries, 474—table of the number of the vagrant poor who passed in one day through thirteen towns selected as examples, 475—receipts of agricultural families who subsist by begging, 476, 477—average expenditure of these families for food and lodging, 478—it is more profitable, therefore, to beg than to work, *ib.*—digest of the Vagrant Act, 479, 480—terms, practice, devices and income of the begging art, 480-486—line to be drawn between the professional beggar and those from destitution and misery, 486—description of persons who "*travel, and earn their bread*" by begging, 486-488—plans resorted to to obtain alms, 488, 489—explanation of the *ticket system*, 489-491.

Mexico—symbolical paintings of the natives were preserved in the Spanish tribunals, as documentary evidence in lawsuits, 414, 415.

Milan, description of, 459-461.

Millingen's History of Duelling. 422. See *Duelling*.

Moore, Thomas—poetical works, 162-165—criticism on the distinction between imagination and fancy, 165-175—characteristic of his poetical powers, fancy or wit, 175—his delicate touches of tenderness and gaiety the most captivating of his powers, 175, 176—identity in his mind of music and poetry, 176-180—deficient in dramatic faculty, 180, 181—poetical verses quoted, 181-184—extract from his early biography as to his knowledge of the conspiracy in 1798, 184-186.

Digitized by Google

Moraines, formation of, 56-58—their movement illustrates the progress of a glacier, 58-60.
Munich, city of, eminence it has attained by the liberality and taste of the King of Bavaria, 466, 467.
Mure's Tour in Greece and the Ionian Islands, 492—merits of the work, 493-494, and 502-503—site of the Heræum, 494—geography of the Odyssey, 495-498—Pelasgian remains, 498-499—exertions of the government to discover and restore the antiquities of Athens, 500-502—vast proportion of the country now the property of the nation, 504—ruined condition of its towns, and also of the country, 504—character of the people, 505—analogy between the ancient and modern race, 506—filthy habits too prevalent, 507—extract, description of the persons Mr Mure met with in the Khan of Livadia, 507—agricultural and commercial prosperty of Greece, 511—character of the mountaineers, 511, 512—the same spirit displayed by the modern Greek as by the ancient in the most brilliant period of their history, 513, 514.

N

Nations—Causes which influence the public conduct of one nation towards another, 1-4.
Necker, M. L. A., *Etudes Géologiques dans les Alpes*—quoted as to the ancient alluvial formation, 79, 80—quoted as to the form of the diluvial blocks, 93—states that a mineral can never scratch another of the same degree of hardness, 100—quoted as to the distribution of boulders, 101.
Neutrals, maritime rights of a belligerent against, 40.
Névé, structure of, in the glacier formation, 65—its *crevasse* differs from that of the glacier, 66, 67.
Normal Schools, their institution, of the greatest importance to forward the cause of education, 136-138.
Norway, unjust treatment of, by England, 36, 37.

O

Odyssey—geographical position of the places mentioned in, 492.

P

Palenque in Central America, ruins of, 404-408—hieroglyphics on, 408-416.
Pauperism of the labouring classes of Great Britain. See *Mendicity*.
Peel's, Sir Robert, speeches on the Budget in 1842, 187.
Playfair, Professor, on the agents by which stones are transported to great distances, 82, 83.
Portugal, conduct of, in regard to the slave trade, 23, 24.
Prussian tariff of 1818, increased the distress of the manufacturers in the inferior German states, 517.

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R

Richelieu, Duke of, his character, 268, 269.

Rocks, transportation of, to great distances, 80—theories regarding, 83-92—the glaciers appear to be the active agents, 92-95.

Roothmen's Life of Ignatius Loyola and his associates, 297. See *Loyola.*

S

Salt Mines of Hallein, description of, 465.

Saussure's, De, theory, that the glacier moves by gravitation, 69—objections to, 70-73.

Scott's, Sir William, decision, as to the power of England to suppress, by itself, the slave trade, 21, 22.

Slave-trade, endeavours of England to influence the other powers to suppress it, 20—conduct of France, 21-23—of Portugal, 23—of America, 24-28.

Stephens' Travels in Central America, 397. See *America.*

Stewart, Dugald, on Imagination and Fancy, 166.

Sugar, tariff of 1842 on, most impolitic, 205, 206.

T

Tariff—difference between the Whig and the Tory budgets, 204—loss on the timber duties, 205—on that of sugar, 205, 206—on export duties, 206-207—tax on coals exported, 207-208—inconsistency with which it has been framed, 208—effect it will have on pasture lands, 209.

Teachers—most defective state of proper education amongst, 114—extracts from report of school inspectors in England regarding their incompetency, 115-132—better qualified in Scotland, 132-133—necessity of Normal schools for training teachers, 136-137. See *Education.*

Timber, loss sustained on the duties on, by the tariff of 1842, 205.

V

Vagrancy in England.—See *Mendicity.*

Vagrant Act, digest of, 479, 480—is nearly a dead letter—reasons for, 487, 488.—See *Mendicity.*

Venetz, M. on the ancient extension of glaciers, 83-86.

Vinci's, Leonardi da, picture of the Last Supper at Milan, 460, 461—Napoleon's care of it, 461.

Voltaire, his opinions when he first corresponded with Frederic the Great, 226, 227—mission to the Prussian court, 236—circumstances which made him desire to leave France, 247-249—invited to Berlin, 249—reception in Prussia, 249—eccentric friendship with Frederic the Great, 250—causes of quarrel between them, 250-252—his diatribe on Maupertuis, 252—leaves Prussia, 252—Outrageous conduct of Frederic towards him, 253—influence which his writings had, 254—reconciliation with Frederic, 266-268—What were his feelings towards that monarch? 268.

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W

Wages, rate of, principle on which they depend, 197—evidence of Mr Milne as to their connexion with agriculture, 197-199—causes which have led to the fallacy that wages rise and fall with the price of corn, 199-201.

War—conduct of England in seizing the private property of her enemies at sea or in port, 35—contrasted with her forbearance on land, 35-36.

Whig budget of 1842, to increase the revenue by diminishing duties, 187-190.

Wordsworth, W., criticism on his definition of fancy and imagination, 167-169.

X

Xavier, Francis, appearance of, 298—self-inflicted tortures he endured, 304—early life of, 307—influence of Ignatius Loyola over him, 307, 308—appointed to plant the Christian faith in India, 308—visit to his early home, 309—voyage to India, 309, 310—depravity of the inhabitants of Goa, 310—his labours there, and through the Indian Archipelago, 310-316—assumes the defence at the siege of Sumatra, 316-317—influence his works of love and charity had, 317—conversion of Auger and his attendants, 318—code of instructions he left his brother missionaries, 319—proceeds to Japan with Auger, 319—his sufferings, controversies with the established priesthood of Japan, and evangelical works, 320, 327—departs for Goa—miracle he performed on the voyage, 327—prepares to go to China—causes which delayed his voyage, 328, 330—death and character of, 330-335.

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